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NEW SERIES.

THE

ANNUAL REGISTER,

OR A VIEW OF THE

HISTORY,

POLITICS,

AND

LITERATURE,

For the YEAR 1804.

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PREFACE.

IN the period embraced in the preſent volume the ſtate of preparation and expectation is deſcribed more than the courſe of public action. Great Britain being alone at war with France and her allies, exerciſed, with little oppoſition, her dominion over the ſea, and conquered colonies at her diſcretion, while France threatening daily vengeance on the hoſtile country, accumulated a force which was doomed to languiſh in diſgraceful inaction. This plan of warfare was perfectly congenial to the true intereſts of Great Britain. The enemy having no employment for his overgrown military force, was obliged to provoke a hoſtile ſpirit in other nations, by daily violations of all public law; while Great Britain, freed from the expence of allies, and conducting a war of moderate coſt, was enabled to reſtrain and defy a force before which all Europe had bowed. But againſt this mode of warfare, it was not difficult to raiſe ſpecious objections, and to diffuſe a deſire for meaſures which had more appearance of vigour, though leſs reality of ſtrength. Accordingly, the principal attacks on the adminiſtration were directed againſt the conduct of the war, and theſe attacks, aided by ſome cauſes which are ſtated in the courſe of the hiſtory of this year, at length gave a

triumph

triumph to that portion of the oppoſition which was led by Mr. Pitt, and occaſioned a partial change of the miniſtry, attended with a cordial union of the parties of Mr. Fox and Lord Grenville, in a new oppoſition.

This is the leading event in domeſtic politics in 1804. Abroad we have had to record the violence, injuſtice, and perfidy of the Ruler of France; his elevation to the imperial dignity, and the means by which that great change was operated. Theſe will ſtrongly claim the attention of the reader.

Another ſubject of vaſt importance, is the war in India, ſo prudently commenced, and fortunately and honourably conducted and terminated by the Marquis Welleſley and his brother. Of this, a ſuccinct, but we truſt, clear and luminous narrative has been compiled from the beſt authorities.

The debates in Parliament, compreſſed as much as their nature would allow, and the general domeſtic tranſactions form the reſidue of the hiſtory. The State Papers and ſelections contain their accuſtomed portion of uſeful, intereſting, and curious matter.

THE

THE

ANNUAL REGISTER,

For the YEAR 1804.

THE

HISTORY

OF

EUROPE.

CHAP. I.

View of the Affairs of India; Origin of the Mahratta War; Deſcription of the Mahratta Empire; its Diviſion; Account of the different Chiefs who govern; the Rajah of Sattarah; the Peiſhwah; Bajee Rao; Jeſwunt Rao Holkar; Dowlut Rao Scindiah; the Rajah of Berar; the ſuperior Authority of the Peiſhwah; his Alliance with the Britiſh Government; Influence of Scindiah over the Peiſhwah; Hoſtility of Scindiah to the Britiſh Government; particularly diſplayed during the late War with Tippoo Sultaun; Military Eſtabliſhment projected and carried into Execution by Monſ. de Boigne; his Influence over Scindiah; he is ſucceeded by Monſ. Perron; Jealouſy of Holkar; he alſo gets French Officers into his Army; theſe Circumſtances not in themſelves dangerous to the Britiſh Power; Efforts of the Marquis Welleſley to prevent their becoming ſo; Treaty with the Gwickwar; projected Alliance with the Peiſhwah; counteracted by Scindiah; Invaſion of the Peiſhwah's Territory by Holkar; the Peiſhwah defeated, and Poonah, his Capital, taken; Alliance negotiated between him and the Britiſh; the Governor General aſſembles an Army; Treaty of Baſſein executed between the Peiſhwah and the Engliſh Government; General Welleſley marches toward Poonah; is joined by other Forces; but proceeds with only a part of his Army; recovers Poonah, and reinſtates the Peiſhwah. Conduct of Scindiah; he collects an Army; his Duplicity; refuſes to explain ſome negotiations in which he had been engaged with Holkar and the Rajah of Berar; Preparations of the Britiſh Government; the Rajah of Berar and Scindiah with a combined Force threaten the Nizam's Dominions; they negotiate with Holkar, and ſtrive to detach the Nizam and the Peiſhwah from the Engliſh; Intelligence of theſe Efforts early conveyed to the Governor

General; ample Powers confided to General Welleſley; Correſpondence with the Rajah and Scindiah; their evaſive Conduct; critical Situation of India; Views of the French Government during the Peace, detected and counteracted by the Marquis of Welleſley; a Campaign planned on a very extenſive Scale; Four Armies aſſembled; their Plan of Operations; Number and rapid Equipment.

IN 1803, India was the ſcene of military operations, which at firſt portended reſults injurious to the intereſts of Great Britain, but in the end, through the vigilance and firmneſs of the Marquis of Welleſley, and the valour and activity of his brother and the other officers who led he Britiſh forces, they produced only diſappointment to France, through whoſe intrigues hoſtilities had been fomented, defeat to the powers engaged in them, and increaſed ſecurity and proſperity to England.

The people againſt whom the arms of Great Britain were thus called into exerciſe, were the Mahrattas, of whoſe empire, government, and politics, it will not be improper to offer a ſlight account.

The empire of the Mahrattas comprehends all the weſtern provinces of the Deccan, which lie between the rivers Narbudda and Kriſna; the province of Berar in the interior, that of Cuttack on the eaſtern coaſt of the peninſula, and the whole of weſtern Hindoſtan, excepting Moultan, the Punjab, and Sirhind. Theſe extenſive territories are bounded on the north by the mountains of Sewalic, which ſeparate them from Sirinagar and Caſhmir; on the north-eaſt by Rohilcund and Oude; on the eaſt by the Britiſh provinces of Benares, Bahar, Bengal, part of Oriſſa, the Bay of Bengal, and the Northern Sircars; on the ſouth by the dominions of the Subahdar of the Deccan, the rivers Kriſna and Tumbudra; on the weſt by that part of the Indian ocean which divides India from Africa; and on the north weſt by the ſandy deſerts of Moultan, the river Surſootee, and the province of Sirhind. The greateſt length of the Mahratta dominions, from Delhi in the northern, to the river Tumbudra in the ſouthern extremity, is 970 Britiſh miles; and the extreme breadth from eaſt to weſt, where they ſtretch acroſs the peninſula, from the bay of Bengal to the gulph of Cambey, is 900 Britiſh miles. This immenſe tract of country contains the provinces of Delhi, Agra, part of Malwa, Gujerat, Candeis, Baglana, Viſiapoor; the Konkau, Berar, Cuttack, and part of Dowlatabad. Of theſe provinces, Delhi, Agra, part of Malwa, Gujerat, Candeis, Baglana and Viſiapoor, are highly fertile and populous, yielding abundance of the fineſt grain, thronged with towns and villages, and enriched by a buſy internal commerce. The other provinces of the empire are not only leſs productive, but much leſs favoured by nature for cultivation and improvement. Lofty ridges of mountains and vaſt ſterile vales, ſometimes covered with wood, form the moſt prominent features of their local ſcenery. They are conſe-

conſequently thinly inhabited; but the people, partaking of the nature of the ſoil, are hardy, robuſt, and intrepid. The whole population of the Mahratta empire may be computed at about forty millions; it is compoſed of different nations, and of various tribes, of whom nine-tenths are Hindoos, and the reſt Muſſulmans. The nation from whom the empire derived its origin and takes its name, occupies the province of Baglana, the northern part of Viſiapoor, and the mountainous diſtricts of Dowlatabad and Berar. Theſe parts of the country formed one of the grand diviſions of ancient Hindoſtan, deſcribed by the Hindoo geographers, and called in *Puranas*, *Maharaſtra*; by which name its inhabitants are likewiſe deſignated.

The Mahratta empire was founded toward the middle of the ſeventeenth century, by Sevajee the great grandſon of Bhaugha Bhooſlah, and illegitimate ſon (by an obſcure woman of a tribe called Bhooſlah), of Rana Bheem, a rana of the Rajpoot ſtate of Oudipoor, who was deſcended from the Rajahs of Chittore, the moſt ancient of the Hindoo princes. Baugha Bhooſlah aſſumed the name of his mother's tribe, which has ſince that period continued to be the family name of his deſcendants, the rajahs of Sattarah, and of Berar. Succeeding princes of this line extended their territory and power until it aſſumed the limits above deſcribed. They over-ran and plundered almoſt every part of Hindoſtan, excepting Bengal, extended their territories from the weſtern ſea to Oriſſa, and from Agra to the Carnatic, forming a tract of near one thouſand miles long, by ſeven hundred wide, and including ſome of the richeſt and moſt fertile provinces of the peninſula of India. The capital of the empire was eſtabliſhed at Sattarah, a fortreſs ſituated about fifty miles ſouth-eaſt of Poonah, and near the eighteenth degree of north latitude.

The deſcendants of Sevajee have ſince been diſtinguiſhed by the title of Rajahs of Sattarah, but their power has been materially diminiſhed. In the reign of Sahojee, who died in 1740, Ballajee Biſhwanaut, his peiſhwah, or miniſter, gained ſuch an aſcendancy, that to him was delegated the exerciſe of all authority and power in the ſtate. All orders, and every detail of government, iſſued immediately from the peiſhwah, who received from the rajah the title of mookh perdhaun, or chief civil miniſter. This form of government has ſubſiſted to the preſent period; and on the death of a peiſhwah, his ſucceſſor is inveſted by the rajah of Sattarah with the enſigns of office. In the following reign, the ſame ſyſtem being continued under another peiſhwah, Ragojee Bhooſlah, the anceſtor of the preſent rajah of Berar, who was the buſkſhi or commander in chief of the forces, and, as ſuch, held the province of Berar in Jagheer, proceeded to Berar, and there eſtabliſhed an independent government. It appears, however, that he continued to acknowledge the ſupremacy of the rajah of Sattarah, and the authority of the office of Peiſhwah, as the civil executive authority of the ſtate.

This violent partition of the empire by its principal miniſters,

encouraged the uſurpation of others, ſo that in a few years the ſtate, from an abſolute monarchy, (as eſtabliſhed by Sevajee) became a mere confederacy of chiefs, the principal of whom are the peiſhwah, the rajah of Berar, and the families of Scindiah, Holkar, and the Guikwar, and there are ſome Jagheerdars and chieftains of inferior note, to the ſouthward of Poonah. The family of Scindiah eſtabliſhed themſelves in Malwa and Candeiſh, and afterward extended their conqueſt over a great part of the rajpoot principalities, and of the northern parts of Hindoſtan. The largeſt part of Guyerat was ſeized by the Guikwar family, while the Holkar family eſtabliſhed themſelves in thoſe parts of the province of Malwa, which did not belong to the families of the Peiſhwah and of Scindiah.

Although the chieftains, enumerated in the preceding paragraph, are independent of each other, they all acknowledge the office of peiſhwah, to be the proper executive authority of the Mahratta empire, and admit the ſupremacy of the rajah of Sattarah. Since the acceſſion of Bajee Rao, (the firſt peiſhwah) however, the rajah of Sattarah has never been a party to any public acts or alliances; and foreign ſtates, finding the peiſhwah in poſſeſſion of the executive power and authority, have in all tranſactions of the Mahratta ſtate, treated with him as the legitimate head of the empire.

The deſcendants of Sevajee, however, are ſtill treated with attention and reſpect. No peiſhwah can enter upon the execution of his office without receiving a dreſs of honour from the rajah of Sattarah. When the peiſhwah takes the field in perſon, he muſt previouſly receive an audience of leave from the rajah of Sattarah. The country in the vicinity of Sattarah enjoys an exemption from military depredations of all kinds, and whenever any chief enters this diſtrict, all the enſigns of power and command are laid aſide, and the nagara, or great drum of the empire, ceaſes to beat. Theſe marks of reſpect alone diſtinguiſh the condition of the nominal ſovereign of the Mahratta empire from that of a priſoner of ſtate. The rajah of Sattarah has long been confined in the fortreſs of that name upon a contracted allowance.

Bajee Rao, the preſent peiſhwah, is the eldeſt ſon of Ragonaut Rao, better known by the name of Ragobah, who in 1773 aſſaſſinated his nephew Narain Rao, but the woman of Narain being delivered of a poſthumous ſon, that prince named Sevajee Madhoo Rao, aſcended the muſnud, and reigned till the year 1795, keeping the ſons of his father's murderer priſoners in the fort of Juneer near Poonah.

On the death of Madhoo Rao, Chimnajee Appa, the younger ſon of Ragobah, was raiſed to the muſnud, but was afterward depoſed, and ſucceeded by his elder brother Bajee Rao, whoſe reign during the term of ſix years was moſt calamitous. He was, in the firſt inſtance, deprived by the violence and ambition of Dowlut Rao Scindiah of the due exerciſe of his authority, and kept in a ſtate of the utmoſt degradation and reſtraint, and afterward depoſed and compelled

pelled by Jeſwunt Rao Holkar, (Oct. 25, 1802,) to abandon his capital, and take refuge in the Britiſh territories; until by the treaty of Baſſein he was reſtored to the full enjoyment of his rights and legitimate power on the foundation of the ſupport of the Britiſh government.

Jeſwunt Rao Holkar is an illegitimate male ſon of Tuckojee Holkar, who died in 1797. The capital of the Holkar territories in Malwa was eſtabliſhed at Indore, a city about thirty miles ſouth eaſt of Ougein. The revenues of the Holkar family, previous to the commencement of the diſturbances in the province of Malwa, which are ſoon to be related, were eſtimated at eighty lacks of rupees, or about one million ſterling. Sometime before the death of Tuckojee Holkar, that chief obtained from the peiſhwah a khelaut* of inveſtiture for his eldeſt ſon Caſhy Rao Holkar, as legitimate ſucceſſor to the territorial poſſeſſions of the Holkar family. A jagheer, to the annual amount of ten lacks of rupees, was however ſettled on Tuckojee's younger legitimate ſon Mulhar Rao: but no proviſion was made for the illegitimate children, Jeſwunt Rao and Eithojee, who were left entirely dependent on Caſhy Rao Holkar. Diſputes between the legitimate brothers having thrown them into the power of Dowlut Rao Scindiah, who uſurped the power of peiſhwah, and the illegitimate brothers having eſpouſed the cauſe of the younger brother, a ſeries of conteſts enſued, in which one legitimate and one illegitimate ſon of Tuckojee loſt their lives, and after many reverſes and perils, Jeſwunt Rao Holkar acquired ſufficient power to plan the depoſition of the peiſhwah himſelf, and to hope that by force he ſhould effect it. With theſe views, toward the middle of the year 1802, Jeſwunt Rao Holkar proceeded with a large force towards Poonah. Scindiah had been compelled (in the month of December 1800, by Holkar's hoſtile movements) to quit Poonah for the protection of his poſſeſſions in Malwa, and was at Ougein when Holkar commenced his march toward Poonah. Being ſenſible however of the danger to which he was expoſed by Holkar's movement, Scindiah detached a force under the command of Suddaſheo Bhow, which reached the vicinity of Poonah at the cloſe of the month of September, and afterward effected a junction with the troops belonging to the peiſhwah. A general action enſued, in which Suddaſheo Bho was entirely defeated, and Jeſwunt Rao Holkar became maſter of the city of Poonah, and of the peiſhwah's government. 1802. Oct.

Dowlut Rao Scindiah, whoſe violence, rapacity, and lawleſs ambition, were the main cauſes of the war with the confederate Mahratta chiefs, deſcended from Ranojee Scindiah, who firſt obtained a portion of the province of Malwa, and in March 1794, ſucceeded his uncle Madhajee Scindiah, who died without male iſſue.

* Khelaut is a dreſs of honour, conferred by a ſuperior or an inferior, occaſion of acceſſion to office, or as a mark of honour.

The Rajah of Berar was Ragojee Bhooſlah, who attained that dignity on the death of his father in 1788.

The power of the peiſhwah having, for many years, been acknowledged by all the Mahratta and other ſtates of India, to be the conſtitutional repreſentative of the ſovereign executive authority of the Mahratta empire, and the principal chieftains having been conſidered oſtenſibly as the ſubjects and officers of the peiſhwah, the Britiſh government concluded its general treaties with the Mahrattas through the authority of the peiſhwah; and, although in ſome of thoſe engagements, individuals have been admitted to act as guarantees, the independent right of the peiſhwah to conclude treaties with any power in India, was never denied; nor was it ever attempted to aſſert a claim on the part of any of the chieftains, to limit the independent right of the peiſhwah to form treaties and alliances without the advice or conſent of any chieftain of the Mahratta empire, although thoſe chieftains have a right of concluding ſeparate treaties and alliances for themſelves.

Many inſtances had recently occurred, to prove that the reſpective authorities of theſe chiefs were thus regarded. Thus in 1790, the treaty of Poonah was negotiated by Lord Cornwallis with the peiſhwah, without reference to any of the ſubordinate chieftains. In fact, Scindiah and the rajah of Berar were known to be adverſe to the treaty. At the concluſion of that war in 1792, the peiſhwah was a party to the treaty of peace at Seringapatam; and in the diviſion therefore of Tippoo Sultaun's territory, and of his treaſure, obtained a conſiderable acceſſion to his hereditary dominions, and a large ſum of money, without the advice, conſent, or participation of any ſubordinate chieftain of the Mahratta empire; and in like manner a negociation was conducted by Lord Cornwallis in 1793.

Some of theſe chieftains, however, appear to have conſidered the alliance between the Britiſh government and the peiſhwah to be adverſe to their intereſts; and viewed with jealouſy a combination, the vigour and efficacy of which muſt always have oppoſed obſtacles to any invaſion of the legitimate authority of the peiſhwah.

During the period which elapſed between the concluſion of the peace of Seringapatam in 1792, and the commencement of Lord Welleſley's adminiſtration in India, in May 1798, the rapacity and ambition of Dowlut Rao Scindiah had impaired the authority of the peiſhwah to ſuch a degree, as to have fruſtrated every benefit which Lord Cornwallis intended to ſecure to the Britiſh intereſts by the alliance with the peiſhwah. He had abſolutely uſurped the government of Poonah, and had eſtabliſhed himſelf in the vicinity of that city with a powerful army, the regular infantry and artillery of which had been diſciplined, and were then commanded principally by French officers.

When Lord Welleſley, at the cloſe of the year 1798, required the peiſhwah, in conſequence of Tippoo Sultaun's aggreſſion, to fulfil the conditions of the ſubſiſting defenſive alliance againſt My-

ſore,

fore, the juſtice of that demand was deemed irreſiſtible, even by the perverſe counſels of Poonah under the undue influence of Dowlut Rao Scindiah. The peiſhwah's miniſters therefore oſtenſibly acquieſced in the demand; and that experienced ſtateſman Nana Furnavees, who was then verging to the cloſe of his career, would certainly have fulfilled the conditions of the alliance, had not the wiſdom of his advice been overborne by the violence of Dowlut Rao Scindiah.

Under this predominating influence, notwithſtanding the acquieſcence of the court of Poonah in the juſtice and neceſſity of the war againſt Tippoo Sultaun in 1798; and notwithſtanding the peiſhwah's declaration of his intention to co-operate in that war, according to the terms of the ſubſiſting alliance, the Mahrattas not only afforded no aſſiſtance to the Britiſh government in the proſecution of the war, which terminated on the 4th of May 1799, but actually maintained a ſecret and treacherous correſpondence with Tippoo Sultaun, and his miniſters and officers, down to the period of the fall of Seringapatam; and even after that memorable event, the emiſſaries of the Mahratta government (under the domination of Scindiah, who then governed the durbar of Poonah) attempted to excite the family and remaining officers of the deceaſed Sultaun to reſiſt the ſettlement of Myſore.

Notwithſtanding the entire failure of the peiſhwah in diſcharging the obligations of public faith to the Britiſh government, under the alliance concluded by Lord Cornwallis with the Mahratta power, Lord Welleſley in dividing Tippoo Sultaun's dominions in the year 1799, offered a conſiderable ſhare of territory to the peiſhwah. The governor general, however, annexed to this liberal grant, conditions calculated to revive the alliance with the peiſhwah on a ſecure baſis. The peiſhwah, therefore, was induced by Dowlut Rao Scindiah, to reject the proffered grant; and conſequently, the territory which had been deſtined for the Mahrattas, was divided among the remaining allies, the nizam and the Britiſh government.

Propoſitions of the moſt amicable nature, were at the ſame time offered to Dowlut Rao Scindiah: but when it is recollected that the moſt efficient part of his military power was under the command and influence of French adventurers, his rejection of all friendly overtures from the Britiſh government may be eaſily accounted for.

The military eſtabliſhment to which Scindiah was indebted for the ſucceſs of his enterprizes, was planned, formed, and diſciplined by M. de Boigne, a native of Savoy, who entered his ſervice in 1784.

This eſtabliſhment at firſt conſiſted of eighteen battalions of regular infantry, formed into brigades, officered by European adventurers, chiefly Frenchmen, and attended by a train of well appointed artillery, and a body of cavalry, diſciplined in the European ſyſtem. Of this army De Boigne obtained the command, together with the aſſignment of the revenues of ſeveral valuable diſtricts in the conquered provinces, for its ſupport. Theſe re-

venues amounted to 1,632,000l. ſterling; which enabled De Boigne to pay his army with a regularity and exactneſs before unknown in the ſervice of an Aſiatic prince; and ſuch was the confidence repoſed by Mahajee in his European general, that he allowed the revenues of the Jeidad, (the Perſic name of this military aſſignment,) to be collected by De Boigne's officers; and, as a reward for his eminent ſervices, he granted him a valuable Jagheer, that is, an aſſignment of the revenues of certain diſtricts, for his perſonal uſe. In addition to the power which he derived from theſe grants, he had the ſole command of the conquered provinces, and had, conſequently, included in his charge the city of Delhi, (the capital of the Mogul empire,) and the perſon of the unfortunate emperor. He derived further authority from the circumſtance of Mahajee having induced the emperor to conſtitute the peiſhwah his Vakeelal-Mutuluk, or regent of the empire, and to appoint him his deputy; ſo that, by theſe means, the affairs of the provinces actually conquered from the Mogul, were ſtill adminiſtered in his name. De Boigne's army was called the imperial army, and himſelf a ſervant and ſubject of the Emperor. Hence de Boigne, in fact, poſſeſſed much of the power and authority of a ſovereign prince, which the death of Mahajee, in 1794, tended to ſtrengthen, and he afterward exerciſed, with a very abſolute ſway, and with little reference to his maſter Dowlut Rao Scindiah.

Before his return to Europe, in 1798, he conſtructed a foundery, for the caſting of iron cannon, increaſed his artillery to the number of 120 pieces of iron, and upward of 150 pieces of braſs ordnance, augmented his regular infantry to the number of 38,000, and his cavalry to 8,000, and he retained in his ſervice above 300 Europeans, of whom about thirty were Britiſh ſubjects, and the remainder French, Germans, and Swiſs. Upon his reſignation, he was ſucceeded in his military command, authority, and titles, by Monſ. Perron, a ſubject and native of France; poſſeſſing every patriotic feeling and prejudice, and endowed with conſiderable military talents and knowledge. To this officer, Dowlut Rao Scindiah entirely confided the government of his northern provinces, whilſt he himſelf devoted his attention to the politics of the Deccan, and to the maintenance of that aſcendancy at the court of Poonah, which his predeceſſor had ſo effectually gained. In the exerciſe of this aſcendancy, it was manifeſtly the main principle of his policy to obſtruct the intereſts and views of the Britiſh government, by all ſecret means, and to encourage the introduction of French officers, both into his own army, and that of the Peiſhwah.

The abſolute control and direction of the councils of Poonah, was viewed by Holkar with a jealous animoſity, which his inability at that time to prevent it, ſerved to embitter and increaſe. In order, therefore, to put his army on a footing that might enable it to contend with Scindiah, in the Deccan, or at leaſt bear ſome proportion to his vaſt military eſtabliſhment; Holkar, likewiſe, ſought eagerly for European officers to diſcipline and lead his troops; and,

as there always was a greater number of itinerant adventurers from France than any other country in Europe, that found their way to India, it conſequently happened, that three-fourths of the Europeans introduced into his ſervice, were Frenchmen. Thus the infantry eſtabliſhments of all the Mahratta ſtates, excepting thoſe of Bhoouſla and the Guikwar, were, in the beginning of the year 1796, principally officered by Europeans, of whom three-fourths were ſubjects and natives of France; whilſt, at the ſame moment, Tippoo Sultaun, the irreconcileable enemy of the Engliſh name, was actually forming, in conjunction with France, a comprehenſive plan for the extinction of the Britiſh empire in India; and the nizam of the Deccan, a prince of ſome power, and conſiderable authority in the Peninſula, was under the controul of the French officers, whom he too had retained in his ſervice, who were then in the command of 14,000 well diſciplined Muſſulman infantry, and who were on the point of erecting the French ſtandard at Hydrabad.

But notwithſtanding the intrigues and violence of Scindiah, which had ſuperſeded all the efforts of Lord Cornwallis's, alliance, and the improved ſtate of the army under his orders, the deſtruction of the hoſtile power of Myſore, accompanied by the conſolidation of our alliances with the court of Hyderabad, had left no antagoniſt to the Britiſh government among the native ſtates in India, excepting the Mahratta power. Theſe ſtates, unconnected with any European ally, could never become formidable, excepting in the event of an actual union of the feudal chiefs of the empire, under an efficient ſovereign power, or in the event of a revolution, which ſhould unite the command of the reſources of a large portion of the Mahratta territories in the hands of an active and enterprizing chief. Such events, however to be deprecated, might have been encountered, without apprehenſion, by the Britiſh government, in the commanding poſition of its foreign relations, and in the vigorous condition of its internal reſources, and concentrated ſtrength.

But it was obviouſly prudent to employ every endeavour to effect ſuch an arrangement as ſhould preclude the union of the Mahratta ſtates under any circumſtances which might menace interruption to the tranquillity of our poſſeſſions, or of thoſe of our allies. With this view, it appeared to be expedient to receive under the protection of the general defenſive ſyſtem, of which the foundation was laid by the treaty with the nizam concluded in 1800, ſuch of the Mahratta ſtates as might be diſpoſed to enter into ſubſidiary engagements with the Britiſh government. On this principle, a treaty was concluded with the Guikwar, the operation of which attached that ſtate to the company, and ſecured to them a valuable and important territorial eſtabliſhment in the maritime province of Guzerat. The moſt effectual arrangement, however, for ſecuring the Britiſh government againſt any danger from the Mahrattas, appeared to be an intimate alliance with the acknowledged ſovereign power of that empire, founded upon principles which 1802

ſhould

ſhould render the Britiſh influence and military force his main ſupport. Such an arrangement appeared to afford the beſt ſecurity for preſerving a due balance between the ſeveral ſtates conſtituting the confederacy of the Mahratta empire, as well as for preventing any dangerous union or diverſion of the reſources of that empire. It has always been a principal object of the Britiſh government to prevent the ſovereign power of the Mahratta ſtate, or the power of any great branch of the Mahratta empire, from paſſing into the hands of France. While the views of France ſhall be directed to the eſtabliſhment of its authority within the peninſula of Hindoſtan, it is manifeſtly the policy of Britain to accompliſh ſuch a ſyſtem of alliances with the powers of India, as may preclude the occurrence of thoſe internal convulſions which would afford to France the moſt favourable opportunity of effecting her ambitious purpoſe.

The endeavours of the governor general had therefore been employed, for ſome years paſt, to eſtabliſh, between the peiſhwah and the Britiſh government, ſuch a connexion as might ſecure the ſtability and efficiency of the peiſhwah's authority, under the protection of the Britiſh power, without injury to the rights of the feudatory chieftains of the Mahratta empire; and had the peiſhwah aſſented to the moderate and ſalutary propoſitions which were offered to his acceptance, he would not have been expoſed to the diſaſtrous event already alluded to, which took place in October 1802.

Before this time every endeavour had been made by direction of the governor-general to induce the peiſhwah to conclude a general treaty of alliance with him, but although preſſed by the enterpriſe and ſucceſſes of Holkar, and although he felt conſiderable anxiety to contract engagements with the Britiſh government, ſtill the aſcendancy which Scindiah, although abſent, continued to maintain over the counſels of the peiſhwah, and the habitual irreſolution of a Mahratta, made him withhold his conſent to any admiſſible modification of the governor-general's propoſitions, until Holkar actually arrived at the head of a large army in the neighbourhood of Poonah. The combined army of the peiſhwah and of Scindiah having marched from Poonah under the command of Shuddaſheo Bhow, for the purpoſe of encountering Holkar's force, the two armies engaged; and on the ſame day the peiſhwah ſent his miniſter to the Britiſh reſident with a paper, deſiring the eſtabliſhment of a ſubſidiary force of ſix battalions of ſepoys, with the uſual quantity of artillery, and conveying a ſunnud (or grant) for territory to the annual amount of twenty-five lacks of rupees, propoſed to be ceded in perpetuity to the company, for the payment of that force. The miniſter, at the ſame time, aſſured the reſident of the peiſhwah's earneſt deſire that a general defenſive alliance ſhould be concluded and carried into effect, at the earlieſt practicable period, between him and the company, on the principles of the treaty concluded at Hyderabad in October 1800. No reaſon exiſted to warrant a doubt of the peiſhwah's ſincerity to the extent compatible

1802 25th Oct.

with

with the timidity of his character. His Highneſs might be deemed to be indifferent to the ſucceſs of either contending party, and to be equally menaced by the uſurpation of Scindiah and by that of Holkar. The approach of Holkar, however, relieved him from any immediate fear of Scindiah, and left him at liberty to embrace the Britiſh protection.

The governor general ratified this engagement on the day on which he received it, and ſignified to the peiſhwah his determination to employ every effort of the Britiſh power for the reſtoration of his juſt authority. With a view to include the ſeveral branches of the Mahratta empire in the propoſed general alliance, the governor general availed himſelf of this opportunity to renew his invitation to Dowlut Rao Scindiah, to partake the benefits of the treaty propoſed to be concluded with the peiſhwah, and accordingly directed Colonel Collins to proceed from Futty Ghur to Scindiah's camp, for the purpoſe of propoſing terms.

The engagement between the combined army of the peiſhwah and Scindiah, and that commanded by Holkar, terminated in the total defeat of the former, with conſiderable loſs. After the action, the peiſhwah retired with an inconſiderable body of cavalry to a fortreſs in the vicinity of Poonah, whence he proſecuted his march toward the Cokan.

Diſappointed in his hope of ſecuring the perſon of the peiſhwah, Holkar compelled Amrut Rao, the adopted ſon of the peiſhwah's father, to repair to Poonah, and eſtabliſh a plan of government conformable to the views of the conqueror.

Although the treaty propoſed by the Marquis of Welleſley had not been concluded, the Britiſh governor did not view theſe events with indifference, or ſuffer them to paſs without an effort. It was deemed indiſpenſable to aſſemble a conſiderable army of obſervation on the frontier of the Mahratta territories, for the purpoſe of ſecuring the Britiſh provinces, and thoſe of our allies the nizam and the rajah of Myſore againſt the attack of the chiefs at Poonah, as well as of repelling the predatory incurſion of any vagrant freebooter, whom the iſſue of the conteſt might compel to ſeek ſubſiſtence in the Britiſh dominions, or in thoſe of our allies. Theſe important conſiderations, combined with the application made to the governor of Fort St. George by the reſident at Poonah, acting under the orders of the governor general, induced Lord Clive, without waiting the arrival of direct inſtructions from the governor general, to aſſemble a conſiderable force at Hurruyhur, on the north-weſtern frontier of Myſore, conſiſting of near 19,000 men, with 800 pioneers, and 563 gun laſcars; with 4 iron 12, and 4 iron 18 pounders; 40 field pieces, 12 galloper guns, and four howitzers. The governor of Bombay purſued the ſame wiſe and ſalutary courſe of vigilance and precaution, by preparing for immediate ſervice the diſpoſeable force at that preſidency. A conſiderable detachment of the ſubſidiary force at Hyderabad was alſo ordered, by the reſident at that court, to be prepared for eventual ſervice in the field, in conformity to a requiſition for that purpoſe from the reſident at Poonah.

1802 Nov.

During

During theſe tranſactions, Holkar and Amrut Rao profeſſed great anxiety to preſerve the friendſhip of the Britiſh government, and Scindiah and the peiſhwah ſolicited the continuance of the governor general's eſteem, and that he would act in concert with Scindiah during the exiſting criſis of affairs at Poonah. Lieutenant Colonel Cloſe, the Britiſh reſident, having, with difficulty, obtained permiſſion to depart, left Poonah in the hands of rebels and uſurpers, and arrived at Bombay; Shortly afterward the peiſhwah, who had embarked from Savendroog under convoy of the Herculean, arrived at Baſſein, attended by a ſmall eſcort of about one hundred and thirty followers. His Highneſs was immediately waited upon by Lieutenant Colonel Cloſe, and after much diſcuſſion a treaty was ſigned at Baſſein, and the peiſhwah received the counterpart of the treaty, ratified by the Governor general in council, with demonſtrations of the higheſt ſatisfaction. This compact confirmed all former treaties of alliance, and declared that the friends and enemies of either ſhould be the friends or enemies of both, and that it was their intent ſo cloſely to draw the ties of union, that the two ſtates ſhould become identified.

1802 Dec. 3. 16th. 31ſt Dec. 18th March 1803.

From the treaty of Baſſein, it inevitably reſulted that the Britiſh government muſt reſtore the peiſhwah to his dominions; and in conformity to the plan of operations pointed out by the governor general, the whole of the ſubſidiary force ſtationed with the nizam, amounting to about 8368 men, and accompanied by the nizam's diſciplined infantry, and 9000 cavalry, the whole commanded by Colonel Stevenſon, quitted Hyderabad; and proceeded to Paraindah, a town on the weſtern frontier of the nizam's territory, 116 miles diſtant from Poonah.

Feb.

Having received the neceſſary inſtructions from the governor general, and knowing the importance and expediency of ſecuring the early arrival of the Britiſh troops at Poonah, Lord Clive directed Lieutenant General Stuart, then with the army on the frontier of Myſore, to adopt proper meaſures for the march of the forces into the Mahratta territory, leaving it to the judgment of Lieutenant General Stuart to determine the amount of the force neceſſary to be detached from the main body of the army.

27th Feb.

The moſt extenſive local knowledge, and the higheſt perſonal influence among the Mahratta chiefs, acquired by his conduct in the Myſore, and his victories over the refractory chieftains, pointed out the Hon. Major General Welleſley as the fitteſt commander of an expedition, where both military abilities and political experience would be highly requiſite. Lord Clive therefore deſired that General Welleſley might be appointed to the command of the advanced detachment under inſtructions to be furniſhed to him by Lieutenant General Stuart.

Gen. Welleſley commenced his march from Hurryhur with a detachment from the main army, amounting in cavalry, infantry, and artillery,

9th March.

tillery, to 9,707 men, to which were added 2,500 horſe belonging to the rajah of Myſore, who was bound by the treaty of Seringapatam to co-operate with the Engliſh. They entered the Mahratta country, and their march through theſe territories, though at a very unfavourable ſeaſon, was univerſally proſperous. They were, every where, hailed as friends, and ſome of the chiefs even accompanied them to Poonah, with their forces. Owing to this amicable reception, and the activity and ſkill of General Welleſley, the army ſuffered none of the inconveniences they had reaſon to expect in their progreſs.

12th.

The troops of the nizam, under Colonel Stevenſon, arrived within a ſhort diſtance from General Welleſley's force at Akloos, (a town about eight miles from the Neera river) and were reinforced from General Welleſley's army by the Scotch brigade. At this period, Holkar had left Poonah in the hands of Amrut Rao with a force of about 1500 men, while he himſelf had proceeded to Chandore, a ſtation diſtant 130 miles from Poonah, to the N. N. E.; and the troops he had detached to the ſouthward were retreating precipitately before the Britiſh army. Gen. Welleſley, therefore, thinking it unneceſſary to advance to Poonah all the force deſtined for the reſtoration of the peiſhwah, and wiſhing to place the troops more conveniently for the procuring of forage, ordered Colonel Stevenſon to quit his preſent poſition, and proceed to Gardoon, ſo as to ſtation all the nizam's forces within his Highneſs's own territories; while the colonel himſelf, with the Engliſh troops, occupied a poſt on the Beemah river toward Poonah, near its confluence with the Mota Mola river; thus preſerving the means of forming a ſpeedy junction, if neceſſary.

15th April.

General Welleſley now continued his march. He had been informed, by repeated meſſages, that Amrut Rao was reſolved, upon the approach of the Britiſh, to plunder and fire the city: and he was moſt earneſtly intreated by the peiſhwah to ſend forward ſome of his Highneſs's troops in order to ſave his family who remained at Poonah: a meaſure which would have been intirely hopeleſs. General Welleſley therefore ſet forward himſelf at the head of the cavalry, proceeding over unfavourable roads, and through a difficult paſs, and reached Poonah on the following day, after a march of ſixty miles performed in thirty-two hours. This wonderful exertion preſerved the city; Amrut Rao made a precipitate retreat, leaving his deſign unexecuted, and the family of the peiſhwah in ſafety: having previouſly removed theſe to the neighbouring fort of Saogur. The few inhabitants who remained in the city joyfully received the Engliſh as their deliverers, and thoſe who hed left it during the uſurpation of Holkar, returned to their houſes and reſumed their employments. Arrangements were made at Bombay for the return of the peiſhwah, who left Baſſein under a ſtrong eſcort, and re-entering his palace, was greeted with ſuitable honours and ſolemnities.

19th April.

27th April to 13th May

During

During theſe tranſactions, Scindiah had collected a large force at Ougein, (his own capital) for the purpoſe, as he profeſſed, of oppoſing Holkar, and, having croſſed the Nerbudda river on his march to Poonah, arrived near Boorhanpoor, where Colonel Collins, the Britiſh reſident, diſpatched by the governor general from Futty Ghur, reached his camp. Strong ſuſpicions began to ariſe, of the deſigns of Scindiah, who, it was believed, meditated a junction with Holkar and the rajah of Berar, for the purpoſe of diſturbing the arrangements of the treaty of Baſſein. It appearing alſo that he was ſtudying to elude the communication of the propoſitions Colonel Collins was to make relative to his participating in that treaty, the colonel demanded a poſitive explanation of Scindiah's intentions, in conſequence of which, that chief declared in the preſence of all his principal miniſters, that he had no deſire to obſtruct the completion of the arrangements concluded between the peiſhwah and the Britiſh government, and that it was his wiſh to improve the friendſhip then ſubſiſting between the peiſhwah, the Britiſh government, and his own ſtate.

23d Feb.

27th

But this amicable declaration was ſo much in oppoſition to general report and the actual appearance of affairs, that it became neceſſary to bring the queſtion to a final determination. Colonel Collins therefore, in a conference with Scindiah, inſiſted on his immediately repaſſing the Nerbudda with his army, as the preſent movement of his troops muſt evidently have the effect of counteracting the accompliſhment of the treaty of Baſſein, which he had no right to do, unleſs that treaty threatened his ſecurity; and obſerved, that his continuance in the neighbourhood of Poonah, or ſouthward of the Nerbudda, was inconſiſtent with his former amicable profeſſions, and could only be aſcribed to the deſign of diſturbing the peiſhwah's arrangements with the Engliſh, and regaining his aſcendancy in the government of Poonah. A copy of the treaty was then preſented to Scindiah, who declared "that it contained no ſtipulations injurious to his juſt rights." Colonel Collins next required an explanation of the late negociations with Holkar and the rajah of Berar, ſtating, that if he refuſed to anſwer in an open and ſatisfactory manner, a demand ſo highly reaſonable, under the preſent circumſtances, meaſures of precaution would be univerſally adopted, and if they were convinced of his acceſſion to any hoſtile confederacy, war would be directly commenced by the Britiſh government throughout his frontier.

28th May.

In reply, Scindiah repeatedly declared, in full court, that he could not afford the ſatisfaction demanded, until a meeting ſhould have taken place between him and the rajah of Berar, when the Britiſh reſident ſhould be informed "whether it would be peace or war."

This inſolent anſwer not only juſtified, but rendered neceſſary the immediate adoption of vigorous meaſures on the part of the Engliſh; and the governor general iſſued private inſtructions

28th June.

ſtructions to General Lake at Caunpoor, to prepare for aſſembling the army on the north-weſt frontier of the Britiſh dominions in Oude, to counteract the deſign of Scindiah and the rajah of Berar.

3d June. Some time before this, the rajah of Berar had arrived near Scindiah's camp at Checkly, on the nizam's frontier, and the following day the chiefs joined their forces, amounting together to 23 or 24,000 infantry, 38,000 cavalry and 210 guns, and occupying a favourable poſition for an attack on the nizam's dominions. From this time the chiefs manifeſted a reſolution to evade the demands of the Britiſh government; continued their negotiations with Holkar; and tried every method to detach the peiſhwah and nizam from their alliance with the company, although the former propoſals of the Engliſh government had been repeated, and neither chief could object to any article in the treaty of Baſſein.

Suſpicions of the treachery of Scindiah had early been formed, and ſupported by information from various quarters. So far back as the 9th of March Colonel Collins had received intimations, by means of Ambojee Inglia, one of Scindiah's principal miniſters, that General Perron had been ordered to prepare his army for the field, with a view to an eventual rupture with the Britiſh government. The truth of this ſtatement, though at firſt doubted, was afterwards confirmed by the teſtimony of various facts, particularly the ſtate of

17th June. Perron's force. The governor general alſo learnt that Scindiah had ſent letters to Ghunnee Bahadur and Himonut Bahadur, the peiſhwah's principal officers in the province of Bundelcund, requiring them, as a matter of courſe, to be prepared to aſſiſt the combined Mahratta armies in hoſtilities againſt the Britiſh poſſeſſions; ſimilar orders had been received at the ſame time by Dhurrum Rao, the commander of a large body of horſe, which had been diſpatched by Scindiah in April to a ſtation on the right of the river Jumna, near the Britiſh territories. Colonel Collins, purſuant to inſtructions he had received, queſtioned Scindiah on the ſubject of this tranſaction, who ſolemnly denied having iſſued ſuch orders to the peiſhwah's officers in Bundelcund, or to Dhurrum Rao, and that the latter chieftain had been eſpecially directed to reſpect the Britiſh territories. This declaration, however, was powerfully contradicted by ſubſequent circumſtances, by the evident authenticity of the intelligence (received from Himnut Bahadur himſelf) and the conſideration of Scindiah's notorious inſincerity.

6th July. In addition to theſe tranſactions, a letter was received from Colonel Collins, dated June 14, incloſing a ſtatement from the colonel's agent at Delhi, by which it appeared that Scindiah had ſent meſſengers to the Rohilla chief Gholaum Mahomed Khaun, who had alſo been invited by letters from General Perron to proceed toward the ſtation that general occupied, for the purpoſe of exciting commotions into the Jagheer of Rampore; Perron aſſuring him of aid and ſupport from himſelf and Scindiah. In furtherance of the ſame deſign, Perron had written

letters

letters to many perſons at Rampore and other places. This intelligence was confirmed from other quarters, with the addition, that Gholaum was preparing to comply with the requeſt. The governor general alſo received copies of letters written by Dowlut Rao Scindiah to Gholaum Mahomed Khan and Bumboo Khan (the grandſon of the late Nujib-oo-Dowlah, who occupies a territory in the vicinity of Saharum-poor), declaring the intention of Scindiah to commence a war of aggreſſion againſt the Britiſh power, and inſtigating theſe chieftains to co-operate with the forces of General Perron againſt the Britiſh poſſeſſions. Theſe documents were tranſmitted by Mr. Leyceſter, the collector at Moradabad, to whom they had been communicated by Bhumboo Khan. 26th July.

It appears that the letters to theſe two chiefs were written after Scindiah's march from Boorhanpoor on the 4th of May; but the diſpatch of meſſengers to Gholaum Mahomed Khan, and the tranſmiſſion of the inſtructions to General Perron, under which that officer addreſſed letters to the principal perſons at Rampoor and other places, muſt be referred to an earlier period.

The facts juſt ſtated, the information from time to time communicated by the reſident with Scindiah, the frequent intimations of a confederacy forming with Holkar, compared with the tenor and reſult of the reſident's negotiations, made it apparent that Scindiah, from almoſt the earlieſt period of thoſe negotiations, was planning hoſtilities againſt the Engliſh, and meditating the ſubverſion of the treaty of Baſſein.

Such being the criſis of affairs, it became neceſſary to place the whole conduct of proceedings in the Deccan under a diſtinct local authority, ſubject to the governor general in council, but poſſeſſed of full powers to arrange upon the ſpot ſuch meaſures as occaſion might require. This authority the governor general placed in the hands of General Welleſley, as being the perſon in every reſpect beſt qualified to ſuſtain ſo important a truſt.

In execution of theſe powers, General Welleſley wrote to the reſident in Scindiah's camp, deſiring him to ſtate to that chief and the rajah of Berar, the anxiety of the Engliſh to preſerve peace, and to require, as the only ſatisfactory proof of ſimilar intentions on their part, the immediate ſeparation of their armies, and return of each from the nizam's frontier, to their own capitals; in which caſe General Welleſley would withdraw his troops to their uſual ſtations; but that, ſhould they refuſe compliance, he (the reſident) had orders to quit their camp without delay. 18th July.

After much evaſion, the two chiefs anſwered General Welleſley's requiſition, by a propoſal that they ſhould retire from the poſition which they occupied, at the ſame time that General Welleſley ſhould commence his march to the uſual ſtations of the Britiſh army. This propoſal was accompanied by a condition ſo groſsly abſurd that it can hardly be called an inſtance of cunning; they ſtipulated, that the combined Mahratta armies 31ſt July.

mies ſhould encamp at Boorhanpoor, a town belonging to Scindiah, and about 50 miles from the nizam's frontier, on the ſame day on which the troops under General Welleſley ſhould reach the ſtations of Bombay, Madras, and Seringapatam. The diſtance from Amednuggur, which was General Welleſley's poſition at that time, to Madras, is 1049 miles — to Bombay 321, and to Seringapatam 541.

This propoſition being inſtantly rejected by the reſident, a ſecond was made; that Colonel Collins ſhould appoint a day for the march of the reſpective forces of the chieftains to their uſual ſtations, and ſhould pledge the faith of the Britiſh government for the retreat of the army under General Welleſley, on the day on which the armies of the confederates ſhould commence theirs. But for the performance of theſe articles on the part of the chiefs, there was no ſecurity but a precarious dependence on promiſes which had been repeatedly violated; beſides which, the reſident was not authoriſed to pledge the faith of the Britiſh government to an arrangement inconſiſtent with the inſtructions which he had received from General Welleſley; and it ſoon became evident that this propoſition was merely illuſory on the part of the chieftains.

Scindiah and the rajah finally made a third propoſition; that they ſhould ſtate, by a letter to General Welleſley, "that on the day on which General Welleſley ſhould withdraw his troops from the ſtation then occupied by the Britiſh army, thoſe chieftains would ſeparate their armies, and commence their return to their reſpective territories in Berar and the north of Hindoſtan." The chiefs having declared, that unleſs this propoſal was complied with, they could not retire without impairing the honour of their reſpective governments, Colonel Collins agreed to tranſmit it to General Welleſley, and to remain in the camp till an anſwer arrived, provided the letters were ready before noon the next day.

Letters indeed were delivered to the reſident the next day, addreſſed to General Welleſley, containing, not the propoſition Colonel Collins had agreed to tranſmit, but one which had been made at the very commencement of the negotiations of the preceding day, and immediately rejected; namely, that the united forces of Scindiah, and the rajah of Berar, ſhould retire to Boorhanpoor, and that General Welleſley ſhould withdraw the Britiſh troops to their uſual ſtations; that is, that the Britiſh army ſhould quit their poſition, and abandon the means of reſiſtance, leaving the combined Mahratta armies at a ſhort diſtance from the nizam's frontier, and free to invade his territories at their own convenience. Colonel Collins, therefore, 3d. Aug. put an end to theſe frivolous diſcuſſions and uſeleſs arrangements, by quitting the camp, and proceeding to Aurungabad.

Every circumſtance of theſe negotiations tends to prove, that the combined chiefs, always looking upon the Engliſh with animoſity, and urged by the inſtigations of the French, had no deſign in view, but to overthrow the treaty of Baſſein, and with it the envied influence of the Engliſh at the

court of Poonah. During the whole courſe of the tranſactions juſt related, their intentions were continually expoſed, by unreſtrained inſolence, or by palpable diſſimulation. In the various diſcuſſions and propoſals, their object was, not to accommodate matters for peace, but to gain time for the purpoſes of war; and at length, by withdrawing the Engliſh army from their advantageous poſition, which they could not reſume till the rainy ſeaſon was over, while the Mahrattas maintained a ſtation perfectly ſuited to their purpoſes, to ſtrike ſome great blow againſt the peiſhwah and the nizam, and ruin the Engliſh power in the Deccan. To have remained inactive therefore at this period, or to have yielded to the unfair propoſitions of the Mahratta chiefs, would have been to diſgrace the name, confeſs the inferiority, and betray the intereſts of the Britiſh government in India.

In addition to other circumſtances, the declining ſtate of the nizam's health, and the deſigns which the confederate chieftains were known to entertain with reſpect to the ſucceſſion to the ſovereign authority of the Deccan, rendered it indiſpenſably neceſſary, that, while the Mahratta army remained on the nizam's frontier, the Britiſh troops ſhould occupy a poſition calculated to ſecure the regular order of ſucceſſion on the nizam's death, and to fruſtrate the attempts which the confederates might make to place on the throne of the Deccan one of the younger ſons of the nizam, devoted to the cauſe of the Mahratta chiefs, and inimical to the Britiſh intereſts.

Some circumſtances reſpecting the French power preſented themſelves very ſtrongly to view in the contemplation of this war. General Perron, beſides his power in the north of Hindoſtan, where he was almoſt abſolute governor of a large tract of country, alſo dictated with the authority of a ſovereign of ſuperior rank to the petty ſtates occupying the countries on the right bank of the Jumna; and by the terror of his name and arms, held in abject ſubmiſſion the rajepoot ſtates of Jeynagur and Joudpore, together with the Jauts and the ſtate of Gohud, extending his influence even to Bundelcund, and to the country occupied by the Seiks. He had, by the commencement of 1803, augmented his force to 43,000 effective men, and his artillery to 464 guns of various dimenſions; his head quarters were eſtabliſhed at Coel, on the moſt vulnerable point of the Britiſh empire in India. It was the ſtudy of Perron gradually to introduce French ſubjects into his army as officers and artillery men, not only excluding Britiſh adventurers, but removing thoſe who had at firſt obtained appointments from De Boigne. He knew that the formation of an army in the midſt of Hindoſtan, governed by men zealous, like himſelf, for the intereſts of his country, was the only mode of re-eſtabliſhing the dominion of France on the continent of India*. The ſettle-

* Even ſuppoſing that Perron had no ſuch deſign, it could not be expected that a French ſtate, erected under the nominal and oſtenſible auſpices of Scindiah in Hindoſtan, would have afforded any ſubſtantial aid to the ally of the Britiſh power in any conteſt againſt France, even if that ally ſhould have been diſpoſed to have aſſiſted us in ſuch a criſis. But there is no doubt that ſuch a ſtate would have joined moſt zealouſly with Scindiah in any attempt againſt the Engliſh dominions in India.

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ment of Pondicherry, on the coaſt of Coromandel, though in itſelf of no value, would be materially uſeful in facilitating his project, of gradually ſtrengthening and completing his armies, by receiving annually from France ſmall parties of ſubalterns, non-commiſſioned officers, gunners and bombadiers. During the height of the ſouth-weſt monſoon, which laſts four months in every year, the native coaſting veſſels of Coromandel could convey theſe recruits for Perron's army, from Pondicherry to the coaſt of Cuttack, in four days, without exciting the ſuſpicion of the Engliſh cruizers. The province of Cuttack then belonged to the rajah of Berar, the confederate of Scindiah; ſo that any Frenchman who landed on his territory, might proceed through a friendly country, with the utmoſt eaſe as well as ſecrecy, to Perron's head quarters in the Duaab.

Perron reported theſe circumſtances to Buonaparte, and his laſt communication arrived juſt after the concluſion of the peace of Amiens, by which every facility was afforded to ſuch a ſcheme, as Pondicherry and the other ſettlements on the Indian continent belonging to France, and her ally Holland, had been reſtored, and as England had not renewed the ſtipulation made in former treaties, which limited the number of troops to be ſent to India by France, that country had now the power of embarking any quantity of men to execute her deſigns there.

In the beginning of 1803, a plan was formed for obtaining an aſſignment to France of all the diſtricts under Perron. The aſſignment was to be made by Scindiah, but ratified by a grant from the unfortunate emperor Shah Allum, who was confined in his own palace, and actually in the cuſtody of Perron, ſo there would be no difficulty in extorting the grant from this unhappy monarch, whoſe name alone was wanted, to give authority to the proceeding. An armament was fitted out, conſiſting of ſix ſhips of war, and 1400 of the beſt troops of France, bound to Pondicherry for the oſtenſible purpoſe of ſupplying that ſettlement with a military force. But there were likewiſe embarked in this expedition two hundred young gentlemen, who had been regularly educated in all the branches of military ſcience, together with a numerous ſtaff eſtabliſhment; and theſe were deſigned to join Perron's army, by ſmall parties, according to the manner already deſcribed, as ſoon after they reached Pondicherry as fit opportunities for their ſecret conveyance ſhould occur. It was not, however, the intention of France to alarm the ſuſpicions or provoke the anger of England by any meaſure that appeared to portend open hoſtility; the Engliſh were to have been kept in ignorance and imagined ſecurity till the whole plan was matured, and ready for immediate execution. But the vigilance of the marquis Welleſley had ſuſpected, and at length fully diſcovered the entire ſcheme: and when Linois arrived with the armament at Pondicherry (which appeared at the moſt critical period of the negotiations with Scindiah) he found that place ſo ſtrictly watched, both by ſea and land, by the Engliſh, that it was quite impracticable for the recruits for

Perron's army to proceed to their deſtination without meeting with Engliſh ſhips of war, or parties of Engliſh troops, who had orders to intercept them. While complaints were making of the hoſtile manner in which the ſettlement was watched in time of peace, hoſtilities recommenced between France and England, and the troops landed by Linois became priſoners of war.

Theſe facts, added to the circumſtances of the negotiation with Scindiah, rendered the neceſſity of deciſive meaſures more urgent, and called for the immediate commencement of hoſtilities, on the refuſal of the Mahratta chiefs to ſeparate and withdraw their armies. A plan of operations was formed, of amazing extent, whether conſidered as to the magnitude and variety of its objects, or the extenſive field of action which it comprehended. By this campaign the treachery of Scindiah was to be defeated, our allies the nizam and peiſhwah eſtabliſhed in their reſpective poſſeſſions, the government of the Deccan preſerved to the rightful claimant; the royal houſe of Timur to be delivered in the perſon of Shah Allum from miſery and degradation; the ſchemes of France overthrown, and her power on this continent annihilated. In accompliſhing theſe objects, the Britiſh arms were to overſpread a tract of country extending from Delhi and the preſidencies of Fort William, Fort St. George and Bombay, to Poonah and Hyderabad, Guzerat and Oriſſa.

To execute theſe plans, four armies were pnt in readineſs to march. That under General Wellesley, which during the late negotiations had occupied an advanced poſition in the Deccan, amounted to 16,823 men, excluſive of a force left at Poonah to aſſiſt in the protection of that city. General Wellesley was ſupported by the remainder of the Madras army under General Stuart, who had moved forward in May from Hurryhur to Moodgul (a town lying between the rivers Criſna and Toombudra, about 14 marches from Hyderabad), in order to protect the dominions of the nizam and of the Engliſh in the Peninſula, from the attacks of the ſouthern Mahratta Jagheerdars. His force at Moodgul amounted to 7,826 men, of whom 2,121 were Europeans; and in the rear of this army another had been ſtationed, belonging to the rajah of Myſore, to cover more effectually the rajah's northern frontier. But before the rupture with the confederates took place, it had become neceſſary to make an important alteration in the ſtrength and diſpoſition of this army of reſerve. The increaſing probability of the renewal of the war between France and England, and the actual arrival of the French armament under Linois, at Pondicherry, rendered it adviſable for General Stuart to return to Madras, leaving at Moodgul 1,277 cavalry, 820 European, and 1,935 native infantry, with a proportion of European artillery men, under the command of Major General Campbell. By the troops from Madras, General Wellesley was now reinforced. Theſe forces were deſtined to oppoſe the combined armies of Scindiah and the rajah of Berar, and thus to deliver from all danger the nizam, the peiſhwah, and the company's

company's poſſeſſions in Myſore, in the weſtern and ſouthern diſtricts of the Deccan, and on the frontier of Berar; and to eſtabliſh the governments of the Guickwar, of Poonah, and of Hyderabad.

In the eaſt of Hindoſtan a ſtrong force was aſſembled at the Britiſh ſettlement of Ganjam, in the northern Sircars, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Campbell, of the 74th regiment, for the purpoſe of invading the province of Cuttack, belonging to the rajah of Berar, and the only maritime part of his dominions. By the attainment of this object, beſides the advantage of depriving the enemy of a valuable province, a junction would be formed between the Britiſh dominions in Bengal and in the northern Sircars, and the communication on that ſide of India would be intercepted between the Mahrattas and the French. The force deſtined to invade this important province conſiſted of a ſelection of veteran troops from the armies of Bengal and Madras; amounting in all to 5,216 men.

In Guzerat, which contains the only maritime poſſeſſions of any conſequence belonging to the Mahrattas, in the weſt, an army was aſſembled under Colonel Murray. This force, conſiſting of 2,913 Europeans, and 4,100 natives, was deſigned, not only for the protection of the Britiſh ſettlements in that quarter, and the dominions of our ally the rajah Guickwar, but for the purpoſe of eventually employing the greater part of it in active operations. After ſupplying garriſons for Surat, Brodera, Cambay, Koreah, Songhur, Purneerah, and eventually for Baroach, the remainder was divided into two detachments; of which one, amounting to 2,187 men, was ſtationed in front of Brodera, the reſidence of the Guickwar, and the other, conſiſting of 2,094 men, occupied a poſition ſouth of the Taptee river, between Songhur and Surat.

The main body of the Bengal army was aſſembled at Cawnpoor, on the north-weſt frontier of Oude, under the immediate direction of General Lake, who was intruſted with the conduct of a moſt important branch of the war. The objects of his attention were to be, firſt, the deſtruction of the French eſtabliſhment on the banks of the Jumna under Perron; ſecondly, the extenſion of the Britiſh frontier to the Jumna, with the poſſeſſion of Agra, Delhi, and a ſufficient chain of poſts on the right bank of the Jumna, to protect the navigation of that river; thirdly, the deliverance of the perſon of the Emperor Shah Allum; fourthly, the eſtabliſhment of a ſyſtem of alliance with the petty ſtates beyond the right bank of the Jumna from Jeynagur to the province of Bundelcund; and, fifthly, the annexation of Bundelcund to the company's dominions, which would add greatly to the ſecurity of the province of Benares, and act as a check to any power which might remain to the Mahrattas in that quarter. This plan of operations would not only deſtroy the influence of the French and Mahrattas in the north of Hindoſtan, but enable the Britiſh government to commence a highly advantageous intercourſe with the Seiks and other tribes inhabiting the Punjab and the banks of the river Attock.

The army under General Lake conſiſted of three regiments of European, and five of native cavalry, about two hundred European artillery, one regiment of European, and eleven battalions of native infantry, amounting altogether to about 10,500 men. In aid of this force, 3,500 men were aſſembled near Allahabad, for the purpoſe of invading the province of Bundelcund; and about 2,000 men were collected at Mirzapoor, to cover the province and city of Benares, and to guard the paſſes in that quarter. Effectual meaſures were, at the ſame time, adopted for the defence of the whole line of the weſtern frontier of the Britiſh dominions in Bengal and Berar, from Mirzapoor to Midnapoor.

Such was the plan of operations laid down for the ſeveral armies which were to effect theſe manifold and important objects. The number of men ready, in the beginning of Auguſt 1803, to put in execution the various plans deſcribed, amounted to 54,918, including 3,071 in various garriſons in Guzerat and at Surat; 1,997 ſtationed at Hyderabad, to preſerve the tranquillity of that city, and ſecure the rightful ſucceſſion to the throne of the nizam; and 1,598 at Poonah, to protect the peiſhwah and his capital, and this great force had been ſupplied and equipped for the field in four months.

CHAP. II.

Death of the Nizam; Force collected by the Britiſh Government; Capture of the Town of Ahmednuggur; Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar invade the Nizam's Dominions; their Deſign fruſtrated; Capture of Jalnapoor; Battle of Aſſye; the Confederates being defeated propoſe to treat for Peace; their Offer rejected; they retreat toward Boorhanpoor and Aſſeer Ghur. Proceedings of a Diviſion under Colonel Woodington; Capture of the Fort of Baroach; Conqueſt of Champaneer; and of Powaogur. Proceedings of a Diviſion under Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell; his Illneſs; Capture of the Fort of Cuttack, of Baleſore, and of Barabutty; Importance of theſe Conqueſts. Proceedings of General Lake on the Frontier of Oude; Battle of Ally Ghur; Capture of the Fort of that Name; Monſieur Perron quits the Service of Scindiah, and is allowed to retire through the Britiſh Dominions; Battle near Delhi; General Lake waits on, liberates, and conſoles the Emperor Shah Allum; his deplorable Condition. Proceedings of a Diviſion under Colonel Powell; the Enemy driven from Bundelcund. General Lake forms a Junction with Colonel Vandeleur; Capture of Agra; Battle of Laſwaree; affecting Situation of General Lake. Further Proceedings in the Deccan; Capture of Boorhanpoor and Aſſeer Ghur; General Welleſley purſues the Rajah of Berar; Scindiah again propoſes Peace; his Treachery; Battle of Argaum; Capture of Gawilghur; the Rajah of Berar makes a ſeparate Peace; Terms of the Treaty; Scindiah is alſo obliged to make Peace; Treaty with him.

Tranquillity reſtored; Gratitude of the Britiſh Subjects in India to the Governor-General, and Generals Lake and Welleſley; Honours conferred on theſe Officers by the Britiſh Government. War in Ceylon. Its Origin; Mode of Warfare of the Natives; its Advantages; General Macdowal and Colonel Barbut march againſt Candy, the Capital of Ceylon, which they capture without Reſiſtance; depoſe the King, and ſet up Mooto Sawney; Sickneſs prevails; part of the Troops withdrawn to Columbo; deceitful Calm of the Natives; they attack Candy; expel the Engliſh, and contrary to a Capitulation, murdered them; the other Garriſons ſaved. The King of Candy invades the Britiſh Settlements; but Reinforcements arriving, he is repulſed; Tranquillity reſtored.

1803. Aug. 6. DURING theſe preparations, his Highneſs the nizam died at Hyderabad, and was ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon, who, in conſequence of the excellent regulations made for the preſervation of quiet, aſcended the throne without diſturbance or moleſtation.

General Welleſley had, at the cloſe of April, ordered Colonel Stevenſon to collect the ſubſidiary force and the nizam's troops, at Gardoon, and to proceed northward toward Aurungabad, for the protection of that part of the nizam's frontier. This detachment conſiſted of two companies of European artillery, one regiment of European infantry, two regiments of native cavalry, and ſix battalions of ſepoys, with a well-appointed train of artillery, and the whole ſtrengthened by a reſerve compoſed of the nizam's cavalry, and diſciplined infantry. The force now under General Welleſley amounted to 8,903 men *, and was encamped at Walkee, a ſtrong fort of Scindiah's, at a ſhort diſtance from Ahmednuggur, and about eighty miles from Poonah. In this poſition, which would be highly advantageous in caſe of war, General Welleſley awaited the concluſion of the negotiations with the Mahrattas.

When the General learnt from Colonel Collins the reſult of his negotiations, 6th Aug. as ſoon as the weather allowed he commenced hoſtilities, by attacking the fortified town of Ahmednuggur, which was carried by eſcalade the ſame day. A ſlight reſiſtance was made in the 8th. ſtreets, but the enemy ſoon evacuated the place. The loſs of the Engliſh was four officers and twenty-five men; but that of the enemy was greater. Batteries were alſo opened 10th Aug. againſt the fortreſs of Ahmednuggur, which ſurrendered in two

* Cavalry.—His Majeſty's 19th dragoons, and the 4th, 5th, and 7th regiments native cavalry — — — — 384 1347 1731
Artillery — — — — 172
Infantry.——His Majeſty's 74th and 78th regiments, and ſix battalions of ſepoys — — — 1368 5631 6999
Total — — 8903

With 357 artillery laſcars, and 653 Madras pioneers.

days. This fort ſecures the communication with Poonah, and affords a depôt for ſtores and proviſions. The diſtricts dependent on Ahmednuggur, which yield an annual revenue of £72,000, were placed under the temporary management of an Engliſh officer, and a garriſon was ſtationed in the fort.

24th to 29th. All neceſſary arrangements being completed, General Welleſley advanced to the Godavery river, which he croſſed, and reached Aurungabad. Scindiah and the rajah of Berar, in the mean time, entered the nizam's dominions by the Adjuntee paſs, with a large

24th. body of horſe; and, paſſing unobſerved between General Welleſley's ſtation at Aurungabad, and that of Colonel Stevenſon (who had moved to the eaſtward toward the Badowly ghaut) had reached a ſmall fort called Jalnapoor, about forty miles eaſt of Aurungabad. As ſoon as they heard of General Welleſley's arrival at that city, they moved to the eaſt and ſouth, intending, as it was ſuppoſed, to croſs the Godavery, and fall upon Hyderabad. General Welleſley, however, counteracted this deſign, by marching to the river, and proceeding eaſtward along its left bank, ſo that the enemy could not croſs the Godavery from the north without falling in with the Britiſh force. This movement not only compelled the Mahrattas to return to the northward of Jalnapoor, but protected the march of two convoys of grain and treaſure from Moodgul, which were to arrive about this time, for the ſupply of the forces. Meanwhile, Colonel Stevenſon returning from the eaſtward, attacked and carried the fort of Jalnapoor. He made repeated attempts to bring the chiefs to action, and at length, during the night, ſurpriſed their camp, and attacked them with great ſucceſs.

2d Sept.

9th.

Finding that their incurſions to the ſouthward were not attended with good fortune, the confederates returned toward the Adjuntee paſs, where they were joined by a body of regular infantry under Monſieur Pohlman and Monſieur Dupont, conſiſting of 16 battalions with a large and well equipped train of artillery. The enemy's whole army ſpeedily aſſembled about Bokerdun, and between that place and Jaffierabad; and by the moſt accurate accounts it appears to have amounted to about 38,500; of whom 10,500 were regular infantry, 500 matchlock men, 500 rocket men, and 190 pieces of ordnance. In addition to this force Scindiah had an advanced party of a few thouſand well-trained Mahratta horſe diſperſed through the Adjuntee hills.

20th Sept.

General Welleſley and Colonel Stevenſon having joined their forces at Budnapoor, it was agreed, as the only method of bringing the enemy to action, that the two diviſions ſhould march ſeparately againſt them. In purſuance of this arrangement, Colonel Stevenſon ſet out by the weſtern, and General Welleſley by the eaſtern route, round the hills between Budnapoor and Jalna.

21ſt.

22d.

When General Welleſley arrived at Naulnair, he learnt that the combined armies were

23d.

were encamped about ſix miles from the ground his troops were to have occupied, and on receiving this intelligence, with no leſs foreſight than courage, prepared to march againſt them immediately. He knew that to delay the attack would give the Mahrattas an opportunity of haraſſing him for the remainder of the day, while he had no ſufficient protection for his baggage; and would enable them, if they ſhould hear of Colonel Stevenſon's approach (which was moſt probable) to avoid an engagement by withdrawing in the night. Having therefore left the baggage and ſtores in ſecurity at Naulnair, the General moved on toward the army of the confederates, which he found encamped between and along the courſe of two rivers, the Kaitna and the Juah, toward their junction. Their line extended eaſt and weſt along the north ſide of the Kaitna river, the banks of which are high and rocky, and impaſſable for guns, excepting at places cloſe to the villages. The right of the enemy, which conſiſted entirely of cavalry, was poſted in the vicinity of Bokerdun, and extended to their line of infantry, which was encamped in the neighbourhood of the fortified village of Aſſye. The Britiſh army had marched fourteen miles to Naulnair; and the diſtance from that place to the enemy's camp being ſix miles, it was one o'clock in the afternoon before the Britiſh troops came in ſight of them.

Though General Welleſley arrived in front of the enemy's right, he prudently moved round to their left flank, where their guns and infantry were placed, covering his column of infantry by the Britiſh cavalry in the rear, and the peiſhwah's and Myſore cavalry on the right flank. Having croſſed the river Kaitna at a ford beyond the enemy's left flank, General Welleſley formed the infantry in two lines, with the Britiſh cavalry, as a reſerve in a third, in an open ſpace between the Kaitna and the Juah rivers, which run nearly parallel. The peiſhwah's and the Myſore cavalry remained on the oppoſite (the ſouth) ſide of the river, on the left flank of the Britiſh troops, to keep in check a large body of the enemy's cavalry, which had followed General Welleſley's route from the right of their own poſition.

The Britiſh army conſiſted of about 4,500 men, 2000 of whom were Europeans. That of the Mahrattas contained between 30 and 40,000 men partly commanded by Europeans.

The enemy had commenced a diſtant cannonade as the Engliſh approached the Kaitna river, but having diſcovered General Welleſley's intention to attack their left, they changed the diſpoſition of their infantry and guns from the line along the north bank of the Kaitna, and extended them from that river to the village of Aſſye, on the Juah river, which was on the right of the Britiſh army. At right angles to the rear of the enemy's firſt line, a ſecond line was formed, with its left toward Aſſye, and its rear to the Juah river, along the bank of which it extended in a weſterly direction.

In this poſition were the enemy when the Britiſh troops advanced under a heavy and moſt deſtructive fire. The Britiſh artillery had opened

opened upon the enemy, but produced little effect on their powerful line of infantry and guns; and ſo many of the bullocks and men were already diſabled, that General Welleſley was compelled to move forward without artillery, directing Lieutenant Colonel Maxwell with the cavalry to protect the right of the line as it advanced. The enemy were ſoon, notwithſtanding their tremendous fire, driven back upon their ſecond line in front of the Juah river. The 74th regiment ſuffered ſo materially from the enemy's cannonade, that a party of cavalry ventured to attack them, but the Britiſh cavalry in turn charged them with vigour, and drove them with great ſlaughter into the Juah river.

At length the ſteady intrepidity of the Britiſh army proved victorious, and the whole line of the Mahrattas gave way: while our cavalry, who had croſſed to the northward of the Juah river, broke in among their ſcattered infantry, and purſued them along the banks with great effect. General Welleſley's force loſt many advantages in the heat of action, from the inferiority of its numbers; many of the enemy's cannon, which our troops had paſſed by in the purſuit, were now turned againſt them from behind, by individuals who had eſcaped notice by throwing themſelves down as if dead, an artifice very common in the native armies of India. To ſtop the fire from theſe guns, General Welleſley himſelf returned, with the 78th regiment, and the 7th regiment of native cavalry; in effecting this object his horſe was ſhot under him. In the mean time Lieut.-Colonel Maxwell charged a body of infantry which had retired and was again formed, in the courſe of which action he was killed; but the enemy gave way, and this ſucceſs, with that of General Welleſley againſt the artillery, ended the conteſt; the whole of the enemy retreated, leaving twelve hundred men dead on the field of battle, the whole country covered with their wounded, and, in the poſſeſſion of the Britiſh troops, ninety-eight pieces of cannon, ſeven ſtandards, their camp equipage, a great number of bullocks and camels, and a large quantity of military ſtores and ammunition. It is reported that Scindiah's principal miniſter received a wound in the action, of which he afterwards died, and an European officer (apparently of rank) was alſo cut down, and afterwards found dead on the field of battle. This brilliant victory was not achieved without great loſs *, but the whole action reflects the higheſt honour on the ſpirit and ability of the general, and the promptneſs and courage of the troops, who advanced, unprotected by their cannon againſt an army far ſuperior in numbers, and partly commanded by French officers; and againſt an artillery, well ſerved and amazingly deſtructive, which they carried at the point of the bayonet. The action laſted three hours, and the Britiſh troops had marched twenty miles before its commencement.

In conſequence of ſome unforeſeen impediments, (from which, however, no blame 24th.

* Four hundred and twenty-eight, including officers.

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can refult to him) Colonel Stevenfon did not arrive till the evening of the following day. He was immediately detached in purfuit of the enemy.

8th Oct. After fome time General Wellefley received a letter from Scindiah's camp, figned by Ballajee Khoonjur, one of that chief's miniſters, requeſting him to ſend a Britiſh officer, together with an officer of the ſubah of the Deccan, to negotiate terms of peace. This requeſt the general refuſed, as no reference was made to the authority of either Scindiah or the rajah of Berar, and conſequently it was uncertain whether the application actually proceeded from them; and as the preſence of a Britiſh officer in the camp of the chiefs at that time might have been repreſented by them as a requeſt on our part for peace, and ſo have tended to keep up the ſpirits and prevent the diſperſion of their troops. At the ſame time General Wellefley promiſed to receive with all honour and reſpect any perſon who might arrive in the Britiſh camp for the purpoſe of negotiation, under the authority of Scindiah or the rajah of Berar.

The confederates having collected the remains of their broken army, and moved to the weſtward along the bank of the Taptee, General Wellefley determined not to deſcend the Adjuntee ghaut with the diviſion under his immediate command, but to remain to the ſouthward, and regulate his movements by thoſe of the enemy, while Colonel Stevenſon was ordered to move forward toward Boorhanpoor and Aſſeer Ghur.

It is neceſſary to break off the narrative of proceedings in this part of India, to relate the progreſs of the Britiſh arms, at the ſame time, in other diſtricts of that continent.

Lieut.-Colonel Woodington of the Bombay eſtabliſhment, with a detachment compoſed of the 86th regiment, and a proportion of European artillery and native infantry, marched from Baroda, toward the fort of Baroach, near which he was met by the enemy, whom he ſoon compelled to take refuge in the fort. Preparations having been previouſly made, and a battery of two 18 pounders erected, Colonel Woodington commenced operations againſt this fortreſs. A practicable breach was ſpeedily effected, but, expecting the arrival of the Fury gun veſſel, and an armed boat, which were to take their ſtations oppoſite to the fort; and conſidering that it was likely at that hour to find the enemy off their guard, the colonel deferred the aſſault from one o'clock in the morning till three in the afternoon. The veſſel not being able to approach in time, owing to the ſhallowneſs of the water, the ſtorming party, conſiſting of 100 Europeans, and 200 natives, led by Capt. Richardſon, of the 86th regiment, ſupported by a ſecond party of 150 Europeans, and 250 Sepoys, under Major Cuyler, of the ſame regiment, together with a reſerve compoſed of 100 Europeans, and 100 Sepoys, under Captain Bethune, of the Bombay eſtabliſhment, advanced to the breach, the aſcent to which

21ſt Aug. 24th. 26th. 29th.

was

was uncommonly ſteep. The reſiſtance on the part of the enemy was vigorous, but they were ſoon compelled to abandon the fort, which was carried by the Britiſh troops with very trifling loſs. After Capt. Richardſon had obtained poſſeſſion of the firſt gateway, Major Cuyler puſhed forward, with ſuch rapidity, that he overtook a party of Arabs before they had time to eſcape from the fort, and killed about 200. The capture of Baroach ſecured to the Engliſh the diſtrict of the ſame name, yielding an annual revenue eſtimated at eleven lacks of rupees.

This victory was followed by the conqueſt of Champaneer, the only diſtrict remaining to Scindiah in Guzerat. Colonel Woodington then attacked the fortified hill of Powangur, to which the town of Champaneer is attached. This fortreſs is about 25 miles eaſt of Brodera, and on the weſtern confines of the province of Malwa. Champaneer was taken by aſſault with little loſs, and Powangur capitulated as the troops were preparing to ſtorm it.

17th Sept.

Operations were carrying on with equal ſpirit in the eaſtern part of the continent, where the object was the reduction of Cuttack. For this purpoſe a part of the northern diviſion of the Madras army and a detachment from Bengal, compoſed of two companies of His Majeſty's 22d regiment, and four of the 20th battalion of ſepoys, were aſſembled, under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Campbell, of the 74th, at the Britiſh ſtation of Ganjam. This ſettlement is ſituated on the ſea coaſt of the northern Sircars, about 45 Engliſh miles ſouth of the province of Cuttack. The body comprized 573 Europeans, and 2,408 ſepoys, beſides a ſmall corps of artillery. Colonel Campbell was alſo reinforced by 500 Bengal native volunteers under Capt. Dick, who was to have occupied the poſt of Balaſore, but was now ordered to join the troops at Ganjam, as a vigorous reſiſtance was expected from the fort of Cuttack. A detachment of equal ſtrength, under Capt. Morgan, was ſent to Balaſore, a ſeaport, belonging to the rajah of Berar, and diſtant about 25 miles from the river Subanreeka, which in that quarter divides the Britiſh territories from the province of Cuttack. At the ſame time a force was aſſembled at Jelaſore, a town ſituated on the Engliſh ſide of the Subanreeka, 20 miles from the ſea. This detachment, conſiſting of 770 ſepoys, and 84 men of the governor-general's body guard, was commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Ferguſſon, and was deſigned to form a junction with the Balaſore detachment, when the ſtate of the intermediate country, and the progreſs of the main diviſion from Ganjam, ſhould favour that movement. Lieutenant-Colonel Ferguſſon was ſupported by 800 ſepoys, ſome artillery, and 500 Bengal native volunteers, at Midnapore, a military ſtation in the Britiſh dominions, 45 miles north of Balaſore.

Colonel Campbell being diſabled by a violent fever from proceeding with the detachment from Ganjam, the governor-general, at the colonel's requeſt, diſpatched in his

his ſtead his own military ſecretary, Colonel Harcourt. The troops marched from Ganjam, and Colonel Campbell, notwithſtanding his ſevere illneſs, attempted to accompany them, but after one day's march, was carried back in a ſtate which endangered his life for ſeveral weeks. When Colonel Harcourt arrived, he took the command, and captured Manickpatam without reſiſtance. From this ſtation Cololonel Harcourt ſent to the chief bramins of the great pagoda of Jaggernaut, encouraging them to place that ſanctuary under the protection of the Engliſh troops. A favourable anſwer was received, and, the Mahrattas having evacuated the place, the troops immediately encamped there.

8th Sept.

11th.

14th.

The heavy rains and ſwell of the rivers delayed the departure, and impeded the march of the forces from Jaggernaut to Cuttack, but in their progreſs they were not much annoyed by the enemy, parties of whom they frequently engaged and defeated. The town of Cuttack immediately ſurrendered.

10th Oct.

Captain Morgan had previouſly landed at Balaſore, which was taken, after ſome reſiſtance; and two detachments of ſepoys, after a ſkirmiſh with the enemy, being reinforced by a third, occupied the poſt of Soorong, 20 miles ſouth of Balaſore.

21ſt Sept.

1ſt Oct.

Lieutenant Colonel Ferguſſon, with his detachment, had alſo moved from Jelaſore, and arrived at Balaſore in 11 days. He then proceeded to the ſouthward to join Colonel Harcourt at Cuttack. Far from offering any moleſtation to the troops in their progreſs, the inhabitants of the province received them with ſatisfaction, and gave them every aſſiſtance in their power.

23d Sept.

10th Octob.

Meanwhile Colonel Harcourt had been making preparations at Cuttack, for the ſiege of Barabutty, a fortreſs of conſiderable ſtrength, acceſſible only by a narrow bridge over a wet ditch 20 feet deep, and varying in breadth from 35 to 135 feet, according to the poſition of the baſtions. A battery for one 12-pounder, two ſix-pounders, and two howitzers, opened in the morning, and by 11 o'clock in the forenoon, all the enemy's guns being ſilenced, Lieutenant Colonel Clayton advanced with one ſix-pounder, a party of artillery men, 200 Europeans from his Majeſty's 22d, and the Madras regiments, and 400 ſepoys from the 20th Bengal, and the 9th and 19th regiments of Madras native infantry, to ſtorm the fort. In paſſing the bridge the party were expoſed to a heavy but ill-directed fire of muſketry from the fort. The gate had been ſtrengthened with maſſes of ſtone, and was paſſable only by a wicket. Forty minutes elapſed before the aſſailants ſucceeded in opening this paſſage, when they entered one by one, and although they met with conſiderable reſiſtance in paſſing through this, and forcing two other gates, they were at length completely victorious; the enemy, who had loſt four ſtandards, and ſuffered materially in other reſpects, quitted the fort with precipitation, and many were drowned in attempting to eſcape. By the reduction of Barabutty the conqueſt of Cuttack was completed.

14th Octob.

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The poſſeſſion of this province, valuable in itſelf, at all times, was, at the preſent criſis, of peculiar importance, as it was eſſential to the plan of ſhutting up this whole coaſt from any communication with France. While Cuttack remained a hoſtile province, and the north eaſt monſoon prevailed, the Britiſh government at Fort William was cut off from all intercourſe, either by land or ſea, with the governments of Madras and Bombay, with General Welleſley, and with the reſidents at Hyderabad and Poonah; and this at a period rendered doubly momentous by the renewal of war with France, and the expected hoſtilities with Holland.

During theſe tranſactions the French power was receiving a death blow on the frontier of Oude, where the ſchemes of Perron had been ſo long maturing. The conduct of operations in this part of India, it will be remembered, was committed to the commander in chief, General Lake, who was entruſted with full diſcretionary powers to conclude upon the ſpot any arrangements which might appear neceſſary for the accompliſhment of the plan of operations which he was to put in execution.

In order to occupy a favourable poſition in the event of hoſtilities with Scindiah, General Lake quitted Cawnpoor, and in three weeks arrived near Coel, a town belonging to the enemy. During his march a letter reached him from Colonel Collins (the Britiſh reſident in Scindiah's camp), ſtating his intention to repair immediately to Aurungabad: and the General having afterward received a diſpatch from the Governor-General, authorizing him to begin hoſtile operations unleſs he had particular inſtructions to the contrary from General Welleſley, moved into the territories of Scindiah to attack Perron's force, which had been aſſembled near the fort of Ally Ghur. He reached this ſpot about ſeven the ſame morning; the enemy inſtantly ſtruck their tents, and their cavalry drew up on the plain cloſe to the fortreſs, in number about 15,000, of which from 4 to 5,000 were regulars.

7th Aug. 20th Auguſt. 26th 29th.

Their poſition was highly favourable; protected in front by an extenſive ſwamp, on the right by the fort of Ally Ghur, and on the left by ſome villages occupied by their own troops. The commander in chief, however, determined to turn their left flank, for which purpoſe the cavalry advanced in two lines, ſupported by their infantry. During their approach the enemy annoyed them by a ſmart fire of matchlocks from the villages, and a large body of cavalry, headed by a regular corps of horſe, moved toward our troops, but were forced to retreat by a few rounds from the galloper guns.—Perron and his forces were ſo daunted by the reſolute advance of the Britiſh army, that they abandoned the field without truſting to the chance of an engagement.—This movement was ſo rapid, that it was impoſſible to come up with and charge them, though it was ſeveral times attempted. However, the reputation of Perron ſuffered ſo far by ſuch an acknowledgment of inferiority, that he was deſerted by ſeveral of his confederates.

After this action, General Lake

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encamped between Coel and the fortreſs of Ally Ghur; and having in vain ſummoned its commander, Monſieur Pedron, to ſurrender, prepared to carry it by ſtorm.—This fort is of ſingular ſtrength; it has a broad and deep ditch, with a fine glacis, and the country for a mile round is levelled, and completely expoſed in every point to the fire of the fort. There is only one entrance, which is very intricate, and over a narrow cauſeway, under which the enemy had commenced a mine, but had omitted to conſtruct a draw-bridge; and thus our troops were enabled to paſs the ditch on the cauſeway, and immediately to aſſail the body of the place.

4th. Sept. In the morning the fort was ſtormed by a party under Colonel Monſon, conſiſting of a detachment of artillery, with two twelve-pounders, four companies of the 76th regiment, the 4th regiment of ſepoys, and four companies of the 2d battalion of the 17th regiment of ſepoys.—At half after four the ſtorming party, protected by a heavy fire from the Britiſh batteries, advanced unperceived till they came within one hundred yards of the fort. As ſoon as they were diſcovered, Colonel Monſon endeavoured to enter the fort at the ſame time with the enemy's guards, who had been ſtationed outſide. He paſſed the breaſt-work in this manner, but found the firſt gate ſhut. An attempt was made to ſcale it, but the appearance of a formidable row of pikemen rendered this impoſſible, and a twelve-pounder was brought up, not without much delay and difficulty, owing to the inconvenient ſituation of the place. After an interval of twenty minutes, during which the ſtorming party were expoſed to a heavy fire and ſevere loſs*, the gate gave way. The party, under Major Macleod, in the place of Colonel Monſon, who had been wounded, now proceeded in a circular direction round a ſtrong baſtion of maſonry, along a narrow road, and through two gateways, which they forced with eaſe, to a fourth, which led into the body of the fort. When the 12-pounder had been with infinite difficulty brought up to this gate, it was found impoſſible to force it, on which Major Macleod puſhed through the wicket and entered the interior of the fort. This intrepid action completed the victory, after a ſtruggle of an hour, during which the loſs on our part was very heavy, as well as that of the enemy, of whom about 2000 were killed, and Pedron, the commandant, was taken priſoner. A great quantity of ſtores and ordnance, as well as money, was found in the fortreſs, as it was the grand depôt of military ſtores, and the uſual reſidence of Monſieur Perron.

7th Sept. Ally Ghur having been placed in a ſtate of proper ſecurity, General Lake commenced his march toward Delhi. On the ſame day he received a letter from Monſieur Perron, informing him, that he had quitted the ſervice of Scindiah, and begging permiſſion to paſs with his fa-

* Lieutenant Turton, of the 4th regiment, with four grenadiers and the adjutant of the 76th, were killed here.

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mily to Lucknow, through the territories of the Company, and of the vizier; requesting also to be allowed an escort, either of his own guard, or of British troops. General Lake complied immediately with this request, giving orders, that an English officer should conduct Monsieur Perron on his way, and that every mark of honour and respect should be shewn him. The reason assigned by Monsieur Perron for this proceeding was, that an officer had been appointed to supersede him in his charge; and that the treachery of the Europeans about him rendered his schemes hopeless. The fall of Ally Ghur was, perhaps, one of his motives for retiring from the scene of operations.

8th Sept. The army next arrived at Koorjah, a fort of some strength, about 30 miles from Ally Ghur; it had been deserted by the enemy as soon as they heard of the taking of that fortress. About this time, intelligence arrived that a numerous party of cavalry, under a Frenchman named Fleury, had made an incursion on the company's frontier, and twice attacked a detachment of five companies of sepoys, with one gun, under Lieutenant Colonel Cunningham, at Shekoabad, who was at length obliged to surrender. The commander in chief immediately sent Colonel Macan with three regiments of cavalry, and Colonel Clarke with the second brigade of infantry, to join Colonel Vandeleur, who was in the neighbourhood of Futty Ghur; but, before the arrival of these parties, the enemy repassed the Jumna, and dispersed; when Col. Macan reached the fort of Firozeabad the enemy abandoned the place.

11th. After a march of 18 miles, General Lake encamped near the Jehna Nullah, about six miles from Delhi, at 11 o'clock in the morning. Intelligence had been received that Monsieur Louis Bourquien had crossed the Jumna in the night, with 16 battalions of regular infantry, six thousand cavalry, and a considerable train of ordnance, for the purpose of attacking the commander in chief. The tents were scarcely pitched, when so large a force appeared in front as to oblige the grand guard and advanced picquets to turn out. Their numbers increasing, General Lake proceeded with the whole cavalry to reconnoitre them. He found them drawn up in order of battle, and in full force, on a rising ground.—Each flank was covered by a swamp beyond which the cavalry were stationed: the front was protected by a line of intrenchments and a numerous artillery, which opened on our cavalry as they approached.

Orders were immediately given that the infantry should join the cavalry which had advanced two miles. The number of the enemy amounted to 19,000 men; that of the English to about 4,500; which small force consisted of his Majesty's 76th regiment, seven battalions of sepoys, a train of artillery, the 27th dragoons, and two regiments of native cavalry. Though the orders of the commander in chief were obeyed with all possible alacrity, an hour elapsed before the infantry came up with the cavalry.

General Lake, having observed the

the extreme difficulty of attacking Bourquien in this poſition, ordered the Britiſh cavalry to retire, hoping by a feigned retreat to draw the enemy from their ſtation, and at the ſame time cover the advance of the infantry. The cavalry accordingly fell back, and the enemy purſued them with all their guns, with ſhouts and demonſtrations of triumph, till the Britiſh cavalry opened in the centre, and they found themſelves oppoſed by a line of infantry. This checked their advance; the Britiſh infantry, with the cavalry in a ſecond line behind, moved forward in the face of a tremendous fire of round, grape, and chain ſhot, Gen. Lake leading them on, at the head of the 76th regiment. When they arrived within one hundred paces of the enemy, till which time they had not taken their muſkets from their ſhoulders, orders were given to charge with bayonets; the whole Britiſh line fired a volley, and ruſhed on the enemy with ſuch fury, as to bear them back in every direction: the line then broke into columns of companies; the cavalry, charging through the intervals, fell upon the retreating enemy, and drove them with immenſe ſlaughter into the middle of the Jumna river, while the galloper guns opened upon the fugitives, and increaſed the carnage.

The enemy left behind all their artillery (68 pieces of ordnance), a large quantity of ammunition, and ſome treaſure. They are ſuppoſed to have loſt no leſs than 3000 men. The Britiſh army, with the commander in chief, were under arms 17 hours, and the loſs was conſiderable.

The conſequence of this victory was the evacuation of Delhi, in ſight of which the battle was fought. The Emperor Shah Allum, now delivered from the French power, ſent immediately to General Lake, expreſſing his wiſh to place himſelf under the protection of the Engliſh arms. Monſieur Bourquien and four other French officers ſurrendered themſelves priſoners. 14th.

The army being encamped on the banks of the Jumna, General Lake expreſſed his deſire of waiting on the Emperor to congratulate him on the events which had releaſed him from confinement and degradation. The emperor ſent his eldeſt ſon Mirza Akbar Shah to conduct General Lake through the city to his palace. The ſtreets of Delhi were thronged on this extraordinary occaſion, and it was with difficulty the cavalcade proceeded. They did not reach the palace till ſun-ſet. General Lake, being at length introduced, found the venerable emperor of theſe vaſt dominions ſeated under a ſmall tattered canopy, and exhibiting in his perſon all the miſeries of extreme indigence, total blindneſs, and neglected old age; ſurrounded in his own capital by every appearance of fallen power and ruined magnificence; and juſt delivered from degradation and captivity by the interference of a remote European nation.

Nothing could equal the joy and gratitude of the emperor, and the exultation of his people on this moſt affecting occaſion. The ſecond title in the empire, a title of extravagant praiſe, was conferred on the commander in

chief*; and the native news writers who deſcribed the ſcene, declared, in the hyberbolical ſtyle of the eaſt, that his Majeſty Shah Allum recovered his ſight from exceſs of joy.

Thus was the throne of India delivered from the power of France, while the ſupporters of that power, foiled in their attempts, and objects of indignation to the people in general, were forced to ſolicit the forbearance and protection of the Britiſh government.

24th. Having made every neceſſary arrangement to ſecure the freedom and comfort of the emperor, General Lake marched toward Agra.

6th Sept. During theſe operations, the detachment under Lieutenant Colonel Powell, of the Bengal eſtabliſhment, near Allahabad, deſtined to co-operate with Himmut Bahadur (one of the peiſhwah's principal officers) in occupying the province of Bundelcund, entered that province, and

15th. was joined by Bahadur with a force of 13 or 14,000 men. On reaching the banks of the river Cane, Himmut Bahadur and Lieutenant Colonel Powell found the enemy's troops, under Shumſheer Bahadur, encamped on the oppoſite ſide in conſiderable force. Having reduced ſeveral

10th Oct. ſmall forts, which lay on the rear and flanks of their poſition, Himmut Bahadur and Lieutenant Colonel Powell croſſed the river, and engaged the enemy, whom, after a ſhort conteſt, they completely 12th. defeated. In conſequence of this ſucceſs, Shumſheer Bahadur was compelled to retire with his armies from Bundelcund, and the numerous inhabitants of that valuable province, freed from the terror of his tyranny, became the friends and ſupporters of the Britiſh cauſe†.

Colonel Vandeleur had occupied the city of Mathura on the Jumna, where one of Perron's principal cannon foundries was eſtabliſhed; and a few days after, Monſieur Dudernaigne, and two other French officers, ſurrendered themſelves priſoners of war. General Lake, having formed a 2d Oct. junction with Colonel Vandeleur at Mathura, proceeded to Agra, which he reached in two days. The garriſon was ſummoned to ſurrender, but no anſwer was given; the enemy's troops had mutinied and confined their European officers, and a general confuſion prevailed in the fort. Upon reconnoitring the approaches to the town and fortreſs, it was diſcovered that ſeven battalions of the enemy's regular infantry were poſted outſide the fort, occupying the town and principal moſque of Agra, and ſome ravines, which led through broken ground from the Britiſh camp on the ſouth ſide of the fort, to the ditch and the northern gateway. It being there-

* The Perſian titles conferred on General Lake, ſignify in Engliſh, "*The ſword of the ſtate, the hero of the land, the Lord of the age, and the victorious in war.*"

† The anceſtor of Bahadur, was in fact one of the peiſhwah's officers, but availing himſelf of the weakneſs of the ſtate of Poonah, he rendered himſelf nearly independent of the peiſhwah's authority, under which he held the province of Bundelcund.

fore

fore neceſſary to diſlodge the enemy from the town, before the fort could be aſſailed, Col. Clarke with his brigade of ſepoys, and Col. Mac Culloch, Major Haldane, and Captain Worſley, with three other native battalions, attacked the town and ravines.—The town was evacuated after a long and ſpirited conteſt; ſome of the enemy took refuge in the principal moſque, others fled to the ditch near the gateway under cover of the guns of the fort. The ravines were alſo occupied by our troops, but the loſs on our part was ſevere, owing to the daring ſpirit of the native battalions, who quitted the ravines, and gained the glacis for the purpoſe of ſeizing the guns planted there: in effecting this the aſſailants were expoſed to a heavy fire of grape and matchlocks from the fort. The enemy were entirely defeated, loſing 600 men, and 26 guns. The remainder of the battalions, amounting to about 2500 men, ſurrendered three days afterward.

10th Oct.

On the evening of that day, the garriſon of the fort propoſed conditions of capitulation, and an Engliſh officer was ſent in to make an adjuſtment of terms. While General Lake was waiting the event, the enemy re-commenced their fire, and the officer returned to the camp. In conſequence of this treachery, the Britiſh guns opened upon the fortreſs, at the diſtance of 350 yards, and had made a conſiderable impreſſion on the walls; when the enemy capitulated, and yielded up the fort, with a large quantity of ſtores and guns, and a conſiderable ſum of money. By the capture of Delhi and of Mathura, an important line of poſts along the banks of the Jumna was obtained, together with a conſiderable tract of country, ſo that the navigation of that river was effectually ſecured.

13th.

17th.

The only force of the enemy which now remained in northern Hindoſtan, was that which had proceeded from the Deccan under the command of Monſieur Dudernaigne, who ſurrendered to Colonel Vandeleur at Mathura. This army, though abandoned by their commander, ſtill continued in the province of Agra, awaiting a favourable opportunity to recapture Delhi. Anxious to fruſtrate this deſign, General Lake marched againſt this army without delay.—He proceeded from Agra with great diſpatch, and encamped near a ſpot which the purſued had left that morning. Encouraged by this circumſtance, the general marched at midnight with all the cavalry, intending to commence a ſlight engagement, during which the infantry might come up and ſeize the guns and baggage. Having marched 25 miles in little more than ſix hours, he overtook the enemy, whoſe force amounted to 9000 regular infantry, 72 guns, and near 5000 cavalry.

27th Octob.

31ſt.

The evident confuſion of the enemy, who appeared to be on their retreat, induced General Lake to hazard an attack with the cavalry only. By cutting the embankment of a large reſervoir of water, the enemy had rendered the road almoſt impaſſable. Availing themſelves of the delay occaſioned by this manœuvre, they drew up in an advantageous poſition, having

their right in front of the village of Laſwaree, and thrown back upon a rivulet (the banks of which were very high and difficult of acceſs), their left upon the village of Mohaulpoor, and their whole front concealed by high graſs, and protected by a powerful line of artillery. The duſt raiſed by the cavalry prevented General Lake from diſcerning this change in the enemy's poſition, and the troops followed their original directions, which were, that the advanced guard and firſt brigade of cavalry ſhould move againſt the point where the enemy had been obſerved in motion, and that the reſt of the cavalry ſhould attack as ſoon as they could form after paſſing the rivulet. The advanced guard and firſt brigade under Major Griffiths and Colonel Vandeleur, forced the enemy's line, penetrated into the village, and took ſeveral of the guns. The remainder of the cavalry attacked with no leſs ſpirit, and with great ſucceſs; but the deſtructive fire from an enemy, whom they could not diſtinguiſh, rendered it neceſſary to withdraw from the reach of the guns, till the infantry ſhould arrive. The troops retired in perfect order, retaining poſſeſſion of ſome captured artillery, but relinquiſhing ſeveral guns for want of draft cattle; and the ſervice ſuffered a heavy loſs in Colonel Vandeleur, who fell in this attack.

At noon, the infantry, who had ſet out at three in the morning, arrived. While they were taking the reſt neceſſary after a march of 25 miles, the enemy ſent a meſſage, offering, on certain conditions, to give up their guns. Deſirous to prevent the further effuſion of blood, General Lake returned them an anſwer, complying with their demands, and allowing them an hour to fulfil the conditions they had propoſed. In the mean while, the commander in chief was making the neceſſary preparations for an engagement, in caſe hoſtilities ſhould re-commence. He formed the infantry into two columns on the left; the firſt, compoſed of the right wing, under Major General Ware, was deſtined to aſſault the village of Mohaulpoor, and to turn the enemy's right flank, which had ſince the morning been thrown back, ſo as to leave a conſiderable ſpace between it and the rivulet; the ſecond column under Major General St. John, was to ſupport the firſt. The third brigade of cavalry, under Colonel Macan, was to act alſo in aid of the firſt column of infantry, whilſt the ſecond brigade of cavalry, under Lieutenant Colonel J. Vandeleur, was detached on the right of the Britiſh army, to watch the enemy's left, to take advantage of any confuſion in their line, and to attack and purſue them in their retreat. The reſerve was compoſed of the firſt brigade of cavalry, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Gordon: and the whole attack was ſtrengthened and ſupported by four different batteries, formed with the field-pieces and galloper guns. The enemy's infantry was formed in two lines; the firſt line to the eaſtward, and the ſecond to the weſtward of the village of Mohaulpoor; and their cavalry covered their right.

The hour allotted being expired, and no anſwer received, the Britiſh infantry moved on to the atack

attack by the bank of the rivulet, through high grafs and broken ground, which afforded cover.—As foon as they arrived within a convenient diftance, a brifk cannonade commenced on both fides, but the artillery of the enemy was fuperior both in number and in weight of metal. By the time the 76th regiment, which headed the attack, was within 150 paces of the enemy, their lofs was fo fevere, and fo continual, that the commander in chief judged it expedient to attack inftantly with that regiment and fome companies of fepoys which had clofed to the front, rather than wait for the remainder of the column, which had been much impeded in its advance.

This fmall heroic body marched on firmly under a tremendous fire of canniſter fhot, General Lake leading them forward; the enemy's cavalry attempted to charge them, but were repulfed, and upon their rallying again, the 29th dragoons, under Captain Wade (Major Griffiths having at that inftant fallen by a cannon fhot), attacked them with the greateft gallantry and moft perfect fuccefs. The remainder of the firft column of Britifh infantry came up in time to join in the attack of the enemy's reſerve, ſtationed in the rear of the firſt line, to the weſtward of Mohaulpoor. At this time Major General Ware was killed, and his place was fupplied by Colonel Macdonald.

The enemy fought with the moft defperate courage, and their oppofition was more refolute than any General Lake had met with fince the commencement of the campaign. It was not till they had loft all their guns that they quitted their poſition. The left wing attempted to retreat in order, but Colonel J. Vandeleur broke in upon them, cut many to pieces, and took the reſt priſoners, with all their baggage.

The loſs ſuſtained by our troops was very heavy; 172 were killed and a vaſt number wounded. Of the enemy it is believed few eſcaped with life, but thoſe who were taken priſoners, amounting to about 2000, of which number General Lake only detained the principal officers. The whole of their camp equipage, military ſtores, elephants, camels, and bullocks, 22 pieces of cannon, 5,000 ſtand of arms, and three tumbrils laden with ſpecie, fell into the poſſeſſion of the Engliſh.

The judgment and intrepidity of General Lake were eminently conſpicuous, through the whole of this memorable day. In the morning he led the charge of the cavalry, and in the afternoon conducted all the different attacks on the enemy's line. An incident occurred in the courſe of the battle which called forth all his firmneſs. His ſon, Major Lake, who poſſeſſed the confidence, and attended the perſon of his father, was near him in the heat of the action when General Lake's horſe was killed under him. With much difficulty he prevailed on his father to accept of his own, while he mounted a horſe from one of the troops of cavalry. Scarcely had this paſſed, when a ſhot ſtruck Major Lake, and wounded him ſeverely, in the preſence of his father, who was at the ſame inſtant compelled to quit his ſon and lead the troops againſt the enemy. At this trying moment, General Lake performed his

duty with undiminiſhed zeal, and on his return was rewarded by the intelligence that Major Lake, though much wounded, was in perfect ſafety.

1ſt Nov. The battle of Laſwaree terminated at four in the evening. Great part of the forces had been under arms 16 hours, and had marched more than 65 miles in the courſe of 48 hours.

Thus was the campaign in this part of India concluded by the complete acquiſition of all the objects propoſed in its commencement.

It is now neceſſary to return to the proceedings in the Deccan under General Welleſley and Colonel Stevenſon, where the moſt diſtinguiſhed ſucceſs ſoon terminated and recompenſed the exertions of our armies. It will be remembered that, after the battle of Aſſye, Colonel Stevenſon proceeded on his march towards Boorhanpoor and Aſſeer Ghur. Of Boorhanpoor he took poſſeſſion without reſiſtance,

16th Oct. and proceeded to Aſſeer Ghur, whence the remains of the enemy's infantry had fled on hearing of his approach. He therefore laid ſiege to the place without delay; at-

18th. tacked and carried the town, and having made a lodgement within 150 yards of the lower wall of the fort, ſummoned the Governor to ſurrender. No decided anſwer was returned, and Colonel Stevenſon, though he allowed the governor time to conſider of the terms propoſed, yet did not relax in his operations for the reduction of the fortreſs, as he believed that the negotiations were only prolonged in order to gain time for Scindiah to come to its relief. At laſt, the term allowed being expired, the batteries opened upon the fort, and in about an hour the governor, ſeeing no hope of aſſiſtance, and obſerving the effect already produced by the heavy fire of the Britiſh guns, gave up the fortreſs, which was evacuated the next day, and the garriſon retired with all their private property, after receiving their arrears of pay according to the conditions originally offered by Colonel Stevenſon. The loſs of this place threw a damp on the ſpirits of the enemy, who had ſuppoſed it impregnable to human force, and therefore thought its ſurrender ominous to their cauſe.

But they had ſtronger reaſons than the mere force of a ſuperſtitious notion, to look with apprehenſion on their circumſtances.—The activity of General Welleſley was at this time employed in watching the motions, and following the track of the rajah of Berar, who had now paſſed the hills which bound the province of Candeiſh, and moved toward the river Godavery. On receiving this intelligence, General Welleſley marched toward the ſouth, and reached Aurungabad, when he found that the rajah had proceeded to the eaſtward, and was then at Lakeegaun, 20 miles north of Pultein. Between the nights of the 29th and 31ſt, the whole of which time General Welleſley was in his neighbourhood, he moved his camp five times. On the 31ſt he ſent a body of 5000 horſe to intercept a convoy of bullocks and other valuable ſupplies deſtined for the Britiſh army, and diſtant only a ſhort march, but this meaſure did not

25th Oct.

29th.

diſturb

disturb the mind or distract the attention of General Wellesley, who knew that the detachment accompanying the convoy was fully competent to its defence. The body of horse met the detachment at Amber, and was repulsed with loss.

11th Nov. Disappointed in all his schemes, and unable to form any plan which could afford a hope of complete success, Scindiah sent to General Wellesley at Jaum, under pretence of treating for peace. The general received his message with every mark of satisfaction, and although he was not blinded by an artifice so common, agreed to a truce on condition that Scindiah's army should withdraw to a position 40 miles east of Ellichpoor, while the British troops should advance no farther into his dominions.

During the time occupied in concluding this agreement, the rajah of Berar had proceeded toward his own territories, and General Wellesley had descended the mountains by Rajoorah, in order to assist Colonel Stevenson in the reduction of Gawilghur. But Scindiah was so far from fulfilling the terms of his treaty with the English, that, five

28th. days after the conclusion of the truce, the greatest part of the rajah of Berar's regular infantry was found to be encamped at Parterly, strengthened by a large body of Scindiah's cavalry. Upon General Wellesley's preparing to attack them without delay, Scindiah's ambassador, then resident in the English camp, remonstrated very warmly, but was answered that his master had dissolved the treaty by infringing its terms, and that with the rajah of Berar none existed.

General Wellesley, having been joined by Colonel 29th. Stevenson, marched to Parterly, but found that the enemy had retreated. Though their army was still discernible from the top of a high tower, the heat of the day, and the fatigue already sustained by the troops induced the General to defer the pursuit till evening. But they had not long halted, when large parties of the enemy's cavalry began to appear in front, and upon the picquets being sent forward in consequence, the whole army of the enemy was plainly discerned, drawn up in a line, which extended five miles upon the plains of Argaum.

Seeing them thus prepared for battle, General Wellesley did not suffer them to remain long inactive: He advanced upon them in a direction nearly parallel to that of their own line, and on approaching them, formed his troops into two bodies, the infantry in front, supported by the cavalry in the rear. As they came nearer, a large detachment (of Persians as it was supposed) attacked the 74th and 78th regiments, and after a sharp contest were completely destroyed. In the mean time, the cavalry of Scindiah being driven back with great slaughter by the first battalion of the 6th regiment, the whole line soon gave way, and retreated with violent precipitation, leaving in our possession 38 pieces of cannon, and all their ammunition. The cavalry pursued them for some time with great success, and the whole of the enemy's baggage and elephants fell into our hands.

General Wellesley now proceeded without delay toward Gawil-

ghur. At Ellichpoor he
5th Dec. eſtabliſhed an hoſpital for the ſoldiers wounded at Argaum; and a party was ſent forward to drive the enemy
6th. from the ground they occupied to the ſouth of Gawilghur.

This fortreſs is built on a high and rugged mountain, in the midſt of that range which lies between the ſources of the Taptee and Poonah rivers. There is a complete inner fort on the ſouth ſide where the rock is moſt ſteep and difficult of acceſs; this is protected by another fort to the north weſt and north, which alſo has a third wall on the north to cover the approach from thence. All the walls are exceedingly ſtrong, furniſhed with ramparts and towers. There are three entrances; one on the ſouth, to the inner fort, the aſcent to which is very long, ſteep, and acceſſible only to men; one on the north weſt, by a road uſed for the common communications of the garriſon with the country to the ſouth, but the way is narrow and much expoſed to the fire of the fort: a third on the north where the paſſage is divided from the village of Labada, and the ground level with the reſt of the fort, but the road from Ellichpoor to Labada, a diſtance of 30 miles, lies acroſs mountains, which render the march of troops with their ſtores difficult in the higheſt degree.

This point of attack ap-
6th Dec. pearing the moſt eligible of the three, a ſecond detachment was ſent to ſeize the fortified village of Damergaum, which covers the entrance of the mountains,
7th and Colonel Stevenſon commenced his march by that route, while General Welleſley proceeded toward the ſouthern face of the fort. In the courſe of their progreſs, the troops under Colonel Stevenſon encountered a ſeries of difficulties, of the moſt weariſome and diſtreſſing nature, being compelled, by the ſituation of the country, to drag along the heavy ordnance and ſtores by the force of their own exertions over roads of their own making. Theſe
12th. impediments were at length ſurmounted, and Colonel Stevenſon and General Welleſley reached the end of their reſpective journies on the ſame day.

On that night Colonel Stevenſon erected two batteries oppoſite the north face of the fort, one of which was to make a breach in the outer fort and third wall, while the other deſtroyed all the defences on the point of attack. At the ſame time General Welleſley formed, on the mountain near the ſouthern gate, a battery for two braſs and two iron 12-pounders, in hopes of making ſome impreſſion on the walls, or, at all events, to draw the attention of the enemy toward that quarter. Unfortunately, the diſadvantages of the ſituation were ſo great, that after the moſt vigorous efforts, it was found impoſſible to draw the iron guns up the mountain, and the braſs ones alone were brought into action, which produced but a ſlight effect. By the night of the 14th, however, the breaches in the outer fort were practicable, and a ſtorming party already formed under Lieutenant Colonel Kenny, advanced to the northern wall. Two other parties were to attack the fort at the ſame time; one under Colonel Wallace, at the ſouth gate, and a ſecond under Colonel Chalmers, at the north weſt

weſt entrance; in order principally to diſtract the attention of the enemy, but if poſſible to blow open the gates and join the firſt detachment under Lieutenant Colonel Kenny. This was put in execution at 10 the next morning. Colonel Chalmers, arriving at the north weſt gate, met the enemy endeavouring to eſcape by it from the bayonets of Colonel Kenny's detachment.—The ſlaughter was prodigious, and Colonel Chalmers entered with eaſe. The wall of the inner fort was yet uninjured, and after ſeveral attempts had been made to force the gate, a place was diſcovered where it appeared practicable to eſcalade. Ladders were immediately fixed, and Colonel Campbell, with the light infantry of the 94th regiment, entered the fort, threw open the gates, and the place was ſoon in our poſſeſſion. The judicious and ſpirited exertions of 48 hours had made the Britiſh army maſters of a fortreſs juſtly deemed almoſt impregnable; a place not more favoured by natural ſituation than improved by artificial defences.

After this event the rajah of Berar, ſeeing that he had nothing to hope for in continuing the conteſt, loſt no time in ſuing for a peace, even without the knowledge of Scindiah. His ambaſſador commenced a negotiation in General Welleſley's camp at Deogaum, and on the following day a treaty was concluded, by which the following terms were eſtabliſhed. 16th.

The rajah of Berar renounced all adherence to the confederacy he had entered into with Scindiah, and other chiefs, againſt the Engliſh, even although the war with thoſe chiefs ſhould continue: he was to cede to the Engliſh, in perpetual ſovereignty, the province of Cuttack, including the diſtrict and fort of Balaſore; and alſo all the territories, of which he had previouſly collected the revenues in conjunction with the Subadar of the Deccan, together with thoſe ſituated to the weſtward of the river Wurdah. And, laſtly, to engage never to take, or retain in his ſervice any Frenchman, or the ſubject of any European or American power, which might be at war with the Britiſh government; or any Britiſh ſubject, whether European or Indian, without the conſent of the Britiſh government.

On the other hand, the Engliſh agreed to reſtore the forts of Nernallah and Gawilghur to the rajah of Berar, together with the diſtricts which were contiguous to thoſe forts, and of which the revenues ſhould amount to four lacks of rupees a-year: to conſider the river Wurdah, from its ſource to its junction with the Godavery, as the future boundary between the dominions of the rajah of Berar, and thoſe of the Subadar of the Deccan; and to give no aid or countenance to any diſcontented relations, or ſubjects of the rajah of Berar, who might fly from, or rebel againſt his authority. Finally, it was agreed, for the benefit of both the contracting parties, that accredited miniſters from each government ſhould conſtantly reſide at the court of the other.

Soon after this treaty had been ratified, Scindiah ſent inſtructions to his ambaſſadors in the Britiſh camp, to ſtate his ſincere and earneſt deſire to conclude a peace.—His declaration was received by General

General Welleſley with every mark of reſpect; but, determined to prevent all the delays and evaſions uſually attendant on ſuch negotiations with the Mahratta chieftains, he apprized the ambaſſadors clearly and poſitively of the only terms on which he would conſent to their requeſt. This firmneſs and deciſion brought the proceedings to a very ſpeedy concluſion, and a treaty of peace was ſigned in the Britiſh camp.

30th.

By this treaty, Scindiah agreed to yield to the Engliſh all his forts and territories in Northern Hindoſtan, between the Ganges and Jumna, together with all his poſſeſſions to the north of the territory belonging to the rajahs of Jeypoor and Judpoor, and to the ranah of Gohud; to give up his right in the fort and territory of Baroach in Guzerat, and that of Ahmednuggur, in the Deccan; likewiſe that of his former poſſeſſions to the ſouth of the Adjuntee hills, as far as the river Godavery: to renounce all claims on the Emperor Shah Allum, and all interference in his concerns; and to enter into the ſame engagement as the rajah of Berar with reſpect to the retaining of European ſubjects in his ſervice.

The Engliſh on their part were to reſtore to Scindiah the fort of Aſſeerghur, and the city of Boorhanpoor, in the Deccan, and the forts of Dohud and Powanghur, with the territories in Candeis and Guzerat, appertaining to theſe forts: to allow Scindiah, under the protection of the Britiſh government, to retain poſſeſſion of certain lands, which he had long held in his family, as a gift from the kings of Hindoſtan. It was alſo agreed that certain other lands, ſituated in the provinces conquered by the Engliſh in Hindoſtan, which were held in Jaghire by perſons belonging to the family of the late Mahajee Scindiah, ſhould remain in the poſſeſſion of thoſe perſons, and further (to prevent any individual from incurring loſs, or ſuffering diſtreſs by this arrangement), that the Britiſh government ſhould either pay penſions, or grant lands in Jaghire, to ſuch other perſons as Scindiah ſhould name, provided the ſum to be paid exceeded not 17 lacks of rupees a year. The Engliſh alſo promiſed to reſtore to Scindiah certain lands and villages, ſituated in the dominions of the peiſhwah, which had lately been taken by them and their allies, and which the family of Scindiah had long held as their private eſtate. And laſtly, Scindiah was invited to partake of the benefits of the ſubſidiary treaties, exiſting between the Britiſh government and the peiſhwah, and the Subahdar of the Deccan; but if it ſhould not ſuit his intereſts to embrace this offer, his declining it ſhould no way affect any of the ſtipulations of the preſent treaty of peace. Laſtly, it was agreed, that miniſters from each government ſhould conſtantly reſide at the court of the other,

The ratification of this treaty completed the reſtoration of tranquillity. The intelligence was received with every demonſtration of joy throughout the Britiſh provinces of India. The inhabitants of Calcutta paſſed a reſolution to erect a marble ſtatue of the Governor General, as an acknowledgment of the high ſenſe they entertained

tertained of his public ſervices: a ſword was preſented to General Lake, and another to General Welleſley. General Lake afterward received a peerage, and General Welleſley the ribband of the Bath, on account of their conduct during the campaign.

This important war was concluded within little more than five months of the commencement of hoſtilities, during which time all the objects pointed out in the Governor General's comprehenſive plan of operations had been accompliſhed without the loſs of a ſingle battle.

While theſe hoſtile conflicts menaced the Britiſh intereſts on the Continent of India, the iſland of Ceylon was alſo a ſcene of warfare. In the beginning of 1803, the Engliſh government and the native power of the iſland engaged in a war, which was attended by various and ſevere misfortunes and loſs, not only heavy in itſelf, but diſproportioned to the importance of any object attained.

In the months of March and April, 1802, a number of perſons reſiding in the Britiſh diſtrict of Putalom entered the Candian territory (a perfect peace ſubſiſting between the two governments), with various articles of merchandize, which they exchanged, according to the practice then univerſally allowed, for areka and betel nuts to a large amount. As they were on their return, they were detained, and, without any apparent cauſe, their property taken from them, by the authority of a perſon holding an office under the king of Candy. Remonſtrances being made on the part of the Engliſh, the Candian government acknowledged the complaint to be juſt, and promiſed to replace the articles in queſtion. This reſtitution was, however, delayed ſo long, that, after the lapſe of three months, Governor North propoſed to receive the amount of the property in money, at a moderate rate. The Adigar* (or prime miniſter) refuſed to conſent; and on the contrary, contrived freſh delays to the promiſed reparation. In the mean time the natives had been preparing with the greateſt activity for war: large bodies of men were aſſembled, ſtores of ammunition collected, and meaſures taken to fortify the roads and paſſes into their country.—Theſe menacing appearances, and the inſult received by the Britiſh government induced Governor North to prepare an expedition for the interior, and a conſiderable force was accordingly placed in readineſs.

Previous to the detail of occurrences in this campaign, it may be uſeful to deſcribe the Candian mode of warfare, which is peculiarly well ſuited to the means offered by the ſtate of their country. Their regular force is not conſiderable, either in numbers, equipment, or diſcipline, but every village is obliged, upon occaſion, to furniſh a certain number of ſoldiers, who ſerve for the term of 15 days, at the end of which they are relieved by another detachment, which is

* This man had raiſed the king of Candy to the throne, but conceiving that the alliance of the Engliſh would be prejudicial to deſigns which he had ſubſequently formed, exerted all his influence to our diſadvantage.

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in like manner ſucceeded by a third. From this continual change, which the limited ſcene of operations perfectly well admits of, the Candian troops are exempted from numerous inconveniencies: the ſoldiers are always freſh and active, unencumbered by ſick and wounded, and free from the care of baggage and proviſion, every man carrying his own ſupply, which is too ſlight and ſimple to impede his progreſs or embarraſs his motions.

Againſt ſuch troops an European army has to advance, with its numerous incumbrances, its artillery, baggage, ammunition, and diſabled men, all requiring a multitude of native attendants, who are procured with extreme difficulty, and ſcarcely to be detained in the ſervice: it has to advance by roads the moſt unfavourable, through a country abounding with mountains, foreſts and defiles, and a pernicious climate. Not one of theſe circumſtances eſcapes the vigilance of the Candians; too prudent to hazard an engagement, they ſuffer their enemy to penetrate into their country with little oppoſition, but when the inevitable conſequences of the climate force him to withdraw from the interior, and he commences his retreat with a train of ſick and wounded, his forces reduced by diſeaſe, retarded by their burthens, and diſpirited by fatigue, then it is that they exert their whole power, and diſtreſs him to the utmoſt: they hang on his flanks, cut off his ſupplies, and intercept the communications between his diviſions. The vaſt foreſts on the mountains, which command the paſſes, afford them a ſecure ſtation, whence they fire upon the troops, picking out chiefly the coolies, or native ſervants, who carry the baggage; while the march of the detachment is often obſtructed by large trees felled and laid acroſs the defiles. Under ſuch circumſtances a retreat cannot be effected without extreme labour, difficulty, and diſtreſs; and whether ſick or in health, wounded or otherwiſe, it rarely happens that any man receives quarter who falls into the hands of a Candian.

Theſe misfortunes were all experienced by the army which entered the king of Candy's dominions on this occaſion.

General Macdowal ſet out from Columbo with a body of native and European infantry, amounting to about 2000; and Colonel Barbut left Trincomalee with a ſimilar force, about 1100 in number. No effectual reſiſtance being made, both diviſions arrived at Candy, the capital of the interior, on the ſame day. 31ſt Jan. 2d Feb.

They found the town totally deſerted: the king and his prime miniſter had fled, after ſetting fire to the palace and temples, and every thing of value was carried away. Temporary works were thrown up for the defence of the city, and two forts were erected to ſecure the communication with the chief towns on the coaſt; one, called Fort Macdowal, about 15 miles from Candy, on the Trincomalee ſide, and a ſecond at Dambadinia, about half way between Candy and Columbo. Attempts were made with extreme difficulty, and much hazard, to procure proviſions for the garriſon from the ſurrounding country, but, at length, it became neceſſary to bring all ſupplies 20th Feb.

plies from Columbo, though the dangers attending this mode of proceeding, from the vigilance of the natives, rendered it uncertain and insufficient.

In order to secure the advantages which had been acquired by our arms, the English government placed upon the throne of Candy a native prince, named Mooto Sawmy, who had before asserted a claim to the regal power. On being crowned at the capital, he ceded to the English a valuable district of the interior. A truce was also concluded with the deposed king, who depended more on the effects of the climate than on the arms of his subjects for ultimate success.

Nor was he deceived in his expectation: after continuing about a month at Candy, General Macdowal and several other officers were compelled by an attack of illness to return to Columbo. The setting in of the rains having much increased the difficulty of communication with the coast, and consequently produced a greater scarcity of supplies, it was judged prudent at this time, to withdraw some of the troops, and General Macdowal took with him two regiments to Columbo, sending the grenadier and light company of the 19th to Trincomalee. All these troops were suffering from disease contracted in the Candian country. About 1000 men were left at Candy under Colonel Barbut; a number which was deemed perfectly sufficient while the truce existed.

In a short time Colonel Barbut and Major Blair were compelled to leave Candy by a severe illness, which soon proved fatal to both. When Major General Macdowal revisited the capital, every circumstance promised tranquillity, and the Adigar of the deposed king professed the greatest friendship for the English. General Macdowal, therefore, departed, and took with him the sick officers and men of the garrison, leaving Major Davie in command, with 200 English, 500 Malays, and some artillery men.—These flattering appearances were soon found to be utterly deceitful, for soon after the General's arrival at Columbo, the garrison at Candy was suddenly attacked by the Adigar, Major Davie surrendered in a few hours, and, after he had quitted the fort, all the English (with the exception of four only) were massacred in cold blood. 25th May. 23d June.

From such testimony as could be collected, it appears that before day the Candians attacked the capital, and continued the action with great vigour till two in the afternoon, when Major Davie surrendered on receiving a solemn promise that the troops should be allowed to march out with their arms, and proceed unmolested to Trincomalee, and that the sick who remained behind should be detained only till their recovery, being treated in the mean time with proper attention by the Candians. Major Davie marched out of the fort at five in the evening, after spiking the guns; but on his arrival at the river, about three miles from Candy, he found it not fordable, and was obliged to halt all night. Next morning the Candians proposed to assist him with boats and rafts, on the new condition

dition of his giving up to them Mooto Sawmy, the king whom the Engliſh had ſupported. It being promiſed that he ſhould be kindly treated, Major Davie delivered him up by his own conſent, and he was murdered. A meſſage was now ſent, informing the Engliſh that materials were at hand, and they might make their own rafts. In this employment the whole day paſſed, and the next morning a rope was got acroſs the river, but before any thing further could be effected, the Candians ſtopped our troops, and obliged them to lay down their arms.—The native ſoldiers being ſeparated from the reſt, the Engliſh officers were taken aſide and put to death, with the exception only of Major Davie and two others, whom the Candians detained; the remaining Engliſh were then led away two by two, and their brains daſhed out. The ſick who lay helpleſs in the capital, to the number of 120, were all maſſacred.

The only European who eſcaped from the enemy's hands was Corporal Barnſley, of the 19th; he received ſeveral blows, and was left for dead, but contrived to crawl into a jungle, and made his way at night to Fort Macdowal, which had been cloſely beſieged for three days. Captain Madge, who commanded the fort with a very ſmall number of men, finding himſelf unſupported and without proviſions, ſeized a favourable moment to retire from the fort and march for Trincomalee. The diſtance was 126 miles, and the troops were for ſome time haraſſed by numerous bodies of the enemy; but reached their deſtination, in ſafety, after a march of ſix days.—

3d July. The garriſon at Dambadinia, which had, for two or three days, defended itſelf with great ſpirit and very limited means againſt a large force, was brought off by a detachment under Captain Blackhall, of the 51ſt, leaving the laſt of our Candian poſts in the hands of the enemy.

Soon after theſe events, the king of Candy began to retaliate on the Engliſh; and our ſettlements were attacked in various parts; the natives under the Engliſh government began to revolt, and the communication between Columbo and Manaar was entirely cut off. At this criſis a number of troops arrived from the Cape of Good Hope and Bengal, by which ſeaſonable reinforcement we were enabled to drive back the enemy with great ſlaughter into their own country, ſeize one of their moſt important poſts, in the neighbourhood of our ſettlements, and re-eſtabliſh good order and ſecurity throughout the Britiſh diſtricts.

Aug. and Sept.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

Increaſing Difficulties in the Situation of Miniſters; View of the Parties in Oppoſition; probability of their uniting; Conduct of Mr. Pitt; Influence uſed to make him Hoſtile to Miniſters; Negotiation for his return to Office; Efforts to unite all Parties; Sentiments of Lord Grenville diſcloſed in an intercepted Letter to the Marquis of Welleſley; the Miniſtry further embarraſſed by an Application from his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales to obtain a military Command, which is refuſed; Mr. Tierney accepts the Office of Treaſurer of the Navy. Efforts of the Preſs; View of the Statements reſpecting Miniſters and their Opponents in two celebrated Works; the Effect of this Conteſt not beneficial to Government. Further Difficulties ariſing out of the State of Ireland; Conduct of the Catholics; Correſpondence between Lord Redeſdale and Lord Fingal and others.

IF miniſters ever entertained the deluſive hope that their rule would be exempt from the toils and cares ariſing from an extenſive and combined oppoſition, the events of the laſt ſeſſion muſt have diſpelled their error.

On their firſt acceſſion to power, they were apprized that ſome members of both houſes diſapproved of the choice of the ſovereign, before the meaſures of his miniſters had even been tried, and that as old adherents of Mr. Pitt, they were not to expect ſupport from the old opponents of that ſtateſman. The attacks of the new oppoſition, if at firſt ſomewhat unexpected, were now become uſual, and however they might be reſented in the earlier months of Mr. Addington's appointment, they were, after three ſeſſions, conſidered as part of the difficulties regularly incident to his ſtation. The party headed by Mr. Fox, appeared, for a time, more hoſtile to the new oppoſition than to the adminiſtration; the politics of that leader were more likely to make him befriend the miniſter who made a peace, of which he had declared his approbation, than the party whoſe principal ground of attack on government was the ſuppoſed ſurrender of national honour and ſafety by the concluſion of peace at the time and on the terms of that of Amiens. But as that peace was now at an end, the reſentment of the old oppoſition againſt the miniſtry who were to wage war with France, was likely ſoon to become deciſive and vehement, and as the new oppoſition were as far from ſupporting the war as they had been from approving the peace, it was no longer likely that differences of opinion between theſe two parties with reſpect to the former war, ſhould long keep them from uniting to diſplace an adminiſtration againſt which they were equally inflamed. It was indeed hardly to be ſuppoſed that men would long continue voting together, and ſupporting the motions introduced by each other, without concerting meaſures

ſures for giving weight to thoſe motions, and efficacy to thoſe votes, and ſuch concert, it was evident, muſt lead to a cloſe and avowed general political connexion.

Still, if cordially ſupported by Mr. Pitt, as from all his profeſſions toward them, and from all intelligible views of the right intereſts of that gentleman, they had a right to expect they ſhould have been, the miniſtry might have looked with indifference or defiance at the efforts of their opponents; but the time was come when they were no longer to conſider Mr. Pitt as an ally. In the firſt ſeſſion of the new adminiſtration, the ſupport of Mr. Pitt was conſtant and zealous, ſufficient both in effort and deciſiveneſs to convince the friends and the opponents of government that all their meaſures had his ſanction both in their principle and progreſs. In the ſecond ſeſſion, he warmly advocated the peace, and vindicated the framers of it againſt the cenſures of his own friends and co-operators in adminiſtration, and on ſome other queſtions he ſupportd the miniſtry with equal firmneſs; but in this ſeſſion he was much abſent from Parliament, and his interference in public affairs becoming occaſional only, he was not ſo much conſidered a ſupporter of the meaſures of government, as the vindicator of certain acts againſt unwarranted and unfounded cenſure. Many of his perſonal adherents were known to be indignant at his being kept from power, and publicly formed a party, both literary and political, hoſtile to adminiſtration, although ſtill more ſo to the old, and not preciſely devoted to the new oppoſition. The great aim of this band was to perſuade Mr. Pitt, that miniſters, elated with their power, diſregarded his perſon, and relinquiſhed all his plans of government, and that his own honour required that he ſhould unite with the new oppoſition to expel them from office. For this purpoſe every expreſſion in debate by any ſupporter of government, to whatever party he might in general belong, every paragraph in the newſpapers which defended the adminiſtration, every phraſe in pamphlets or other writings which narrated or ſupported their meaſures, which would bear a ſiniſter conſtruction, was aſſiduouſly ſeized and deſcanted on with warmth and ſubtilty, as a proof that the writers in the cauſe of government decried and vilified the talents and ſervices of Mr. Pitt, and the inference readily followed, that the imputed tone of theſe publications was derived from the expreſs inſtructions of miniſters themſelves. This party too, acting profeſſedly as the friends and adherents of Mr. Pitt, took into their hands a portion of the preſs, and conducted a ſeries of moſt ſcurrilous and abuſive attacks on the miniſter, uſing ridicule in the moſt illiberal manner, not for the purpoſe of expoſing errors of judgment or of principle, but of exciting mere perſonal contempt.

Notwithſtanding theſe efforts, there was not, up to the commencement of the laſt ſeſſion of Parliament, any appearance of diſunion between the miniſters and Mr. Pitt. They were more ſeparate, but it was accounted for by the ſtate of the ex-miniſter's health, which obliged him to be much in the country; their intercourſe

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was apparently as friendly as heretofore; and the affairs of ſtate continued during the receſs in 1803 to be confidentially communicated, as in former periods, but it is probable, that, even at this time, ſome perſons who wiſhed to turn Mr. Pitt's talents and popularity more immediately to their own advantage than they could hope to do during the continuance of the preſent adminiſtration, had acquired over his mind a greater aſcendancy than he was himſelf aware of. In fact, when ſecret adviſers with whom he lived in habits of unbounded confidence, and public opponents of adminiſtration, with whom he was connected both by relationſhip and friendſhip, concurred in ſpeaking the language of cenſure, if not of contempt of men who were repreſented as impeding his return to office, and when the public confidence, unſparingly expreſſed, and encouraged by the miniſters themſelves, aided his own ambition and the force of habit in urging him to reſume his former ſway in the ſtate, it is difficult to imagine that he ſhould not incline favourably to the repreſentations of thoſe, who, by decrying his ſucceſſors, contributed to raiſe and ſuſtain a general cry for his aſſiſtance in guiding the public affairs.

The miniſters were, in fact, ſo far from wiſhing to impede this object, that they were negligent, even in ſelf defence, and, apprehenſive of alienating him, did not uſe the means, which were abundantly in their power, of retorting many arguments of an unpopular nature on thoſe who allied themſelves with his name. They always courted his ſupport, and when the renewal of hoſtilities became probable, entered into a negotiation which had every appearance of ſucceeding, to induce him, and ſome of his friends, to take office, with as great a lead in public affairs as reaſonable ambition could deſire.

This negotiation, according to the details of a writer whoſe ſtatement was allowed to be in general well founded, although it was in ſome particulars contradicted, began early in March, and originated with, and was conducted by Lord Melville. Mr. Addington, actuated by thoſe habits of perſonal friendſhip, which at all times governed his mind with reſpect to Mr. Pitt, and conſidering the great influence of this gentleman among the monied perſons, which muſt have been ſo important in the event of a renewed war, readily acceded to the propoſal. Arrangements were conſidered as concluded, by which Mr. Pitt, Lord Melville, and ſeveral of their friends, were to have come into office; and, as it was underſtood, not merely on a footing of equality with Mr. Addington and others of the adminiſtration, but beyond it, when at a meeting held for the purpoſe of finally concluding the forming an adminiſtration, Mr. Pitt, no leſs to the aſtoniſhment of Lord Melville than of Mr. Addington, announced his poſitive, unalterable determination, not to return into the cabinet, unleſs he could bring back with him Lords Spencer and Grenville, with other noble and honourable perſons who had diſapproved of every meaſure of the government, who were in the habit of perſonal incivility and diſreſpect, and who

were adverſe to the whole ſpirit and principle of the adminiſtration.

With this propoſal miniſters could not in courſe comply, and thus their enemies gained at once the end for which they had been ſtriving, by annihilating every proſpect of future ſupport to the cauſe of government from Mr. Pitt*. They reaped the firſt fruits of their exertions when, in his moſt brilliant ſpeech on the commencement of hoſtilities, Mr. Pitt added to a general unfriendlineſs of manner, ſome expreſſions of perſonal diſguſt againſt the miniſter; they triumphed in his amendment on Colonel Patten's motion; and ſtill more when in the debates on the property tax he brought his financial talent in direct colliſion with that of Mr. Addington, propoſing amendments which were in ſubſtance adopted, and making objections which it was foreſeen would lead to a general oppoſition.

The next effort therefore was, to unite all the parties forming diſtinct oppoſitions into one firm body, and for this purpoſe, much effort and much intrigue were employed both during the ſitting of Parliament and the receſs. The hopes and views entertained on this occaſion were ſtrangely and curiouſly illuſtrated and explained in the courſe of the year 1804. A Britiſh Eaſt Indiaman, the Admiral Aplin, was captured by the French Admiral Linois, and her papers not being thrown overboard, many letters from individuals in England to others in India, were publiſhed by the

* The ſtatement made by a friend of Mr. Pitt of the courſe of this negotiation, is in theſe terms: "Toward the end of March, or at the beginning of April, upon the eve of war, after it was diſtinctly known to Mr. Addington that Mr. Pitt ſtrongly diſapproved of ſome of the leading meaſures of his government, a diſtinct propoſition, (originating, not as has been inſinuated, with Lord Melville, but entirely with Mr. Addington himſelf,) was made to Mr. Pitt, the object of which was his return to the official ſituation he formerly held in the adminiſtration; and the arrangement was to have taken place whenever the negotiation then pending with France ſhould have been brought to a concluſion. It was alſo ſignified, that vacancies would be made for the purpoſe of bringing Lord Melville into the Cabinet, and ſome others of Mr. Pitt's friends into different official ſituations. To this propoſition Mr. Pitt replied, that he would not enter upon the queſtion of arrangements, *until he was diſtinctly informed by a meſſage from the higheſt quarter, that his ſervices were thought eſſential*; that if ſo called upon, in ſpite of the precarious ſtate of his health, he ſhould not decline the offer of his beſt advice and aſſiſtance; that he was fully aware of the great and increaſing difficulties of the country; and that *he ſaw the neceſſity of a ſtrong, vigorous, and efficient government*. That if called upon by his Majeſty, he ſhould feel it to be his duty to propoſe an adminiſtration conſiſting principally of the members of the preſent and of the late government, that in the general arrangement which he ſhould ſubmit for his Majeſty's conſideration, he ſhould if they aſſented, include the Lords Grenville and Spencer, but that he ſhould preſs no perſon whatever upon his Majeſty, only reſerving to himſelf the power of declining the undertaking altogether, if he could not form ſuch a government as would enable him, in his judgment, to conduct the affairs of the nation with a fair probability of ſucceſs. No *ſine qua non* was inſiſted upon, with reſpect to the admiſſion of Lord Grenville or of any other perſon into the Cabinet. All that Mr. Pitt required was, that he ſhould be at liberty to ſubmit to his Majeſty whatever he thought beſt for his Majeſty's ſervice, unfettered by any previous condition, and he poſitively declined committing himſelf upon the queſtion of particular arrangements until his Majeſty's pleaſure had been diſtinctly ſignified to him.

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French government, and among the reſt one from Lord Grenville to the Marquis of Welleſley, detailing his opinions on the paſt, and his views for the future, with obſervations on the political perſonages around him.

After applauding his own conduct in the diſcuſſions reſpecting the peace, his Lordſhip proceeds: "Had I been certain of an opportunity, I ſhould have written you a detail of what has taken place ſince April laſt, in regard to the projected change in the government, and would have explained, (as far as I have been able to underſtand them) the grounds of the conduct which Pitt has ſince obſerved. It gives me great pleaſure to ſee, that while my difference with Addington becomes every day more marked, all the motives which made Pitt and me differ in opinion and conduct, daily decreaſe. We have not, however, yet been able to aſſimilate completely our plans of political conduct. Our ſituation, indeed, in one eſſential point of view, is entirely different. Though he did not recommend Addington to his preſent employment, (and, indeed, who is there that knows him would have done it?) he nevertheleſs gave him a certain portion of influence, more active than my opinion would have permitted me to grant, in the formation of the new adminiſtration. He adviſed their meaſures a long time after I had ceaſed to have any intercourſe with them, and he approved of them in different points, which appeared to me the moſt criminal, and which were indeed ſo, as proved by the event. He is conſequently more hampered in his conduct than I am, and he does not at preſent enjoy the ineſtimable advantage which I poſſeſs, of never having concealed nor compromiſed my opinion, in regard to matters of ſo much political importance; but, I believe that his ideas on their political conduct are not much different from mine, if they differ at all, and to all this muſt be added a reſentment juſtly merited from the perſonal conduct of Mr. Addington towards him. He does not endeavour to conceal his ſentiments. If he has written to you (which he certainly muſt have done, had he not contracted the bad habit of never writing to any one) he muſt have expreſſed to you, I am perſuaded, all theſe ſentiments without reſerve; and it is under this perſuaſion that I enlarge ſo much to you on his opinions. The meaſure, indeed, which he has lately adopted (I allude to his motion of adjournment, on the vote of cenſure, ill judged in itſelf, as I think it was, and unfortunate in its reſult, ſince it leſſened his public influence) has, at leaſt, the merit of expreſſing, in an unequivocal manner, his diſapprobation of the conduct of government. As for eternal enmity, he adds, I deteſt the idea; and if I have an eternal enmity, it is againſt the partiſans of a principle ſo deteſtable. But much is due to public opinion, as well as to the perſonal ſituation and character of individuals, which ought to be reſpected long after they have ceaſed to have reſentment, or to take pleaſure in giving proofs of it; and nothing appears to me leſs probable, than to ſee Pitt and me, at any near period (perhaps I may ſay, at any period of our lives,)

reconciled, and diſpoſed to re-eſtabliſh our former relations with Addington."

This extract is in all reſpects extremely curious; it ſhews, that even when Mr. Pitt inſiſted on forcing Lord Grenville and his adherents into the Cabinet, theſe two parties had not yet been able completely to aſſimilate their plans of political conduct, it ſhews how much foreneſs and jealouſy had ſubſiſted in the mind of the writer while Mr. Pitt ſupported the miniſter, and while it exhibits ſo much joy at their diſunion, it unveils the hope of removing the exiſting government by an union of all the parties in oppoſition.

This union was rendered additionally probable by an event in which his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales perſonally engaged, and which terminating to his diſſatisfaction, made many perſons believe that all his friends would exert themſelves, with his entire approbation and concurrence in endeavouring to diſplace the miniſtry.

The ground of his Royal Highneſs's diſpleaſure was ſuppoſed to exiſt in the rejection of an application made by him to his Majeſty for an appointment to an efficient command in the army, that he might be perſonally ſerviceable to the country, in caſe of an invaſion, an application which his Majeſty thought proper to refuſe. The correſpondence on the ſubject between the Royal applicant, his parent, and his brother the commander in chief, and alſo the letters which paſſed between the prince and the prime miniſter were given to the public, and are inſerted in our laſt volume*. From the laſt letters of his Royal Highneſs to the Duke of York and Mr. Addington, it will clearly appear that his diſpleaſure was at the moment deep and vehement, and from the publication of the letters it may well be inferred that the parties hoſtile to government would draw from the event the moſt ſanguine hopes.

When the miniſters found themſelves diſappointed in their expectation of being joined by Mr. Pitt, they endeavoured to ſtrengthen themſelves by calling in the aid of Mr. Tierney. This meaſure, it is ſaid, was recommended by Mr. Pitt when the Cabinet was formed in 1801, and a negotiation for that purpoſe was conſiderably advanced, when it failed owing to the great warmth with which Mr. Tierney expreſſed himſelf in oppoſition to the Bill for indemnifying Mr. Pitt and his colleagues for certain acts of their adminiſtration; it was renewed in 1803, and the lucrative office of treaſurer of the navy, reſigned by Mr. Bragge, was conferred on Mr. Tierney, who was alſo ſworn in a member of the privy council. Whatever advantage might at any future period be derived from the abilities of this gentleman, miniſtry could reap no immediate benefit from his acceſſion to the Cabinet. He was reckoned peculiarly ſkilful in matters of finance, but that buſineſs was already diſpoſed of for the ſeſſion. If his talents in debate were relied on, they were rendered unavailing for the exiſting ſeſſion, by the difficulties attending his re-election.

1ſt June.

* See Vol. XLV. p. 102*.

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When in compliance with the law he had vacated his ſeat in the Houſe of Commons, he offered himſelf again as a candidate for the Borough of Southwark. Sir Thomas Turton entered the liſts as his opponent, and after conteſting the poll for nine days, permitted him to be returned on a majority of about 300 votes, but ſtill delayed the reſumption of his ſeat by a ſcrutiny, ſo that no aſſiſtance was obtained from him during that ſeſſion.

While theſe tranſactions, ſometimes untruly reported, and, at others, faintly ſurmiſed, occupied the public attention, the preſs was actively employed both in oppoſing and ſuſtaining the cauſe of adminiſtration. The firſt work which in any great degree fixed the attention of the public, was a production written with great eloquence, ſpirit, and information, in defence of miniſters, and in cenſure of their opponents, the author of which, whoſe name afterward became well known, aſſumed the title of "a near obſerver."

This writer reviewing the ſtate of Europe in general, and of domeſtic politics in particular, at the time when the change of miniſtry was effected, depicted each in the moſt gloomy colours, and ſaid that in ſuch a complicated predicament of evil and deſpondency, with every part of Europe hoſtile to our intereſts, and preparing to annoy us; without a diſtinct end or remaining object in the war; our expeditions hopeleſs; our burthens preſſing and ſevere; our enemy flushed with inſolence and ſucceſs, and galled by recent inſult and repulſe; our Sovereign indiſpoſed and incapable of adminiſtring the affairs of his government; when ſcarcely a hope or faint ſpeculation of peace remained, when no part of our affairs appeared retrievable; it was at ſuch a moment, that his Majeſty's late miniſters thought proper to retire from his ſervice; and that he was graciouſly pleaſed to call Mr. Addington to his councils.

This writer alleged that the miniſters, ſacrificing a great portion of eaſe, ſecurity, and permanent dignity, braved the taunts and ſcorn of Mr. Fox and his adherents, and the dangers and difficulties of the times; but this he aſſerted was under a ſolemn and authentic pledge of honour given by the late miniſters for their "conſtant, active, and zealous ſupport." This promiſe, however, he ſaid was to be read as clogged with an intentional reſervation by thoſe who made it, that miniſters would be ſupported by their predeceſſors, juſt as long as they could be conſidered weak, incapable, and deciduous—as long as they could be hourly diſplaced they would be hourly upheld and aſſiſted; but if they ſhould attempt to walk without the leading ſtring; if they ſhould have the preſumption to appear qualified for their offices, or to be ſucceſsful in any of their meaſures; if they ſhould dare to be firm, prudent, virtuous, or fortunate, or to lay claim to any merit, or attempt by any means to procure the eſteem or confidence of the country, then theſe acts ſhould cancel the agreement, as contrary to its ſpirit and true meaning, and they ſhould inſtantly be treated as rivals and enemies.

The Houſe of Commons, he added, at this time, muſt be divided into four or five parties.

The miniſters were as yet untried, and had taken their ground with ſingular modeſty, appealing only to the future opinion of the public upon the meaſures they ſhould purſue, and deſiring to be judged of by their actions. The old oppoſition, though bent upon peace, or pacific demonſtrations, was now evidently neither unanimous in principle, nor united in tactics. Meſſrs. Windham, Grenville, and their followers, were adverſe to peace altogether. Mr. Pitt, himſelf an hoſt, ſupported miniſters openly, and perhaps officiouſly; Mr. Pitt's friends, without the trouble of a public principle or rule of conduct, were continually employed in decrying aud diſcrediting the meaſures of miniſters, ſneering at their perſons, and forebodding their diſmiſſion. In this corner of the Houſe, one continually heard, in loud whiſpers, of their incapacity and preſumption in having taken their ſituations, while, from another bench, they were openly branded as the mere puppets and ſubſtitutes of the perſons to whom they had preſumed to ſucceed.

Diſtreſs, ariſing as well from the ſtate of public affairs as their own radical differences of opinion, he aſſigned as the cauſes of the ſudden abandonment of power by the late government, and he inferred this moſt ſtrongly from the diſcordant modes of conduct they had adopted on the ſubject of peace. No parties, no principles could be more diſtinct and diſcordant, than thoſe of Mr. Pitt and Lord Grenville, with their ſeveral partizans of the old miniſtry. Yet this peace, he contended, was framed on the very principles marked out by Lord Grenville, who, after promiſing Mr. Addington his ſupport, diſtinguiſhed himſelf by an acrimonious oppoſition to that very peace. The author alſo noticed the conduct held during this period by the party who termed themſelves friends of Mr. Pitt, among whom he particularly diſtinguiſhed Mr. Canning, and cenſuring their general mode of proceeding, aſcribed it to their regret and diſpleaſure that his Majeſty ſhould have been able to find another miniſter when Mr. Pitt no longer choſe to continue in office.

Coming then to the tranſactions of the laſt ſeſſion of Parliament, he deſcribed Mr. Pitt as courted by all parties; and on the approach of war, particularly preſſed on the legiſlature by the Grenville party as the only man to be entruſted with the adminiſtration of public affairs. This was the deſign of every motion, the burthen of every amendment, the concluſion of every harangue. For this object, every ſpecies of deſpondency was again carefully ſpread among the people. The finances were decried, and the ſtatements of the Chancellor of the Exchquer diſputed; even the reſources of the country were attacked. The return for theſe efforts, according to this writer, was the refuſal of Mr. Pitt to accept of office, unleſs Lord Grenville and his friends were received with him. Lord Grenville, the author ſaid, would replace Mr. Pitt in power, and it had been very ungrateful if Mr. Pitt had forgotten the obligation. Thus had theſe illuſtrious perſons maintained unbroken the bands of their political connexion, in ſpite of their difference of opinion upon the greateſt

greateſt political occurrences; and thus had Mr. Addington been deprived of Mr. Pitt's friendſhip, notwithſtanding every one of his meaſures had received his ſupport and approbation!

Adverting then to the conduct of parties after the rupture with France became certain, he noticed the tone of deſpondency aſſumed by the new oppoſition, treating it as an inſtance of culpable verſatility, that they, who had endeavoured to intimidate the country into immediate war, ſhould, when hoſtilities became inevitable, declare that they had chiefly oppoſed the peace becauſe it had put the country out of a condition to renew the war. The conduct of Mr. Pitt, on this occaſion, is deſcribed in theſe terms: "Upon the queſtion of the Addreſs to his Majeſty, Mr. Pitt had made his firſt appearance in the Houſe of Commons during the preſent Parliament. In the ſpeech which preceded the vote which the right honourable gentleman gave *for* the addreſs, a near obſerver could not miſtake or overlook a very marked coldneſs, and ſtudied perſonal indifference toward the miniſters, and the firſt miniſter in particular. Not one expreſſion of regard, not even the form and habit of his right honourable friend eſcaped the reſerved and cautious lips of the moſt *Conſtant*, *Active*, and *Zealous* ſupporter of Mr. Addington! According to the new religion of the party which Mr. Pitt had lately inſiſted upon bringing back with him into the King's councils, his conſcience enabled him to ſupport the meaſures without commending the men. Content, however, for the moment, with the effect of his cold, repulſive neutrality; having alarmed one part of his hearers, afflicted another, and perplexed all; the houſe ſaw him pleaſed to divide *with* the right honourable gentleman, whoſe credit and influence, not indeed every word that he had uttered, but every tone and geſture he had uſed, had been calculated to diſcourage and diſcredit. In contraſting the arguments of the new, with thoſe of the old oppoſition, he ſays, "that government which had been uniformly reproached by the new oppoſition, with having acted tamely, ſubmiſſively, and I know not what, in the vain and ſanguine hope of prolonging the peace, was now taxed by the old oppoſition with never having wiſhed to maintain it at all, and with having taken the firſt, and that a needleſs opportunity of breaking it. Upon one ſide of the Speaker's chair, the miniſters heard themſelves accuſed of having cauſed the war by their temporizing and ſpiritleſs policy; upon the other, by their violence and inſincerity. Here, they ought to have declared war for the firſt aggreſſion; there, not even for the laſt." From the fault of breaking the peace, however, the author had already vindicated the miniſtry, uſing among others theſe remarkable expreſſions: "Really if there exiſts an individual who ever did confide in the duration of the late peace, I would counſel him to keep his own ſecret. It will be in vain to charge his drivelling as a crime upon other men. He is *Nature's* fool, and not Mr. Addington's."

Mr. Pitt's conduct on Mr. Patten's motion then came under review, and he was cenſured,

ſometimes in terms of great aſperity, for his deſertion of Mr. Addington, at others in the tone of ſarcaſtic irony, complimented for his more than Roman virtue in refuſing a vote of acquittal to a cabinet of which his own brother was a member. From this moment, the author conſiders the attachment and deference of the Chancellor of the Exchequer to Mr. Pitt as a weakneſs; indeed as the only one he could diſcover in his character.

Still it was not denied that Mr. Pitt's firm and zealous ſupport to miniſters would be highly ſerviceable to the country. His financial ſkill, his commanding eloquence, and his ſtill great influence in the country, would be a tower of ſtrength to his Majeſty's government. But it was denied that he was ſo much to be dreaded as an opponent, as deſired for a friend. His habits and his talents, his paſſions, and even his tones and geſtures, it was ſaid, are calculated for office and authority. His vote on Colonel Patten's motion too, was ſaid to have been more fatal to his credit and popularity, than any meaſure he could have taken; and ſcarcely leſs injurious to his public character, than his unaccounted-for and unaccountable reſignation in 1801.

Lord Grenville and his friends were treated with much leſs reſpect, and Mr. Fox and his minority could only be conſidered as a poſſible adminiſtration, in caſe of the ſucceſs of an invaſion, or ſome other great diſaſter, which ſhould lay us at the feet of France. He might, perhaps, be the vice-preſident of the Britannic republic, but there was little proſpect of his ever being the miniſter of an Engliſh king.

Between the late and preſent adminiſtration, the writer drew this contraſt. "The Pitt and Grenville party, with all their experience and ability, and the great ſervices which they have ſometimes rendered the country, by ſome fatality or other have never underſtood its character nor enjoyed its affection. Hiſtory does not ſhew ſo groſs an inſtance of credulous ſelf-love and infatuated vanity, as the opinion they daily manifeſt, that their abſence from the king's councils is regretted by the public; that the people deſire their return to power; that the king has made an unpopular uſe of his prerogative in the preſent ſelection of his counſellors! The preſent miniſters, he proceeded, have this advantage, this happineſs, over them, that they fall in with the character of the nation. I diſtinguiſh nothing perſonal in their ſway; the men are not viſible in the acts of their authority; they ſeem to be the ſervants, not the maſters of the public; the nation governs *itſelf* more under them, and for them. Convinced, perſuaded, and prepared, the people demand thoſe laws and meaſures which uſed to be impoſed upon them; they require thoſe levies and taxes which were ſo lately felt as burthens and hardſhips. They identify themſelves with a government which confides in them. The late miniſtry were often urged by their moſt ſtrenuous ſupporters to place more reliance upon the people, but they never, as I have obſerved, underſtood their character, their temper, or their ſpirit. One of the firſt acts of their ſucceſſors was,

was, to reſtore the Habeas Corpus act, and to repeal the Bills againſt ſedition. The trials of Deſpard and his accomplices were conducted in the ordinary courſe, like ſimple felonies, without alarm, without ſecret committees, without demonſtrations of jealouſy and miſtruſt. They now reap the fruit of their temper or their policy, for without an appearance of force or power, without the reluctance of a ſingle ſubject, by the confidence and affection of the people alone, they have been able to carry the greateſt meaſures, of which there is either record or tradition in the hiſtory of the empire.

Of this pamphlet ſo much notice would not have been taken in this place, but that it ſeemed to produce more conſiderable effects on domeſtic politics than have uſually reſulted from ſuch an engine. The friends of Lord Grenville, many of whom were alſo in habits of intimacy with Mr. Pitt, were enraged beyond meaſure; and thoſe friends of Mr. Pitt who had before been endeavouring to render him irrevocably the opponent of Mr. Addington, now enjoyed a certainty of their ſucceſs. As the pamphlet had a moſt rapid ſale, occaſion was taken to affirm, although it was always denied by miniſters, that large numbers were diſtributed by their orders, that they were even ſeen to purchaſe them, and that the work was ſent into all parts of the country and to foreign courts under official franks. After a time, many pens were employed in anſwering this pamphlet, but nothing which was produced deſerved the ſlighteſt attention, except one intitled a Plain Anſwer, by a more accurate obſerver. This was ſuppoſed on its appearance, and ſoon diſtinctly avowed to be the production of an intimate friend of Mr. Pitt, and from internal evidence, muſt have been writen, if not under his eye, at leaſt with a competent knowledge of his preſent ſentiments and future views.

In this pamphlet, which afterward called forth a reply from the original defender of adminiſtration, almoſt all the facts relied on by the author of the firſt publication were diſputed; his phraſes were cenſured as harſh and unwarrantable toward the opponents of miniſtry, and toward Mr. Pitt in particular; and his praiſes of the exiſting adminiſtration were attributed to blind partiality and a deſire to flatter. As the reply already alluded to attempts the refutation of moſt of the poſitions taken in defence of Mr. Pitt and his friends, it is not neceſſary to repeat them, but merely to offer a few ſtriking paſſages.

It was denied that at the time the late miniſtry reſigned, the war was peculiarly unpopular and hopeleſs; "it was certainly leſs unpopular in 1801 than in 1795 and the two following years." Mr. Pitt, it was ſaid, made a diſtinct offer to retain his ſituation, until the war ſhould be concluded, and the country relieved from its moſt preſſing difficulties, provided he could be aſſured that no attempt would he made, in the mean time, to prejudge the important queſtion, the difference of opinion on which, had led to his reſiguation. Although this offer was not accepted, his reſignation was nevertheleſs ſuſpended, by the event which imme-

immediately followed, of his Majeſty's unfortunate illneſs. Until his Majeſty's recovery, he not only remained nominally in office, but continued to act during the whole of the period, as miniſter, and retained as much as ever the chief direction of affairs.

As to the promiſe of conſtant, zealous, and active ſupport, ſaid to have been given by Lord Grenville and Mr. Pitt to the preſent miniſters, it was thus explained. Mr. Pitt undoubtedly, when he retired from office, felt convinced, that, under the circumſtances of the period, his Majeſty had ſelected for his adviſers, perſons, by whom it was probable that the government of the country would be wiſely and ſafely adminiſtered. He felt them, therefore, entitled to his ſupport, and, as well as Lord Grenville, gave them his aſſurance of it. To give to any ſet of men a promiſe of conſtant ſupport, let their conduct be what it would, is as inconſiſtent with every idea of public duty, as it certainly is with common ſenſe or common honeſty. Neither Mr. Pitt nor Lord Grenville, ever gave, nor did Mr. Addington underſtand, that he had received ſuch a promiſe. The words quoted were made uſe of by Lord Grenville, in a ſpeech, in which he claimed for the new adminiſtration the confidence of the country, as conſiſting of men who had conſtantly approved the principles upon which he and his colleagues had enjoyed the confidence, and received the ſupport of the nation, and who had both publicly and privately profeſſed their intention of continuing to act upon the ſame general ſyſtem which had been adopted by their predeceſſors. As ſuch, his Lordſhip ſaid, they ſhould have his "conſtant, active, and zealous ſupport." With reſpect to Mr. Pitt, it is not very neceſſary to inquire what were the particular words in which he conveyed to his ſucceſſors his aſſurance of his ſupport; but in this caſe, as in that of Lord Grenville, there was not only an implied, but an expreſs limitation to the promiſe. And it was ſaid that there were three points ſelected as eſſential conditions, upon two of which Mr. Pitt had expreſſed his diſapprobation of the meaſures of the preſent government.

The conduct of Mr. Pitt on Colonel Patten's motion, was vindicated in theſe terms. Upon the particnlar motion brought forward by Mr. Patten, other courſes were ſuggeſted at the time, as thoſe which it would have been more becoming in Mr. Pitt to have purſued; but the objection to all of them is, that they begin by aſking of him, a complete ſacrifice of opinion. If popularity had been his object, it did not require his ſagacity to diſcover that he could not attain that end by forbearing to deliver his opinion. A conſcientious feeling of duty to his king and country could alone determine him to withhold any judgment upon the queſtion; but no party views whatever could poſſibly enter into ſuch a deciſion. Mr. Patten's friends, confident that he could not approve the irreſolute and inconſiſtent meaſures which miniſters had adopted in their whole intercourſe with France, and particlarly in the late negotiation, and ſtrongly urging the fatal effects to the empire, of want of ſyſtem and of firmneſs diſplayed

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on that occaſion, contended that he ſhould have given a direct vote of cenſure; while the miniſters, convinced that they had excited a feeling of reſentment againſt the Firſt Conſul of France, incompatible with all fair and juſt inveſtigation of their own conduct, called loudly for examination and deciſion. They were not deceived in their expectations; all other conſiderations, their own errors and inconſiſtencies, were loſt in the contemplation of the inſolence, ambition, and perfidy of France. They obtained the favourable deciſion of a great majority, rather the effect of inflamed paſſion than of calm reaſon; they obtained it (perhaps in the way moſt agreeable to themſelves) without any examination of the meaſures which had led to the rupture with France.

Finally, as a contraſt to the character and conduct of Mr. Pitt, the "accurate obſerver" gave the following deſcription of the miniſtry. "Totally deſtitute of foundation as are the attacks upon the character of that great and diſtinguiſhed ſtateſman, at whom they are chiefly levelled, there is ſcarcely more ground for the high praiſe ſo laviſhly heaped upon the miniſters. They are repreſented as "faithful, able, vigorous, and fortunate;" to their fidelity I cordially accede, but I can accompany the Near Obſerver no further in panegyrick. The peace of Amiens, their great work, was a "peace of experiment;" at leaſt, ſo it was repreſented to be, by thoſe who made it, as ſoon as they diſcovered that it was faſt verging toward its end. It may have been, (and, I think, was) right, under all the circumſtances, to have tried the experiment at the time; but it has failed, and the miniſters muſt be contented, not to rank it among their ſucceſsful meaſures. I ſee nothing from the peace to the breaking out of the war, which can be fairly called able, vigorous, or fortunate. If I look to more recent events, I ſee leſs to juſtify this encomium. I cannot diſcern any extraordinary merit in the management either of our foreign or domeſtic concerns. The loſs of Hanover, in ſpite of appearances, *may* have been attended with no remiſſneſs, no procraſtination on the part of the miniſters; it may have been unavoidable, and it may have been impoſſible, (though a circumſtance deeply to be lamented) to have brought away any part of the army of that country; it may have been right to have diſcharged the tranſports taken up for that purpoſe, while the force was ſtill well diſpoſed and entire. It may have been excuſable to have diſbelieved all the information reſpecting the Iriſh inſurrection, to have been warned, and yet to have been taken by ſurpriſe. It might have been politic to have temporized with Holland, it may be ſtill right to temporize with Spain. All theſe things may poſſibly be juſtifiable, but they do not place themſelves obviouſly and naturally, among the records of good fortune or of wiſdom. They require much explanation, and ſome will probably be granted in this ſeſſion of Parliament. What ſhall I ſay of the conduct of miniſters toward thoſe perſons who ſo nobly ſtood forth as volunteers for the defence of the nation? I cannot even invent a juſtification; they were by

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turns careſſed and diſcountenanced, invited and rejected, but, (thank God!) they could not be diſpirited. Among the many compliments paid to the miniſters, we are told that "the men are not viſible in the acts of their authority," but here they were never out of ſight. Acts and amended acts were paſſed; the influence of ſecretaries of ſtate and ſecretaries at war was brought forward to expound the ſtatutes; letter after letter was written, and weeks elapſed in explaining explanations; at length the opinion of the crown lawyers was reſorted to by the miniſters, for the conſtruction of the acts which they had themſelves ſo recently propoſed; and that opinion convinced them and the public how much at variance had been their intentions and their enactments. The volunteers were at laſt told, in the moſt complimentary way, and as a ſort of excuſe for all the ſhifting and changing which had taken place, that "the difficulties which had occurred had ariſen in a great meaſure from a zeal and alacrity on the part of the people, which had exceeded even the hopes and expectations of the government. Never was ſo plain and ſimple a meaſure ſo confuſed in the execution; but never can I believe that Buonaparte will ſubdue that ſpirit which ſo much tampering and trifling could neither damp nor diſhearten."

Theſe extracts from the two writers moſt conſpicuous in this diſcuſſion, will ſufficiently illuſtrate the manner in which the diſpute was carried on, without further purſuing the courſe of the conteſt: and it muſt be evident to the reader how much it muſt tend to the diſadvantage of the miniſter. Amid the higheſt praiſes on Mr. Addington, and no ſmall portion of invective againſt the late Chancellor of the Exchequer, the "near obſerver" admits that "Mr. Pitt's acceſſion to the Cabinet would be an acquiſition of great importance; a tower of ſtrength." This, in the minds of the greater portion of mankind, would be ſufficient to decide the queſtion, if it were to be made one of compariſon. The "accurate obſerver," on the other hand, treated Mr. Addington's pretenſions with the greateſt diſdain, and, far from thinking him qualified to guide, hardly allowed him fit to ſhare in the councils and meaſures of Mr. Pitt. This writer too was well known to be the confidential expounder of the ſentiments of Mr. Pitt's friends, and was ſuppoſed to be ſo of Mr. Pitt himſelf, while his opponent was not only diſclaimed by the miniſters, but himſelf, moſt anxiouſly diſowned any connexion with them. They who believed him undervalued his authority; they who diſbelieved him were indignant at the ſuppoſed hypocriſy and treachery of the miniſtry and their champion.

It were an unworthy waſte of time to notice the aſſaults which miniſters ſuſtained from inferior libellers. The effect, however was evident. Daily miſrepreſentation and abuſe, a perpetual call for defence where no ſpecific charge could be alleged, wearied their friends, and emboldened their enemies. The great majority of the public were ſatisfied with their rule, but ſtill a conſiderable impreſſion was made by thoſe who railed at a war wherein nothing was

was effected; who ridiculed and decried the equipment of a navy which gained neither laurels nor riches, and the levy of an army which inſtead of carrying terror to the ſhores of the threatening enemy, awaited in anxious alarm the opportunity of defending their own when that enemy ſhould think fit to carry into execution his menace of invaſion.

To the other difficulties of the Cabinet may be added the uneaſineſs which was excited by the ſtate of Ireland; for although the rebellion of laſt year had ſo ſuddenly ſubſided, and a renewal could not be certainly apprehended, ſtill the occaſional movements of the diſaffected, and the rumour of more ſerious meaſures planned in ſecret, were ſufficient to inſpire anxiety and alarm. The Catholics of that country, although they did not for the preſent attempt any active exertion to embarraſs the government, ſhewed a diſpoſition to place the conſideration of their own claims before any other matter, and would not, amidſt the acknowledged difficulties of the times, approach the throne with the offer of their ſervices, unleſs they were allowed, at the ſame time, moſt loudly and loftily to demand what they thought to be their rights. In this diſpoſition, they had prepared an addreſs to the king ſimilar to thoſe ſent up by every claſs of ſubjects, but an attempt being made to ſoften, in a very ſlight degree, two phraſes relating to their political claims, they declined preſenting it. The ill-humour, apparent in this tranſaction, was heightened by the publication of a correſpondence between Lord Redeſdale, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and Lord Fingal, and ſome other letters which paſſed between the Lord Chancellor and the titular biſhop of Cloyne and Roſs. The ſentiments expreſſed by Lord Redeſdale were made the ſubject of much popular invective, and a regular attack on government was made by a ſeries of violent and inſulting libels on the Lord Chancellor and the Lord Lieutenant.

CHAP. IV.

Slight Changes in the Miniſtry; Meeting of Parliament; King's Speech; Motion for an Addreſs in the Houſe of Lords; carried without Oppoſition; Debate in the Houſe of Commons; the Addreſs moved by Mr. Cropley Aſhley, and ſeconded by Mr. Burland; Obſervations of Mr. Fox; the Chancellor of the Exchequer; Sir Francis Burdett; no amendment moved. Speech of Mr. Windham on bringing up the Report of the Addreſs. Obſervation on theſe Debates. Bills brought in for ſuſpending the Habeas Corpus, and continuing Martial Law in Ireland; Speech of Mr. Secretary Yorke on moving them; Debate on the Habeas Corpus Bill; Speech of Mr. Hely Hutchinſon; General Loftus; Mr. Hawthorn; Lord Temple; Lord Archibald Hamilton; Lord Caſtlereagh. Debate on the Martial Law Bill; Objections of Mr. Burrows; anſwered by Mr. Corry and Mr. John Claudius Beresford; Oppoſition on the Second Reading; General View of the Objections; and of the Anſwers to them. The Bills

Bills carried up to the Houſe of Lords; Debate on them; Speech of Lord Hawkeſbury; Oppoſition of Lord Grenville; he is anſwered by Lord Limerick; the Bills paſs.

THE only changes in the political world, beſides thoſe already mentioned, which could claim particular attention, were the appointment of Lord Pelham to the Chancellorſhip of the Duchy of Lancaſter, on the reſignation of the Earl of Liverpool, and the ſummoning of Lord Hawkeſbury to the upper houſe, where he was to ſit without alteration of the title he had borne by courteſy.

9th Nov.

16th.

The ſeſſion of Parliament was opened with a ſpeech in which the king announced the endeavours he had made to carry into effect the meaſures of defence prepared in the preceding ſeſſion, and extolled the ſpirit which had armed ſo large a body of volunteers. Theſe efforts, he ſaid, had, if poſſible, ſtrengthened the claims of the people to his confidence and affection. His Majeſty noticed the conqueſts made from the enemy, and having mentioned the ſuppreſſion of rebellion, and the puniſhment of its leaders in Ireland, expreſſed his hope, that, ſuch of his deluded ſubjects as had ſwerved from their allegiance, were now convinced of their error; and that, having compared the advantages they derived from the protection of a free conſtitution, with the condition of thoſe countries which are under the dominion of the French government, they would cordially and zealouſly concur in reſiſting any attempt that might be made againſt the ſecurity and independence of the United Kingdom. The king alſo ſtated, that he had concluded a convention with the king of Sweden, for the purpoſe of adjuſting all the differences which had ariſen on the ſubject of the eleventh article of the treaty of 1661, and then returning to the ſubject of the war, expreſſed his firm reliance on the activity, valour, and conduct of his fleets and armies. "Embarked," he ſaid, "with my brave and loyal people in one common cauſe, it is my fixed determination, if the occaſion ſhould ariſe, to ſhare their exertions and their dangers in the defence of our conſtitution, our religion, our laws and independence. To the activity and valour of my fleets and armies, to the zeal and unconquerable ſpirit of my faithful ſubjects, I confide the honour of my crown, and all thoſe valuable intereſts which are involved in the iſſue of this momentous conteſt. Actuated by theſe ſentiments, and humbly imploring the bleſſing of Divine Providence, I look forward with a firm conviction, that if, contrary to all juſt expectation, the enemy ſhould elude the vigilance of my numerous fleets and cruizers, and attempt to execute their preſumptuous threat of invading our coaſts, the conſequence will be to them, diſcomfiture, confuſion, and diſgrace; and that ours will not only be the glory of ſurmounting preſent difficulties, and repelling immediate danger, but the ſolid and permanent advantage of fixing the ſafety and independence of the kingdom on the baſis of acknowledged ſtrength, the reſult of its own tried energy and reſources."

22d Nov.

In

In the Houſe of Lords the Marquis of Sligo moved the addreſs, which was ſeconded by the Earl of Limerick. They preſſed the importance of unanimity at the preſent moment, obliged as we were to contend with an overbearing and vindictive enemy, avowing, as his object, our deſtruction, and one who we knew, by the melancholy experience of Europe, would ſtop, at no means to effect his purpoſe. In the preſent ſubject no queſtion was involved, as to the fitneſs or unfitneſs of miniſters for the councils of their ſovereign; the topics before them were not matters of party conſideration; they were of a comprehenſive, general and important kind. One paſſage in the King's ſpeech, was noticed as deſerving particular conſideration, namely his avowal of his determination perſonally to come forward in defence of the honour of his crown, and the liberties and independence of his faithful people. To a communication of this nature, it was truſted there was no heart ſo cold, or feeling ſo deadened, as not to beat reſponſive, and ſenſibly appreciate, in its full extent, its magnitude and importance. Well might his Majeſty rely on the zeal and ſervices of his people. Should ſuch a contingency ever ariſe, the whole population of the iſland would ruſh forward, and interpoſe its myriads between his ſacred perſon and danger: though an attack ſhould be made by hoſts gorged with the ſpoils and blood of Europe, the reſult would be, not only ſecurity, but triumph to our beloved ſovereign and thoſe who had the happineſs to live under his auſpicious government.

The addreſs was carried without oppoſition.

In the lower houſe, the ſame unanimity did not prevail, for although no amendment was moved, ſeveral members expreſſed opinions not altogether conformable to the ſentiments of miniſters.

The honourable Cropley Aſhley moved, and Mr. Burland ſeconded the addreſs. They alſo felt the ſatisfaction and confidence which the ſpeech from the throne was calculated to inſpire. They invoked unanimity, as peculiarly neceſſary at the commencement of a ſeſſion, during which it was probable the fate of this country would be decided. They ſpoke with exultation of the ſufficiency of the preparations to repel invaſion, and the patriotic ſpirit of the volunteers, and could not agree in the opinion too much expreſſed out of doors, that alarms were merely imaginary, for that Bonaparte was well convinced of the impoſſibility of invading this country, and that his preparations were only meant to alarm, and involve us in a ruinous expence. If thoſe who held this language would conſider the character of the enemy, if they would recollect that he invaded Egypt, and carried his arms further in that country than European troops had ever penetrated before, at a time when he was engaged in a war with all Europe; if they would, conſider the armament which covered the coaſt of France from the Texel to the Bay of Biſcay; if they would recollect that he had hitherto invariably attempted whatever he had threatened; that humanity, which formed a barrier to the ambition of other men, was no obſtacle

obſtacle to his views; that of ſo ſmall eſtimation was life itſelf in his mind, that the ſacrifice of thouſands, may of whole armies, was no impediment to his progreſs; if they would reflect on theſe circumſtances, they could not for a moment doubt, that he would attempt the invaſion which he had threatened. The wiſdom and vigilance of adminiſtration which planned the expeditions againſt the foreign ſettlements of the enemy, and the zeal, bravery, and ſpirit of the forces, by which ſuch valuable acquiſitions had been made, were entitled to the gratitude and acknowledgments of the country. In the ſhort ſpace of four months ſuch advantages had been gained, as, in every former war, would have been reckoned glorious achievements for a whole campaign. The convention with Sweden was hailed as a ſubject of great ſatisfaction, and the ſtate of Ireland was adverted to as moſt conſolatory after the afflicting circumſtance of the late inſurrection.

Without intending to diſturb the unanimity which there ſeemed every reaſon to think would be maintained in the vote for the addreſs. Mr. Fox adverted to two points, one of which was omitted in the ſpeech, and the other particularly alluded to. The firſt was the mediation of Ruſſia, which, in the laſt ſeſſion Lord Hawkeſbury did, as ſtrongly as language could expreſs, pledge miniſters as not only ready to accept, if offered, but, if not offered, directly to ſolicit. Believing the noble ſecretary to have been ſincere, it was naturally expected that in a ſpeech from the throne, at the opening of a new ſeſſion, and after ſuch an interval had taken place, as might afford ſome grounds of aſcertaining how far the application was likely to be ſucceſsful, his Majeſty would have referred to the ſubject, and put the houſe in poſſeſſion of the means of determining how far any negotiations were likely to lead to the reſult which was in view. The other topic treated on by Mr. Fox was Ireland. Parliament, he ſaid, is congratulated on the ſuppreſſion of the late rebellion in that country, and a confident hope is held out of the permanent continuance of tranquillity. From paſt experience, I cannot eaſily flatter myſelf that ſuch a hope will be realized. I can ſee no reaſon to think that permanent tranquillity will be eſtabliſhed in Ireland while the preſent ſyſtem is purſued. He denied on the authority of their own declarations, that the leaders of the late rebellion had any idea of a connexion with the French government. A total change of ſyſtem in relation to that country could alone afford a hope of permanent tranquillity, and as no ſuch change was propoſed no ſuch hope could rationally be entertained, "When we recollect," he added, "the deſcription given of the general loyalty of the people of Ireland; when we recollect repreſentations given in the ſpeeches of gentlemen in this houſe, we ſhall be careful of attaching much weight to any general repreſentations of the ſtate of that country." He adviſed members to bear this ſubject in mind, as it would form the ſubject of inquiry on a future day.

In anſwer to theſe obſervations, the Chancellor of the Exchequer ſaid, the offices of mediation had been offered by the Court of Ruſſia, and accepted with readineſs and grati-

gratitude, on the part of his Majeſty's ſervants; and although diſcuſſions of the greateſt moment were conſequently commenced, yet in their progreſs they did not aſſume ſuch a ſhape as to lead to any probability of an amicable arrangement with France. Circumſtances of a nature which it was hoped might be temporary, prevented miniſters from making a communication to the Houſe. They did not deſire to conceal information which could throw light on the ſubject, but they did not wiſh that the communication which they made ſhould be imperfect, as it neceſſarily muſt have been if made under exiſting circumſtances. Mr. Addington denied that the paſſage in his Majeſty's ſpeech which was ſelected by Mr. Fox attributed to the leaders of the rebellion in Ireland, any deſign of introducing French dominion into that Country. It was merely intended to convey the idea, that the deluded part of the population of Ireland, who might be diſpoſed to employ French aid in deſtroying their connexion with England, would be diverted from their views by contemplating the contraſt between the condition of their own country and thoſe now groaning under the miſeries of French domination. "I have heard it ſaid," he proceeded, "and I ſee no reaſon to doubt it, that the leader in that inſurrection, previous to the judgment of the court being pronounced on him, expreſsly declared his abhorrence of any alliance with the French government, and adviſed his deluded countrymen to conſume the graſs under the invader's feet, rather than ſuffer their native land to be polluted by the footſtep of a French ſoldier. Theſe declarations might be ſincere and true, ſo far as related to the party making them, but if it be meant to aſſert that none of the leaders of the late Iriſh rebellion were inclined to court an alliance with France, I muſt be permitted moſt peremptorily to deny ſuch a poſition. I have the beſt means of knowing that ſuch aſſertions are founded in groſs falſehood. The honourable gentleman ſays that in the ſpeech, inſtead of the hope expreſſed of the re-eſtabliſhment of tranquillity, it would have been better if the word wiſh had been introduced. I will tell that honourable gentleman and alſo this houſe, that the perſons whom his majeſty has called to his government, have not barely the wiſh, but a rational and well grounded hope of the eſtabliſhment of general and permanent tranquillity in that country: for I ſtate with the ſtrongeſt ſatisfaction, and with no little exultation, that the conduct of his Majeſty's government has operated a very ſalutary and material alteration in the ſentiments of the majority of the people."

This ſpeeeh was ſucceeded by one from Sir Francis Burdett on the nature of the volunteer ſervice, in the courſe of which he introduced to the notice of the Houſe an advertiſement from the Committee of one of theſe aſſociations belonging to two pariſhes in the metropolis ſoliciting a ſubſcription. This paper, he ſaid, was directed to be carried from houſe to houſe; calling upon thoſe who had already contributed, as well as upon thoſe who had not; giving an opinion of the ability and wealth of the different inhabitants; and

advertiſing them of an intended domiciliary viſit by two of the corps; threatening to publiſh their names at the cloſe of the year; and particularly pointing out the aged, the infirm, and the women, whoſe fears might be ſuppoſed moſt eaſily excited. That an armed corps ſhould be a deliberative aſſembly was never thought adviſable; but that we ſhould have parochial parliaments through the land, raiſing money at their will upon the inhabitants, could not be borne for a moment: eſpecially when it was conſidered, that theſe ſame perſons undertook to determine the groſs amount of the ſum to be raiſed, and the quota of the individuals, and that theſe ſame perſons are to receive it, to diſpoſe of it, and to partake of it. To theſe obſervations no anſwer was returned, and the addreſs was carried without a diviſion.

23rd. When the report of the addreſs was brought up, Mr. Windham, with his accuſtomed force and eloquence, ſtated his objections not to the addreſs ſo unanimouſly voted, but to ſome paſſages in the King's ſpeech, and to ſome meaſures which it appeared to ſanction. "There may be ſome," he ſaid, "who think, as there are many, undoubtedly who wiſh to have it thought, that the greater the dangers and difficulties of the country are, by whatever cauſes brought on, the greater muſt our acquieſcence be in the miniſtry of the time being, and the more complete our forbearance of all that is uſually called oppoſition. And if by oppoſition is meant a captious and vexatious oppoſition, an oppoſition on things of doubtful nature or inferior conſequence, an oppoſition for the purpoſe of impeding miniſters and making the government difficult to them, the opinion is certainly well founded. What it would be hard to juſtify at any time, muſt be wholly unjuſtifiable in circumſtances ſuch as thoſe ſuppoſed. But if there are perſons, who think that of the danger here alleged as a reaſon for ſupporting miniſters, the miniſters themſelves form the principal part; that the preparations of the enemy, however menacing, would have little terror, if met with wiſdom and ability; that the ſeat of the evil is here rather than abroad; that it is the weakneſs of the defence, and not the vigour of the attack that conſtitutes the danger; that Bonaparte and his legions, however terrific, are not half ſo terrific as the little band which we ſee before us on the Treaſury Bench; if there are perſons who hold theſe opinions, to ſuch perſons it would be idle to ſay, that, for fear of expoſing the weakneſs or leſſening the authority of the miniſters, they were to ſtand quiet ſpectators of what was paſſing, and were neither to attempt to prevent the miſchief, nor point out the ſource from which they conceived it to proceed. I have no wiſh, and in one view certainly have no right, to ſpeak with ſlight or diſparagement of the abilities of the honourable gentlemen. Individually conſidered, they are all men of cultivated minds, of liberal education, of good natural endowments, not unread in the hiſtory of their country, not unpractiſed in its buſineſs, not unprovided with thoſe talents and acquirements which

which are neceſſary for the conducting of buſineſs in this Houſe. But if I am to ſpeak of them collectively, as men forming the council which is to guide the affairs of a great empire, which is to rule the world in a criſis like the preſent, I muſt ſay, from whatever cauſes it ariſes, that they are weakneſs itſelf. I really believe the country will periſh in their hands. With reſpect to the addreſs itſelf, notwithſtanding the care which has been taken, and properly taken, to avoid any occaſion of difference, objections to it would not be wanting, were this the moment for inſiſting upon them. In point of taſte I could have wiſhed, that leſs even had been ſaid, than has been, of the conqueſts in the Weſt Indies, and the impreſſion thereby made on the enemy. Wretched, indeed, muſt be our view of things, if, at a moment like the preſent, we can amuſe ourſelves with ſuch objects, and not ſee, that to the contempt in which the enemy holds them compared with the immenſe projects which he is meditating, we owe, in great meaſure, the facility with which they have fallen into our hands. Upon the ſubject of Ireland, I agree entirely in the remarks made yeſterday by an honourable gentleman (Mr. Fox), that the hope expreſſed is too ſanguine, either for the nature of the thing, or for any confidence to be repoſed in the teſtimony, on which we receive it. I agree with him alſo, in the fears which I underſtood him to expreſs, fears very far from being allayed by what we have heard ſubſequently; that the views entertained reſpecting Ireland, and ſeeming in ſome degree to be indicated in the ſpeech, were far from being of a ſort which promiſed tranquillity or ſafety to that kingdom. But the part perhaps of the addreſs moſt objectionable, is that concluding paragraph, which ſpeaks of the iſſue of the preſent conteſt. The language there held has too much tendency to countenance a notion, than which nothing can be more falſe and fooliſh, that by the iſſue of the preſent conteſt is to be underſtood only the iſſue of the invaſion; which once paſt and decided in our favour, all beyond is to be ſecurity and glory. We know how readily the minds of men out of doors, will run into ſuch a notion, and we may ſuſpect even ſome of a higher deſcription within theſe walls; but nothing could be more diſgraceful or fatal than that ſuch a notion ſhould appear for a moment to be recognized by the houſe at large." In concluſion the right houourable gentleman noticed the defenceleſs ſtate of many parts of the kingdom, and particularly of his own county, Norfolk, promiſing at ſome future day to introduce the ſubject more particularly to the conſideration of the Houſe by an expreſs motion.

From this time to the Chriſtmas receſs, the debates were carried on with great warmth, and were of conſiderable intereſt. The full approbation of Mr. Fox's ſentiments expreſſed by Mr. Windham, left no doubt that a plan of cooperation between the parties heretofore known by the names of the "new" and the "old" oppoſition was in a great degree eſtabliſhed, and as the hoſtility of Mr. Pitt and his friends to the adminiſtration was fully known, it was generally expected that an united

effort would ſoon be made to remove them from power. The ſeveral parties therefore acted moſt prudently in not propoſing an amendment to the addreſs, which would with difficulty have been ſo framed as to combine the views of all, but by ſeverally ſtating their objections to the conduct and character of miniſters they reſerved to themſelves the power of ſeverally bringing forward ſuch ſeparate motions as they could beſt hope to reconcile to the feelings and known opinions of each other, and at the ſame time were enabled to oppoſe ſucceſſively and in detail, the meaſures of government, without any expreſs declaration of their general intentions or views.

2d. Dec. The firſt debates on a queſtion of high importance which engaged the attention of Parliament aroſe out of a propoſition of Mr. Secretary Yorke to bring in Bills to continue two acts; the one for ſuſpending the habeas corpus, and the other for the re-enactment of martial law in Ireland. He declared his reluctance in introducing the meaſures he had propoſed, although he was of opinion that no man could entertain a doubt of their being neceſſary, who had taken any trouble to make himſelf acquainted with the ſtate of Ireland, or who was at all aware of the views of the French government, with whom it had been a long favoured plan to attack the empire on that ſide. He was ſorry to be obliged to propoſe any meaſure that might trench upon the liberties of the ſubject, or any of thoſe bleſſings which this country juſtly valued at ſo high a rate. But it was the misfortune of the times in which we are deſtined to live, that we are not permitted to enjoy our lives, our liberties, or our poſſeſſions, without being daily called upon to ſacrifice ſome part of our privileges in order to preſerve the remainder; to ſacrifice the beſt blood of the country in ſupport of the conteſt in which we are engaged, and to abridge our liberties in order to preſerve the exiſtence of liberty itſelf. The Bills which it was now propoſed to continue, it would be recollected, had paſſed toward the concluſion of laſt ſeſſion, in conſequence of a meſſage from his Majeſty, ſtating the inſurrection that had broke out in the city of Dublin, and the atrocious circumſtances with which it was attended. The houſe very properly paſſed thoſe acts without any heſitation; when paſſed, they gave confidence to the loyal inhabitants of Ireland, and enabled them to ſuppreſs the Rebellion with celerity. The particular circumſtances which gave riſe to and accompanied that moſt unhappy tranſaction, had now been developed by the trials of ſeveral of the leaders and their adherents, before the ordinary courts of Judicature, and according to the ordinary courſe of law. The proceedings on theſe occaſions had been publiſhed, and excluſive of the information contained in the trials, government were in poſſeſſion of other facts, which proved notwithſtanding the declaration of Emmett, that the leaders of that inſurrection were connected with perſons reſiding in France, and thoſe perſons, traitors immediately connected with the French government, if the conſpirators were not immediately connected with it themſelves. It was alſo clear that

that ſome of the traitors who were in France, came over to Ireland for the purpoſe of exciting rebellion, and that they calculated upon the renewal of hoſtilities between this country and France, and choſe that moment for creating an inſurrection, as the moſt favourable criſis for putting in execution their nefarious deſigns. With reſpect to the events of the 23d of July, the details were before the public, and it was not neceſſary to enlarge upon them: the horrid tale was known! and, perhaps, in all the hiſtory of violence, madneſs, and folly which the world ever preſented, there never exiſted treaſon more foul, and inſurrection more unprovoked, leaders more contemptible, aſſaſſination more atrocious, or crimes more horrible. Moſt of the leaders had been brought to juſtice before the ordinary tribunals, which theſe miſcreants wiſhed to put an end to, and exterminate; as evidently appeared by their horrible aſſaſſination of one of the brighteſt ornaments of thoſe tribunals. All the criminals had, notwithſtanding the powers veſted in the Iriſh government, been tried in the ordinary form, except in one ſolitary inſtance, where a perſon who endeavoured to ſeduce a ſoldier from his allegiance, was juſtly and properly tried by martial law.

As the leave to bring in each bill was made a ſeparate motion, each occaſioned a different kind of debate.

On the introduction of the Bill for ſuſpending the Habeas Corpus no direct oppoſition was made, although ſeveral members expreſſed their opinions reſpecting the ſtate of Ireland.

The honourable Hely Hutchinſon, while he vindicated the opinions he had delivered in the laſt ſeſſion, *declared his perfect concurrence in the preſent motion, and was moſt happy to feel juſtified in aſſuring the Houſe, that the conduct of the government of Ireland ſince the inſurrection, met with his entire approbation. Their firmneſs and humanity; their activity and attention, entitled them to the utmoſt praiſe. They had in a great meaſure purſued that line of policy, which the wiſe and juſt would always recommend to be obſerved toward Ireland. Their temper and lenity had tended to cultivate the good opinion of the people. He felt the leſs reluctance in again entruſting the Iriſh government with theſe extraordinary powers, when he reflected upon the moderation and lenity with which they had hitherto been exerted: and on the conciliating conduct and uniform attentions of Lord Hardwicke and his family to the people of Ireland. He animadverted on the paſſage in his Majeſty's ſpeech relating to Ireland, and deprecated the conſtruction ſaid to be put on it by miniſters that becauſe the ſituation of Ireland might be preferable to that of thoſe countries, pillaged and enſlaved by France, it did not require any improvement. He alſo diſapproved of the poſtponement of the conſideration of Iriſh claims on the pretext that the time was unfit. "But, with reſpect to this cant about the the time and circumſtances proper

* See Vol. XLV. p. 225.

for fully inquiring into the ſtate of Ireland," he exclaimed, "I ſhould be glad to know when ſuch circumſtances are likely to ariſe in the eſtimation of miniſters, for from their conduct heretofore, it ſeems impoſſible to calculate; they have been miniſters during peace, and during war, during rebellion, and after rebellion has been put down. They have in fact, been nearly three years in power, and have gone through every variety of change and circumſtance, and yet, to them, the time for conſidering the means of improving the condition of Ireland, has never yet arrived; for by them, every ſeaſon has been deemed improper for the redreſs of its grievances, and of courſe under their auſpices, the beneficial conſequences promiſed by the advocates of the Union, cannot be looked for."

General Loftus and Mr. Hawthorn gave unqualified aſſent to the motion, and reſiſted the opinion that the preſent troubled times were fit for the diſcuſſion of queſtions of great internal importance. Lord Temple and Lord Archibald Hamilton, without oppoſing the motion, inſiſted on the fitneſs of the preſent time, and the former in particular, begged leave to recall to the memory of his honourable friend, and of his Majeſty's miniſters, (he was ſure it was unneceſſary to recall it to the memory of his noble friend, Lord Caſtlereagh, oppoſite to him) that during a period of war and a moment of danger very nearly equal to that which now threatened the country, the Houſe of Commons had paſſed a meaſure of no leſs importance than the Act of Union.

Lord Caſtlereagh aſſerted, and defied any gentleman to diſprove his obſervation, that no meaſure had ſo materially contributed to prevent the miſchief originating in the rebellion from extending itſelf, as the very meaſure which was now made the ground of objection. A great body of loyalty had exiſted in Ireland, during the period that one of the moſt extenſive and moſt malignant rebellions raged in that country which it was ever the fate of a government to encounter. By the exertions of this aſſemblage of loyal ſubjects, that rebellion had been ſuppreſſed, and the conſtitution had been ſaved from deſtruction. He muſt, however, be permitted to ſay, that it was not till the meaſure in queſtion had been adopted, that the loyal part of the community were able to feel and employ their ſtrength. It was not till government was armed with the extraordinary powers with which the meaſure veſted them, that rebellion was attacked in its ſtrong holds and effectually ſubdued. Theſe were the effects of the meaſure in putting an end to the rebellion in 1798, and the continuance of the meaſure at different periods ſince that rebellion, had operated conſequences no leſs beneficial. The late mad attempt at rebellion, ſhewed how much improved the ſtate of the country was, and he had no difficulty in aſcribing to the operation of the meaſure which the honourable member had objected to, that vaſt augmentation of loyalty which had been obtained during the interval which had taken place betwixt the rebellion of 1798, and the late attempt of a handful of deluded and deſperate individuals. Though the

the government was veſted with extraordinary powers, there was no reaſon to be apprehenſive that they would be wantonly employed. The civil tribunals, notwithſtanding the exiſtence of theſe powers, had been appealed to, and the reſult had been equally honourable to the laws and to the individuals to whom the extraordinary powers were delegated. This ought, in his opinion, to operate as an additional inducement to grant extraordinay powers, when it was aſcertained that they were not in any inſtance abuſed, when diſcretion was employed, not in ſuſpending, but in encouraging the operation of ordinary tribunals of juſtice. The great principle which a wiſe legiſlature wiſhed to act upon, was a principle of precaution. Its object was to prevent, and not to puniſh crimes after they were perpetrated. On every conſideration of experience, of policy, of juſtice, and of mercy, he was decidedly for re-enacting the Bill. He truſted that the honourable gentleman would not be inclined to perſiſt in his oppoſition, or contend that at leaſt the re-enactment of the Bill ought to be deferred. Nothing could ſo effectually diſcourage the deſigns or extinguiſh the hopes of the diſaffected. It was neceſſary to let the diſaffected ſee that the government poſſeſſed the confidence of the legiſlature, and that they would receive whatever ſupport the exigencies of affairs required. To refuſe to inveſt government with powers which there was no danger of ſeeing in any inſtance employed with harſhneſs, would elate the ſpirits of the deluded victims of rebellion, while it would paralyze the exertions and augment the fears of thoſe firm and patriotic friends of the conſtitution whom it was the duty of parliament to ſupport by every poſſible extenſion of liberal proviſion.

This Bill paſſed the Houſe of Commons without much further obſervation, but that for ſuppreſſing rebellion by having recourſe to martial law, encountered conſiderable oppoſition.

On the motion for leave to introduce this Bill, Mr. Burrows ſtated that his objections were not founded on any want of confidence in thoſe who were to exerciſe the powers to be granted; on the contrary, he had the moſt entire confidence that theſe powers would in no inſtance be abuſed, either by the government of Ireland or the government of this country. His objection was founded on conſtitutional grounds. When this Bill was formerly paſſed, a rebellion actually raged in Ireland, and ample documents to prove its neceſſity were laid on the table of the houſe. At preſent no ſort of evidence to prove its neceſſity was brought forward. Unfurniſhed with any information, members were called on to give their aſſent to a meaſure which confeſſedly violated the free principles of the Britiſh conſtitution. When ſuch a Bill was formerly introduced, it was on the principle that jurors were over awed in the diſcharge of their duty, and that witneſſes could not come forward to give teſtimony without great perſonal danger; but now jurors and witneſſes could diſcharge their duty with the utmoſt ſafety. Perſons guilty of rebellion had been arraigned before ordinary tribunals, 2d Dec.

had been convicted on the cleareſt evidence, and had ſuffered the ſentence of the law. If the grounds on which martial law was formerly reſorted to did not exiſt, it was not ſurely aſking too much to require ſome new grounds for re-enacting a bill inveſting the executive government with extraordinary and unuſual powers. He alſo objected to the propoſition being made when ſo few Iriſh members were preſent.

In anſwer to theſe remarks Mr. Corry and Mr. John Claudius Beresford obſerved, that in 1801 this very bill had been, not only once, but twice renewed in the courſe of the ſame ſeſſion, though at that time no rebellion or appearance of rebellion exiſted in any part of Ireland. The honourable gentleman ſeemed to be unacquainted with the hiſtory of the rebellion. He did not appear to be aware that the machinations of the diſaffected were at their origin carefully veiled in darkneſs; that their views were gradually diſſeminated over the country; that it was not till their party was fully organized that they broke out into acts of open rebellion. Never, till the act in queſtion was paſſed, were the deſigns of rebellion fully aſcertained. Never, till government was armed with theſe extraordinary powers, was any thing like tranquillity or confidence reſtored. It was not unknown to the honourable member and the houſe, that till the Bill was paſſed the ſyſtem of intimidation was univerſally prevalent, and the courts of common law were as a matter of neceſſity ſhut, not againſt rebels alone, but againſt the loyal part of the community, who were making every ſacrifice in ſupport of the conſtitution and the exiſting government. It was not till the rebels found that they could not proſecute their ſchemes with any hopes of ſucceſs, that the ſtrong powers veſted in the government rendered their detection and puniſhment a matter of almoſt abſolute certainty, and that continuance in rebellion was only another term for deſtruction, that they thought of abandoning their traiterous projects, that they ſat down in laborious tranquillity, and began to return to the habits of dutiful allegiance. Without that meaſure, the honourable gentleman would not this day have had it in his power to notice the preſent tranquillity of Ireland as an argument againſt the re-enactment of the Bill. By all loyal and well diſpoſed individuals, this event would be conſidered as a meaſure not of oppreſſion, but of protection; not of rigour, but of wiſe precaution, on the part of the government. It would diſpel their apprehenſions, and give them new energy in their oppoſition to the deſigns of the diſaffected. It would enable them to check rebellion at its firſt opening, and leave to them the privilege of appealing for the redreſs of injuries to the ordinary tribunals of their country. The majority of the people in Ireland were ſo thorougly convinced of its neceſſity, that they expected the re-enactment of the bill would be one of the earlieſt acts of the ſeſſion. If they had not indulged ſuch an expectation, the members would, at that moment, have been

been in their place to ſolicit its re-enactment.

5th. On the motion for a ſecond reading a more detailed oppoſition was commenced by Mr. W. Elliott, in which he was ſuppported by Colonel Craufurd, Mr. Francis, Mr. Windham, and Doctor Laurence. They objected, in the firſt place, that no ſufficient information had been laid before Parliament to juſtify the proceeding. The preparatory meaſures reſorted to on the paſſing of former acts were recapitulated, and it was obſerved that from the introduction of the law, which this Bill was intended to continue, to this moment, Parliament only knew that there was a rebellious inſurrection in Dublin, on the twenty-third of July laſt, in which Lord Kilwarden and his nephew were murdered. The extent of the conſpiracy, whether there were any correſpondent movements in the north or ſouth of Ireland, whether any papers were found developing the object of the treaſon, were points of which parliament had been kept in a ſtate of the moſt profound and humiliating ignorance. The ſum of the information laid before the Houſe, if information it could be called, was, that the Rebellion was ſuppreſſed, and that expectations of the continuance of tranquillity were entertained. This, ſurely, was a very ſtrange kind of information to offer to the Houſe, as an inducement to paſs a bill, which could not be characterized as any other than a meaſure of ſeverity. If miniſters had grounds ſufficient to ſupport ſo ſtrong an act againſt a great portion of our fellow ſubjects in Ireland, and ſo alarming to every other part of the empire, they ought to ſtate thoſe grounds to parliament. The houſe, Mr. Windham ſaid, was now about to renew martial law in Ireland, without having heard one ſingle word to juſtify the meaſure. To vote the re-eſtabliſhment of martial law ſeemed to be ſo much a matter of courſe, that it required no argument to ſupport it. They ſtopped the conſtitution as a miller would ſtop a wind or a water-mill, and with as little conſideration. The conſtitution was ſtopt and ſet a-going, was commanded to march or to halt, with as little ceremony as a colonel would uſe toward his battalion. He would not ſay this was wrong, but he wanted to know why it was right. The members, it was ſaid, who voted for the meaſure during the late ſeſſion muſt have done ſo under a clear conviction that miniſters would, ſo ſoon as they could have arranged and digeſted it, laid before parliament a farther detailed communication, not only in reſpect to the conſpiracy but to the general ſtate of the country. The parliament was however prorogued without one ray of light on the ſituation of Ireland, and in this ſtate of darkneſs was now called upon to continue theſe extraordinary powers to the Iriſh government. On a ſubject of ſuch magnitude and importance, members could not conſent to act upon the principle of implicit faith in any government. Much information might clearly be given, which could be divulged without a poſſibility of detriment to the ſtate, and that claſs of intelligence, which might require more caution and reſerve in the communication of it, might be afforded through the medium

dium of a ſecret committee. No injury could reſult from the delay, as the exiſting law would not expire for ſome weeks.

If the little intelligence afforded by miniſters could be relied on, the Bill ought to meet an unqualified negative. In the King's ſpeech, the conſpiracy was alluded to as a paſt event. Parliament was told the public tranquillity had experienced no further interruption, and a hope was indulged, that ſuch of his Majeſty's deluded ſubjects as had ſwerved from their allegiance were now convinced of their error. The attorney-general of Ireland in his addreſs to the Jury, on the firſt trial that took place under the ſpecial commiſſion, ſaid, "Certainly it is matter of ſome conſolation to know that the conſpirarcy which broke out into open inſurrection on the twenty-third of July, was confined within much narrower limits than the promoters of it are willing to inculcate, whether we conſider the numbers who have embarked in the enterprize, their wealth or their character, it will appear contemptible in the extreme. So far as it had for its odious object the ſubverſion of the government and conſtitution of the country, it was abſurd and romantic, it was idle and viſionary even in the opinion of many of thoſe who embraced it." Again, "Notwithſtanding the horrors of that night, which no man can regret more than I do, yet I think they furniſh ſome ground for reflection, that the people, who had been worked into arms from one end of the country to the other in 1798, could not be rouſed beyond the aſſemblage of a deſperate mob, as contemptible in number as it was atrocious in diſpoſition. After avowing their object to be to overſet the government of the country, and to break the connexion with England, they ſtate that nineteen counties will come forward with promptitude to effect it. But five weeks have ſince elapſed and not one ſingle county has come forward at their call. The conſpiracy ſeems almoſt ended where it began." Such being the ſtatements of a great law-officer, the preamble of the Bill now propoſed ought in conformity to them, to run in theſe terms. "Whereas the late contemptible and inſignificant conſpiracy in the city of Dublin, was ſo ſpeedily and effectually ſuppreſſed, that it ſeems almoſt to have ended where it began, and whereas the public tranquillity has experienced no further interruption, and there is reaſon to indulge the hope, that the deluded are convinced of their error, and that they will cordially and zealouſly concur in reſiſting any attempt that may be made againſt the ſecurity and independence of the United Kingdom; be it enacted, that the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland be inveſted with the power of declaring martial law, &c. &c."

Whatever might be ſaid of the vigour of this proceeding, which, without a moment's conſideration or a particle of evidence, put a great portion of the empire out of the protection of the conſtitution, it was to be feared that much would not be ſaid, or felt, of its kindneſs. It would be no great proof, either of reſpect or ſympathy for the people of Ireland, no good illuſtration of the advantages of the Union, that we ſhould be willing to exclude them for the time from the conſtitution, and put them under martial

martial law, in circumſtances of proof, in which no man would have ventured to hint at ſuch a thing in reſpect to this country.

Miniſters, it was ſaid, had taken great praiſe to themſelves for framing the treaty of Amiens, but while they were accumulating theſe eulogies, the rebels in Dublin were collecting military ſtores; and a large magazine was actually formed without, even a ſuſpicion of it on the part of the Iriſh government. That government however was not without pretty urgent intimations of ſome treaſonable confederacy. The exploſion of a ſecret gunpowder mill, the detection of the conveyance of prepared ammunition in the ſtreets of Dublin, and the intelligence, given by ſeveral moſt reſpectable individuals, of ſure indications of approaching commotion, were formidable warnings; nevertheleſs the government ſeemed to have been ſurpriſed. But when this ſuggeſtion was made by Mr. Windham, miniſters, had denied the imputation with indignation. "Why," ſaid the right honourable gentleman, "it was not unnatural for me to ſuppoſe it a ſurpriſe; becauſe, a few days only have intervened, ſince you gave this houſe the moſt captivating deſcription of the internal tranquillity and loyalty of Ireland." Still the anſwer from miniſters was, "that the government in Ireland had been prepared." "What precautions did you take, except ſtrengthening two or three guards in the vicinity of Dublin," aſked the honourable Gentleman? "Did you make any previous communication to the privy council?" No. "To the Lord Mayor?" No: the Manſion-Houſe was robbed of a conſiderable quantity of arms. "To the Chief Juſtice?" No: he fell a victim to his ignorance of the information government poſſeſſed." Nevertheleſs miniſters perſevered in aſſerting, that proper proviſion was made againſt the impending danger, and that the conduct of the Iriſh government was full of energy and alertneſs.

The ſupporters of Government conſidered many of theſe obſervations to be directed more againſt the general conduct of the Iriſh Government, than the Bill now before the Houſe.

The delay of the Bill until a committee ſhould have made inquiries, was ſtrongly reſiſted, becauſe the neceſſity was obvious, and becauſe the ſame meaſure of precaution, which this Bill propoſed, had, in many inſtances, been adopted without any previous inquiry. It was ſo on the firſt ſuſpenſion of the habeas corpus act, at the commencement of the laſt war, and on ſeveral other occaſions, which muſt be within the recollection of gentlemen on the other ſide, and in moſt of which Mr. Windham took a very active part; and Mr. Elliot was not leſs active, in ſimilar caſes, as a member of the Iriſh parliament. From ſuch gentlemen, therefore, the loud call for inquiry into the grounds of neceſſity which preſſed for this meaſure, which were notorious, and certainly much ſtronger than at any of the various periods when a like proceeding was reſorted to, came with a very ill grace, and muſt excite ſome aſtoniſhment on the ſcore of conſiſtency. When the martial law-bill was continued immediately after the Union, no inquiry ſuch as that now demanded took place. Parliament acceded to the bill

bill then, on the aſſurance of the repreſentatives of Ireland, that it was proper and neceſſary. Mr. Windham was then in office, and joined in reſiſting the propoſition of inquiry, and indeed the ſurpriſe at his preſent recommendations was aggravated by the recollection of arguments he then employed to juſtify his oppoſition to inquiry; arguments founded entirely on the known circumſtances of the times and of the Iriſh nation; and would the Right Honourable Gentleman pretend to maintain, that thoſe circumſtances were by any means ſo ſtrong as the preſent time offered, a time when invaſion was impending and diſaffection actually exiſting in Ireland? In July, the houſe aſſented to the enactment of this law, upon the authority of a meſſage from the throne, and the Lord Lieutenant's proclamation reſpecting the rebellion, which referred to the maſſacre of Lord Kilwarden. Since then the details of the ſeveral trials had furniſhed the houſe and the country with the moſt ſatifactory evidence of the neceſſity of the proceedings. But gentlemen had argued as if no rebellion or diſaffection of any magnitude, ſufficient to juſtify the grant of ſuch extraordinary powers to the Iriſh government, did really exiſt, becauſe the Iriſh Attorney-General thought proper, in the courſe of his addreſs to the Jury on a particular trial, to deſcribe the inſurrection of the 23rd. of July as the deſperate effort of a few turbulent men: but it could not be admitted that ſuch a deſcription from any man, however reſpectable, ſhould exclude all reference to the nature of the evidence. If ſuch a doctrine were to obtain credit, it would lead to concluſions at once abſurd and miſchievous.—With reſpect to the expreſſion in his Majeſty's ſpeech that tranquillity was happily reſtored in Ireland; the juſtice of that ſtatement was perfectly maintainable, without impairing in any degree, the force of the arguments now relied on for the re-enactment of the meaſure under diſcuſſion. It was known that the rebellion was put down, that its leaders and the greater part of its principal agents had been brought to juſtice, and that although much of diſaffection was underſtood to pervade the Iriſh nation, yet tranquillity nevertheleſs exiſted; but was not the exiſtence of that tranquillity to be ſecured by preciſely the ſame means to which the country was indebted for its attainment, by the precautionary meaſures which formed the ſubject of the preſent debate? And ſurely it was not unfair or irrational to ſay, that theſe meaſures had contributed a large ſhare in reſtoring peace to Ireland, and that they will materially tend to preſerve that peace there was the ſtrongeſt reaſons to believe. A great deal had been ſaid about additional information. What deſcription of informtaion was required? The information before the houſe was, that the Rebellion in Ireland had been ſuppreſſed, that meaſures of precaution were however indiſpenſably neceſſary, more eſpecially when it was conſidered that the enemy had avowed his determination to avail himſelf of the inſurrection of the diſaffected to aid his deſigns of invaſion both againſt this country and Ireland. Theſe appeared to be ſimple, clear, and ſatisfactory grounds for the renewal of the Bill, as the beſt meaſure

ſure of precaution which could be adopted.

Members in oppoſition had thought proper to aſſert that the affairs of Ireland did not occupy ſo great a ſhare of the attention of government, or of the Houſe, as their vaſt importance required, this was a very ſtrong charge, and what were the facts on which it was to be ſupported? A charge of ſo important a kind would require ſtrong evidence, and there was no propriety in bringing it forward in a looſe, unſupported manner. A diſcuſſion on a point ſo important ought not, however, to be brought on by a ſide wind. Let facts be fully and honourably brought forward and not frittered away and diſtorted. Let the whole conduct of the government of Ireland be conſidered, combined and arranged in all its bearings and relations, and then he ſhould be ready to prove, that inſtead of cenſure, it was deſerving of approbation; inſtead of a charge of weakneſs, a confidence of foreſight and energy.

Much ſtreſs was laid by thoſe who blamed the conduct of miniſters, on the circumſtance that they were not aware of the exiſtence of the rebel magazine in the heart of Dublin. True it was, that this circumſtance had not been diſcovered previous to the inſurrection of the 23rd. of July. Miniſters, however, were appriſed, that a riſing was intended on that day, and ſuch precautions were adopted, as left Dublin fully protected from all danger. True it was, that a reſpected magiſtrate had fallen a ſacrifice to the fury of the rebels; but this atrocity was, in no degree whatever, imputable to the negligence of miniſters. From certain circumſtances, that nobleman had heard of an intended inſurrection in Dublin, and he was in conſequence induced to proceed to town at a late hour. Perhaps it would have been more prudent if he had not thought of entering Dublin that night, or at leaſt that he had not entered it at that particular part of the town, where individuals ready for acts of violence could always be without difficulty collected. Much as the atrocity was to be lamented, it was in no degree brought on by the miſconduct of the Iriſh government. Previous to the 23rd. of July, all the troops in Ireland had been provided with 60 rounds of ammunition each. The caſtle of Dublin was no dépôt for military ſtores, but 8000 rounds had been lodged there for ſerving ſuch regiments as might have occaſion to apply, and, on the firſt application, ample proviſion was made; and within leſs than two hours, more ammunition was ſupplied than was required to be uſed during the whole courſe of the rebellion.

The principal ſpeakers on this ſide of the queſtion were Mr. Secretary Yorke, Lord Caſtlereagh, Mr. Pole, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Attorney-General, and the Honourable C. Hely Hutchinſon.

The Bill was read, and ordered to be committed. On bringing up the report, the debate was renewed, but without any additional vigour of argument or any novelty of ſtatement. 7th.

In the Houſe of Lords only one diſcuſſion aroſe on theſe meaſures, which was when Lord Hawkeſbury moved 12th Dec.

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the ſecond reading of both Bills.

His Lordſhip, in a ſpeech of conſiderable length, and great ability, recommended the propoſed laws to the Houſe, but the general tenor of his arguments had been anticipated in the Houſe of Commons. In claiming confidence for miniſters, Lord Hawkeſbury forcibly adverted to the conduct they had purſued on the appearance of a moſt diabolical conſpiracy in this country. On that occaſion, ſeveral individuals had been convicted, on the cleareſt evidence, of a moſt atrocious conſpiracy to compaſs the death of the ſovereign, and had ſuffered the ſentence of the law. What, he deſired their lordſhips to recollect, had been the conduct of miniſters? Satisfied with having brought atrocious criminals to condign puniſhment, they had reſorted to no extraordinary meaſures. They had not come to Parliament and called on them to ſuſpend any of the ordinary privileges of the conſtitution; they had appealed only to the common law courts of the country, and the cauſe of loyalty had been ſignally ſupported while treaſon had ſuffered the puniſhment which it in every caſe merited. The Habeas Corpus act continued in full force. The idea of introducing martial law was not thought of, even for a moment. The reaſon of this their Lordſhips muſt clearly apprehend. It was the reſult of a conviction on the part of miniſters, that the loyalty of the great maſs of the population was ſound to the core. They found that a few frantic individuals had meditated a moſt deſperate attempt on the life of our beloved ſovereign: but they knew that the people at large were attached to their king, and devoted to the conſtitution of their country. They puniſhed criminals, but they did not invade the privileges, or ſuſpend, even for a moment, the liberties of a people who had given ſo many inſtances of their unalterable loyalty. The different ſituation of Ireland required a different mode of conduct; and to that, with reluctance, government had recourſe.

The Earl of Suffolk and Lord King, having made ſome obſervations on the abſence of ſufficient information, and ſome other points, on which they were anſwered by the Marquis of Sligo, Lord Grenville aroſe, as he ſaid, under circumſtances of conſiderable embarraſſment, to deliver his opinion. He complained that Parliament was called on to paſs bills depriving a large proportion of his Majeſty's ſubjects of the moſt important privileges of the conſtitution, without any information as to the circumſtances by which they were rendered neceſſary. He had always thought, and ſhould on every occaſion maintain the ſame opinion, that there were times and circumſtances, when in conformity to the principles of the conſtitution in its beſt times, extraordinary powers were to be granted to meet extraordinary circumſtances of danger. It was, however, always to be recollected, that the circumſtances which eſtabliſhed the exiſtence of this danger, ſhould be clearly and unequivocally eſtabliſhed. His Lordſhip followed the courſe purſued in the other houſe, in ſtating, that the only information given to Parliament was contained in the king's ſpeech, and in deſcribing the precaution with which meaſures like thoſe now in agitation had been adopted in former times. With reſpect to the Habeas

Habeas Corpus bill, he ſaid, it would be ſeen that thoſe who were to exerciſe the powers which it veſted, were perſons of the higheſt rank in the ſtate. Every ſtep they took was a ſtep open to future cenſure. Every meaſure they adopted was liable to the ſevereſt reſponſibility. Very different, however, was the ſituation of thoſe who were to exerciſe the powers veſted in the government by the Martial Law bill. Their lordſhips needed only to look at the bill to be convinced, that many of thoſe who were to carry its proviſions into effect, if unfortunately it ſhould be neceſſary to reduce them to practice, were individuals in whom no reſponſibility of the nature to which he had referred could attach. They might decide from want of adequate knowledge: They might labour under the influence of prejudice. They might in ſome caſes be led away by local prepoſſeſſions, or decide under the preſſure of temporary paſſions. He was ſure that their lordſhips would agree with him in thinking, that when ſuch inconveniencies might be experienced, the powers of the nature which the bill granted ought not to be lightly conferred. He begged leave ſhortly to explain the views on which alone he had ſupported, or ever could ſupport, a bill for depriving any part of his fellow ſubjects of the ordinary privileges of the conſtitution. When martial law was firſt introduced in Ireland, a rebellion of a moſt formidable nature raged with the utmoſt violence. That rebellion, by the valour of the king's troops, and the ſpirit and zeal of the loyal inhabitants, was ſuppreſſed. As was to be expected, however, much rancour and much malignity continued to agitate thoſe, whoſe open attempts at rebellion had been defeated. When they found that they could not attack the king's troops, or the loyal part of the community in arms, it was neceſſary for them to change their mode of attack. A ſyſtem of murder and intimidation was accordingly introduced, and a regular conſpiracy was formed to interrupt the ordinary proceedings of the courts of common law. Magiſtrates were prevented from performing the duties of their office at the peril of their lives. Judges were prevented from preſiding at trials at the peril of their lives. Witneſſes at the ſame hazard were deterred from giving their evidence. In a word, the proceedings of the civil and criminal courts of the country were totally ſuſpended. A ſyſtem of intimidation had, for the time, annihilated every form of law, and every privilege attached to fair and equitable juſtice. What was to be done under ſuch circumſtances? Some ſtrong meaſure muſt have been immediately adopted, or the country muſt have been left a prey to all theſe horrors. The meaſure of martial law was adopted, and the effect which it produced on the reſtoration of tranquillity was immediate. Government, veſted with extraordinary powers, was enabled to arreſt the progreſs of theſe atrocious conſpirators. Rebels ſeeing the proſpect of martial law before them, ceaſed to have any object in obſtructing the proceedings of the ordinary tribunals. Things reverted to their former order, and the eſtabliſhment of martial law, ſo far from ſuſpending,

ing, was, in fact, the means of reſtoring the operation of the Common Law courts. It was from a contemplation of theſe circumſtances, and a knowledge of theſe effects, that he had, on former occaſions, ſupported the eſtabliſhment of martial law in Ireland. Having laid down this general principle, he begged leave to put it candidly to their lordſhips, whether any ſuch evidence had now been adduced to juſtify the meaſure? Had the noble lord at all inſinuated that any ſyſtem of intimidation at preſent prevailed in Ireland? Were magiſtrates impeded in the exerciſe of their functions? Were judges unable to perform their duties without turbulence and anarchy? Could jurors not give verdicts according to the dictates of their conſcience? Could witneſſes not deliver their evidence without the dread of fatal conſequences? He was confident that the noble lord would not make any one of theſe aſſertions. He appeared, on the contrary, to glory in the idea that the utmoſt tranquillity prevailed, that the proceedings of the civil and criminal courts experienced no interruption; that criminals were tried without moleſtation, and that they ſuffered the ſentence of the law without any violation of the public tranquillity. He profeſſed himſelf aſtoniſhed, after ſuch admiſſions on the part of his Majeſty's miniſters, to hear them gravely aſſerting the neceſſity of eſtabliſhing martial law in Ireland.

In anſwer to theſe obſervations, Lord Limerick, who ſaid he had but recently left Ireland, took on himſelf, from a cloſe and careful examination, decidedly to aſſert, and he was confident he ſhould not be contradicted, that the re-enactent of both the bills now before their lordſhips, was eſſentially neceſſary to the continuance of tranquillity in that part of the united empire. He could with equal ſafety make the ſame declaration in behalf of all the loyal part of the community in that country. They, to a man, expected that the bills would be renewed. With thoſe who deſcribed the inſurrection of the 23d of July as a contemptible riot, he could not poſſibly agree. Contemptible with regard to number it certainly was; but when its objects and ends were conſidered, it was of a very different deſcription. He would aſſert without fear of contradiction, that it bore diſtinctly all the features of the rebellion of 1798; that it looked to the ſame object of Iriſh ſeparation from this country, that it was fomented before the breaking out of the war by French influence, and that latterly it was encouraged by the hope of French aſſiſtance. It had been contended againſt the renewing of martial law, that the buſineſs of the ordinary courts of law was not ſuſpended, that criminals were condemned and executed without tumult. This he did not wiſh by any means to deny; but he could account for it in a moſt ſatisfactory manner. It would be recollected, that the greater part of the late ſtate trials had taken place in Dublin. Now, what he deſired their lordſhips to know was, the ſtate that metropolis while theſe trials were going forward. At that time there was a force of armed men not leſs than twelve thouſand. Not a motion of inſurrection could

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go forward. Not a ſtep could be taken by the inſurgents without an almoſt certain detection; under theſe circumſtances it was not to be wondered at that tranquillity prevailed. It was unfair, however, to ſuppoſe, that if trials had taken place in remote diſtricts, the ſame good order and peaceable conduct would have been obſerved. Iriſh grievances, he obſerved, formed now a very hacknied topic; but, even at preſent, he declared himſelf ſomewhat at a loſs to underſtand the exact import of the term: What were, he deſired their lordſhips to reflect, the ſentiments of the rebel leaders on the ſubject of Iriſh grievances? Was it Catholic emancipation they ſought for? No! this was beneath their notice. Was it equal repreſentation?—the thing was ridiculous. Was it the abolition of tythes? this was equally contemptible. In a word, it was nothing ſhort of Iriſh independence, and the abolition of kingly government.

With theſe obſervations, and a few additional arguments from the Lord Chancellor, and Lord Hobart, the diſcuſſion cloſed.

CHAP. V.

Debate on the Army Eſtimates; the Reſolutions moved by Mr. Bragge, Secretary at War; Speech of Mr. Windham; Mr. Secretary Yorke; Mr. Pitt; Mr. Yorke; Mr. T. Grenville; Lord Caſtlereagh; Mr. Fox; the Chancellor of the Exchequer; the Reſolutions paſs without a Diviſion. Debate on bringing up the Report; Obſervations of Colonel Craufurd in favour of a Military Council; Mr. Roſe; Mr. Pitt urges the Appointment of Officers from the regular Service to inſtruct the Volunteers; Mr. Yorke; Mr. Pitt in Support of his Propoſition; the Chancellor of the Exchequer; Mr. Windham on the Defects in the Volunteer Eſtabliſhment; reprobated by Mr. Erſkine; and by Mr. Courtenay; vindicated by Dr. Laurence; Obſervations of the Attorney-general; the Reſolutions paſs without alteration.

IN the preceding debates, the oppoſition to miniſters was not drawn out in its full force, nor did all the parties of which it was compoſed diſtinctly appear, but on ſome other ſubjects the manner of conducting the diſcuſſions ſhewed how formidable theſe bands were becoming, and how poſſible it was that they might form a ſyſtem of decided co-operation.

9th Dec. In a committee of the whole houſe, the ſecretary at war brought forward the army eſtimates, obſerving that they did not comprehend the whole military eſtabliſhment of the year, becauſe, from the nature and extent of the different ſervices included, and the variation which might ariſe from a poſſible alteration of the circumſtances and ſtate of the country, the whole could not with accuracy be aſcertained, ſo as to be produced in the ſhape of an unqueſtionable document. They were claſſed under ten heads, namely

	Numbers.	£.	s.	d.
1. Guards, Garrisons, &c. -	129,039			
For Great Britain -		3,115,456	9	9
For Ireland - -		1,161,168	2	11
Total		4,276,624	12	8
2. Forces in the Plantations, &c. -	38,630	1,174,509	16	6
3. India Forces for Great Britain -	22,897	545,628	4	2
4. Troops and Companies for recruiting ditto for Great Britain -	533	29,859	14	9
5. Recruiting and Contingencies for Great Britain - -		180,000	0	0
6. General and Staff Officers, with a State of the particulars of Charges		154,647	3	10
7. Embodied Militia and Fencible Infantry for Great Britain -	109,947	2,150,965	10	6
For Ireland - -		640,657	17	0
Total		2,791,623	7	6
8. Clothing for ditto - -		251,793	14	6
9. Contingencies for ditto for England		50,000	0	0
For Ireland - - -		11,129	7	0
Total		61,129	7	0
10. Volunteer Corps for Great Britain		730,000	0	0
For Ireland - -		1,290,567	13	11
Total		2,020,567	13	11
For Great Britain - -	301,046	8,346,860	14	0
For Ireland - -		3,103,523	0	10
Deduct for India Forces - -	22,897	545,628	4	2
Total for Great Britain - -	278,149	780,232	9	10
Grand Total		10,904,755	10	0

The Secretary at War ſtated the particulars applying to each diviſion of the ſervice, and coming laſt to the volunteers, obſerved that it was peculiarly neceſſary to advert to them. He ſhould conſider them under two heads; firſt, for Great Britain, next, for Ireland. The calculation reſpecting Great Britain, would neceſſarily be looſe and ſubject to inaccuracy, as it muſt depend on ſo many circumſtances, and be regulated by the actual exigency of the country, but it was formed as nearly as poſſible on the preſumed extent which the ſervice

ſervice of the year might require. For the volunteer corps, he eſtimated that £.730,000 would be neceſſary, from the 25th of December 1803, to the 25th of December 1804; but it was here neceſſary for him to ſtate, that as the clothing had been provided for in the expenditure for the preſent year, that item made no part of the eſtimate. The computation had been made for the number to which the volunteer corps were ſuppoſed to amount, but it was greatly exceeded by the actual number. The volunteer corps of Great Britain, appeared by the account preſented, to be 379,943 men. The eſtimates of their expences muſt neceſſarily be complex and difficult to be exactly aſcertained as the different rates of pay, according to the different periods of the year at which they came forward, ſhould be taken into the account, as well as the nature of the ſervice, on which they might be employed, whether permanent, or only for exerciſe. The ſum, therefore, at which the eſtimate was taken, would not appear large, when it was recollected that the number for which it was calculated, was only 320,000. Of the volunteer force, 42,500 infantry, and 2,500 cavalry, ſerved without pay. Great part of the clothing had been voted in June, and therefore was not in the eſtimate: but the allowance of one ſhilling per day for twenty days ſervice, for the purpoſe of training, to ſuch as ſhould accept pay, was eſtimated at £.190,000. Agency officers, and field officers, in conſequence of the alteration that in each reſpect had been found neceſſary in the original regulations, which had been made in June, required an additional expence, which did not, however, exceed £20,000. This was a looſe and rough eſtimate of the expenſe, but it was rather under than over what the ſervice would want. The ſtate of Ireland required that the eſtimates ſhould be higher than in proportion for Great Britain, and that proviſion ſhould be made for ſervices already performed, as well as for thoſe which might hereafter be neceſſary. The calculation of the number of volunteers raiſed in England was under the actual amount; but the eſtimate for Ireland exceeded the known amount, which was taken at 70,000, but preſumed capable of being increaſed, if the ſituation of the country ſhould require it, to 80,000. There was alſo a conſiderable difference in the eſtimate for the two countries, which was unavoidably to be calculated in proportion to the time the volunteers ſhould be called out on actual ſervice. He ſuppoſed that the whole of the Iriſh volunteers would be out four months in the year. But though the allowance under this head would be larger than the eſtimate for Engliſh corps, he thought it right to ſtate, that, except in caſe of invaſion, when they ſhould neceſſarily be employed on actual ſervice, the Iriſh volunteers received no pay when merely out for exerciſing, nor when on duty, unleſs the men ſhould be actually and efficiently preſent at muſter on their parade. He had ſtated the preſent volunteer force of Ireland to be 70,000. The eſtimate, however, had been made, on a ſuppoſition that the numbers could, and would be conſiderably increaſed; and he had ſtated enough,

he thought, to ſhew that the calculation was not exceſſive. The honourable ſecretary then apologized for not having a correct eſtimate of the foreign troops to be employed, and for ſome other deficiencies in his ſtatement, and concluded by moving the firſt of the uſual liſts of reſolutions.

In the debate which enſued, the various parties in oppoſition ſtated their objections to the military meaſures of government, and to the ſyſtem of adminiſtration in general, in ample detail; and as they had not yet formed any common ground of oppoſition, it will be neceſſary briefly to ſtate the courſe of argument purſued by the ſpeakers of each claſs.

Mr. Windham, in a long and well combined ſpeech, attacked the whole plan of government. He ſaid, the view the ſecretary at war had afforded was ſo different from that which he felt himſelf compelled to take of the ſubject, that his obſervations, he feared, would appear very little to ariſe out of the ſtatements which the houſe had juſt heard. He could not conſider the preſent topic without noticing the general conduct of adminiſtration, his opinion of which he could not better deſcribe, than in ſome lines which gentlemen might have ſeeen on inn windows and ſhutters, where the writer ſpeaking of the faults of men and women, and allowing that many faults belong to men, concludes moſt injuriouſly and ungallantly,

> ——Poor women have but two;
> There's nothing good they ſay, and nothing right they do.

Theſe lines, however bad the poetry, and however falſe the ſentiment, in its original application, were, he was ſorry to ſay, perfectly deſcriptive of his opinion of his Majeſty's preſent miniſters. To prove the juſtice of this opinion, he might cite all their proceedings from the ſignature of the treaty of Amiens, but he would omit every thing which had occurred between that time and the 8th of March, the day when his Majeſty's meſſage was brought to parliament. He would ſuppoſe it to have been perfectly right, that from the moment peace was made, no matter with what circumſtances, miniſters were to proceed according to the eſtabliſhed rules in ſuch caſes, to reduce the army, diſmantle the fleet, diſpoſe of all the ſtock and implements of war, ſell off gun boats for little more than the value of the old iron, refuſe for five guineas men whom they would be happy now to get back for fifty; diſcharge others, whom they could not get back at all. Giving miniſters full credit for the completely defenceleſs ſtate in which the country was in laſt March, he would proceed to conſider what change they had ſince effected, and what means they had poſſeſſed for that purpoſe; ſo that by a compariſon, a judgment might be formed as to the degree of blame or merit aſcribable to their conduct. He had heard, where, in the caſe of exorbitant election charges, in a bill for cockades, for inſtance, the candidate had offered to pay for all the ribands that could be proved to have been in the ſhop for the laſt ſix months; or where the charge was for liquor, inſtead of attempting to calculate the number of drinkers, and the average quantity they might ſeverally have drunk,

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he had propoſed, not only to pay for all that had been in the cellar within a certain time, but to gauge the houſe, and give credit for all that could have been contained in it, ſuppoſing it to have been one entire ciſtern of liquor from the cellar to the garret. He would purſue a courſe ſomewhat ſimilar, in eſtimating the merits of the exertions of the honourable gentlemen. Inſtead of ſaying ſo much ought to have been done in recruiting, ſo much in completing the militia, ſo much in procuring defence in other ways, he would rather beg the houſe to take a general view of the means poſſeſſed by the country, of the manner in which miniſters had the diſpoſal of theſe means, of the time they had to employ them, and comparing the whole with the reſult, to determine in their own minds, whether the affairs of the country, in this moſt critical concern of its defence, had or had not been placed in proper hands.

The means of the country, in its firſt and greateſt article, the baſis of all the reſt, was a population of fifteen millions; the time, as he had agreed to take it, from the 8th of March, was nine months, three quarters of a year. The wealth of the country was, he muſt confidently ſay, for this purpoſe, unlimited. There was nothing that the country was not willing to do in the way of perſonal ſervice, or to contribute in the way of money. It was long, indeed, before the honourable gentleman thought fit to call upon them, but the country was no ſooner told of its danger, and ſummoned to rouſe in its defence, than it obeyed the call with alacrity; they had no ſooner began to try for this zeal, had hardly begun to ſink this well before the national feeling roſe ſo faſt upon them, that they found themſelves in danger of being overwhelmed by it, and begged for God's ſake to be pulled up again. They no ſooner turned this cock than it ſpurted in their faces. The money expended for the army of reſerve alone, and that too in mere bounties, could not be eſtimated at leſs than £.1,000,000, he certainly ſhould be within the mark, when he ſtated the whole expenſe incurred for volunteers at not leſs than £.2,000,000, making a ſum of at leaſt £.3,000,000 expended in little more than the mere creation of a force; and that in a way, for the greater part of it, infinitely more oppreſſive than if raiſed by a general tax. What then, they were to aſk, was the force created? The ſafety of the country was provided for, it might be ſaid, by a vaſt maſs of armed force amounting to not leſs than 500,000 men. He was far from ſure that the numbers might not even exceed theſe limits. But it remained to inquire what this maſs, this fabrick, conſiſted of: how much of it was of ſolid maſonry, part of the whole ſtanding force of the country; how much was of a later date and leſs regular conſtruction; how much might be compoſed of materials ſtill more recently collected, and more haſtily put together, and be liable, in conſequence, to various cracks and ſettlements; and what portion of it was mere lath and plaſter, not diſtinguiſhable, perhaps, by the eye, and ſeeming to be a continuation of the ſame front, but no more the ſame with it, in reality, than one of the new temporary barracks, of which they

might expect to hear so much soon, was to be considered as a building of the same sort with St. Paul's or Westminster Abbey.

Of the first two descriptions of force here enumerated, it was not necessary to say much. The regular army was what they had always known the regular army to be, and never more, than during the whole of the period of the late war. The militia had long been wrought to a high degree of excellence, and was at that time, perhaps, in as great perfection as it was possible for troops to attain, of whom neither officers nor men could have the benefit of actual service. Of the army of reserve the character must be for some time continually changing, according to their progress in training, and according to the manner in which the men were disposed of, either as selected, and incorporated into old battalions; (making, however, a very incommodious mixture of men serving upon different tenures;) or as put together in battalions by themselves. But in neither way could they be considered, for some time at least, as fit to be classed with the regular troops; nor would it be possible, at any time, for those so to class them, who refused to admit to the description of a soldier, any man whose engagement of service did not extend to term of life. A great portion of these were, for the present, good for no service either without or within the realm. They were men newly collected together, with their pockets full of money, or who had only emptied them by a continued course of intoxication, and had not yet got their grass-flesh off; had not got the beer out of their bellies, which they had been swilling for weeks, many of them at the rate of fifty guineas a man. As for those who were left behind, in what were called the reserved battalions, they, for the most part, were so left behind and reserved, because no one thought it worth his while to take them, and were of a sort which no time or drilling could ever render serviceable; time, indeed, being with many of them the last thing they wanted, as the very objection to be urged was, they were already past the age of service.

The last and most important, certainly the most extensive head of force, was that which comprised the great body of inhabitants to whom arms had been given or promised, the general collection of the volunteer corps. In speaking of a body of 400,000 men, he did not mean to say that they were all useless, or worthless, or of a character he knew not what, that was to make them run away at the sight of an enemy. All he meant to say was, that these corps must be for ever unsuited to the sort of service on which it was intended to employ them; and that the methods pursued with them were calculated to render them as little useful as it was possible for such an assemblage of men to be. It was no reproach to any one, that he was of an age, or size, or state of health, that did not admit of his performing the duties of a soldier: that he was the father of a family, and could not be spared from the care and superintendance of those who looked to him, at every moment, as their protector and guide: that he was engaged in a business which he could not leave without ruin to himself and to those who depended

depended on him for their ſupport. There was no reproach in all this; but there was a great deal in it, which muſt prevent corps, conſiſting for the moſt part of men ſo circumſtanced, from either performing, for any length of time, the duties of ſoldiers employed on ſervice, or from acquiring the expertneſs and habits by which thoſe duties muſt be performed. To talk of giving to ſuch men the character and qualities of regular ſoldiers, was the greateſt of all abſurdities. After deſcanting at great length on the inutility of ſuch a force for general military purpoſes, and illuſtrating his obſervations by the fact that frigates and fifty gun ſhips are not admitted into the line in a naval engagement, the right honourable gentleman exclaimed, "What muſt be the ſituation of a general, if, when directing the execution of any preſſing ſervice—a hill, ſuppoſe, to be occupied, a poſt to be maintained, a wood to be defended, a redoubt to be ſtormed, in a criſis which left no leiſure for deliberation or inquiry, he muſt be comparing the characters of the different corps under his command, and be expoſed, at laſt, to the uncertainties of troops, whoſe compoſition was unknown, whoſe conduct in a day of action was to be tried for the firſt time, and who, in the mode of ſervice now propoſed for them, might involve in their defeat or miſcarriage, the diſcomfiture of the whole army." Theſe were the points to which he ſhould now limit his obſervations; he ſhould not now conſider what might be the future danger ariſing to the ſtate from bodies of armed men, ſubject to no regular authority, governed by committees and ſub-committees, and having more the character of debating ſocieties, than of ſchools of military diſcipline. He was conſidering them merely as part of the defence of the country againſt a foreign enemy, and in this view he muſt recal to the attention of the houſe: firſt, the immenſe reduction to be made in our force, when, out of five or ſix hundred thouſand, four were underſtood not to be ſoldiers, but only armed inhabitants; and next, when theſe armed inhabitants were prepared and faſhioned in a manner ſo little judicious, as in the plan now purſued. When to this was added, that by the exemptions given, contrary to the intentions of miniſtry, and by the mere effect of haſte and overſight, numbers had latterly flocked into theſe corps, as a refuge from other ſervice, and that ſo large a portion of the active population of the country was thereby locked up, and withdrawn from the ſervice; either from the army of reſerve or militia, (the regular recruiting was out of the queſtion); he would leave to the houſe to judge what credit was to be given to the honourable gentleman on this head of the account. The whole force produced for the country, after three millions expended, and with the command of an unlimited credit, was, 1ſt, 400,000 volunteers, ſuch as he had deſcribed, and whoſe formation operated, as he had deſcribed in reſpect to the other ſervices; 2dly, a militia, excellent in its kind, but incomplete, and rendered more difficult to be completed by the effect of the meaſure above referred to; 3dly, twenty, or ſix and twenty thouſand army of reſerve;

and 4thly and laſtly, an addition, (as he ſhould have ſaid) of 5000, or (as he now underſtood from the honourable gentleman) of 7,000 men to the regular army! This was all the nation had got in return for its large contributions, its ready ſacrifices, its heavy expenſe, both of patience and money. Five thouſand men to the regular army; five pints of reaſonably good ſoup, was the whole that theſe ſtate cooks had been able to produce after all their ſimmerings and boilings, all the hams and chickens, and pounds of beef, which they had melted down, and the bills which they had run up in conſequence at the different ſhops.

Having thus detailed his objections to what, according to the phraſe of a great philoſopher, he termed the living inſtruments of our defence, Mr. Windham ſaid, the inanimate inſtruments muſt not be overlooked, though he ſhould ſay but little to all the objects which that claſs would comprize, ſuch as works, fortreſſes, preparations by ſea and land, every thing that wiſdom and foreſight could provide or could arrange, toward making the approach of an enemy difficult, or giving force and efficacy to the action of thoſe who were preparing to reſiſt him. In all this he feared a dreadful deficiency. From the northernmoſt point on the coaſt of Suffolk, where the protection might be ſuppoſed to ceaſe from the ſhipping at Yarmouth, to a part of the coaſt of Eſſex, where a naval defence of another kind might be ſuppoſed to begin; there was a line of coaſt, acceſſible in moſt weathers, and certainly very commodious for the landing of an enemy in ſuch veſſels as thoſe in which they were expected to come. Upon this line he ſhould unqueſtionably think it highly advantageous if a defence were provided, formed by the conſtruction of what were known to our officers under the name of Mortella towers, a ſpecies of edifice ſo called from a memorable inſtance of one at Mortella in Corſica; where by a tower of this ſort, garriſoned by ſome ten or half dozen men, and mounted with about two guns, a ſhip of the line of ours, and a frigate, were, during the laſt war, completely foiled and driven off, though they were able to approach within a quarter of a mile of the object, and though the captain, a moſt approved officer, would not withdraw from the conteſt while there was a hope left, nor till he had loſt an immenſe number of men, and had his ſhip twice ſet on fire *. After many obſervations on the utility of theſe defences, Mr. Windham obſerved, on the facility and cheapneſs with which they might be erected. Conſidering the ſimplicity of the conſtruction of theſe towers, the little interior fitting they would require, the rude materials of which they might be compoſed, (the ſtones made uſe of for paving London, might ſerve for the moſt expenſive part,) the facility with which materials would be conveyed for buildings neceſſarily ſituated on the edge of the coaſt, and in its moſt acceſſible parts, it is difficult to conceive, that £.1000 a piece muſt not be an ample allowance. And thus for a ſum of £.30,000, and with a force of 300 men, thirty

* See Annual Regiſter, O. S. Vol. XXXVI. year 1794, p. 381.

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miles of coaſt, in parts the moſt vulnerable, would be put in a ſtate of ſecurity far greater at leaſt than any which they could enjoy without the aid of ſuch precautionary meaſures. He then ridiculed with conſiderable effect the ſuppoſed intention to defend the coaſt by means of the ſea-fencibles whom he deſcribed as mere pike-men, and decried the argument that becauſe all parts of the coaſt could not be protected by fortifications, no part ſhould be fortified.

He then attacked the miniſtry for their general miſapplication of the means of defence confided to them. There was, he ſaid, no ſecurity any where with perſons ſo wholly unſuited to the arduous criſis in which they had to act, as the honourable gentlemen. In every part of their ſyſtem little conſiderations were mixing themſelves with great, ſo as to ſpoil the effect of the whole, and prevent its working truly in any of its operations. This was eminently the caſe in the pecuniary part, where a wild profuſion was ſo combined with a mean parſimony, that it was like the conduct of a man, who in giving a great entertainment with all the dainties of the ſeaſon, peas at a guinea a quart, ſhould diſgrace the whole by a ſcarcity of clean glaſſes, or by a coarſe and ill waſhed table cloth. With this muſt be coupled, as it poſſibly aroſe out of it, an extraordinary paſſion for machinery, into which the honourable gentlemen had been led, partly, as it appeared, by the hope of working cheaper, and partly by that common error, of ſuppoſing that a great machines muſt be calculated to produce a great effect. Their machines were much like that which Hogarth repreſents, where the wedge, the lever, the axis *in paritrochio*, all the mechanical powers were introduced for the purpoſe of drawing a cork, an operation which a waiter or butler would perform more effectually, as well as more expeditiouſly, by a little inſtrument from his pocket called a corkſcrew. It was of the nature of all machinery, that in proportion as the parts were complicated, the movement was likely to be ſlow; not to mention that if any part ſhould happen to be miſplaced, or wanting, or ill adjuſted, the whole muſt be at a ſtand. This was very much the caſe with ſome of the machines of the honourable gentlemen. In order to keep their expences out of ſight, and to throw as much as poſſible upon individuals without the intervention of parliament, they had ſet up ther grand ſyſtem of Lord Lieutenants, Deputy Lieutenants, Lieutenants of diviſion, Inſpectors of diviſions, Superintendants of pariſhes, &c. &c. perſons very proper to be appointed, and to be held in readineſs, but very improper for much of the work on which they were employed, namely, that of getting the country into a ſtate of military defence. Every one had heard freqently, and almoſt proverbially, of the ſlow progreſs of official buſineſs. But at what rate muſt that buſineſs proceed, which had for its office a county? which, inſtead of clerks with ſalaries, amenable to ſuperiors, compellable to a certain attendance, acted by country gentlemen, ſubject to no authority, who were bound to no eſpecial ſervice, who might attend as much or as little as they liked, and who might

might feel poſſibly that they conferred a favour every time that they attended at all? He could not better illuſtrate the effects of the ſyſtem which had thrown buſineſs into this courſe, than by ſtating what had happened upon the ſubject of ſignals. It might have been thought, that the arranging a ſyſtem of ſignals, as it muſt have been among the earlieſt and moſt preſſing objects of attention, that which, in ſome ſort, was to give effect to every thing elſe, was the one alſo which would have been moſt eaſily accompliſhed, and moſt ſpeedily carried into effect. The mode that had been adopted, was, too, of the moſt ſimple kind. A line of ſtations was to be eſtabliſhed along the coaſt, placed under the direction of perſons appointed by the Admiralty, and qualified to collect and to convey, by means of the Admiralty ſignals, ſuch more detailed intelligence as was neceſſary for officers appearing off the coaſt, or commanding at the naval ſtations; while from this, as from a circumference, other lines were drawn inland, for the mere purpoſe of giving alarm, or for communicating a few of the more ſimple reſults of what had been obſerved upon the coaſt. Any one would ſuppoſe that this was a work, which would not take long in completing, conſidering that it was of that ſort, which might be going on in all places at once, ſo that the time neceſſary for the whole would be no more than what had been required for the lateſt of the parts; and that in three weeks or a month from the firſt alarm, that is, from the 8th of March, however much our means of reſiſtance might have been wanting, we ſhould at leaſt not have been liable to ſee the enemy amongſt us without notice of his approach. And ſo it would have been with any ſet of perſons, who would have done things in a plain way: who would have been content "to draw a cork with a corkſcrew." But not ſo, the ſavers of money, and the lovers of machinery. By ſeeking to divide the expence of theſe ſignals with the counties, and throwing the buſineſs, in conſequence, into the train which he had deſcribed, the reſult was (the Houſe would hear it with aſtoniſhment) that in ſome of the maritime counties, immediately expoſed to the enemy, and where the attack was moſt expected, the ſyſtem of ſignals, even in thoſe parts of it which were moſt eſſential, and on which the whole depended, was not completed to that very hour. It would naturally be inquired, how this could happen; and the explanation might be given, by ſtating only what had taken place in the county to which he belonged. When the deputy lieutenant ſignified to the lieutenant of diviſion that ſtations muſt be prepared for the reception of the naval officers, the lieutenant of diviſion did not care to ſtir in the buſineſs, till he knew whether the ſums which he ſhould advance, would be repaid to him by the deputy lieutenants. The deputy lieutenants on the other hand, were a little ſhy of engaging for this money, till they ſhould make it good from the county; and, on the part of the county, it was quickly replied, that the lieutenants would look in vain for repayment there, for that the ſums in queſtion were no article for a county rate, and

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in no county rate ſhould they be admitted. Here the matter hung for ſome time, and here it might have hung ſtill longer, if the deputy lieutenants, weary of this ſlow return of correſpondence, and impatient of further delay in a matter ſo important and urgent, had not reſolved to take the riſk upon themſelves, and to direct the completion of the work, truſting that government would ſee them finally repaid. This government had engaged to do; and the county of Norfolk might by that time, perhaps be in poſſeſſion of its ſignals.

The honourable gentleman had not only not provided an army, but had brought things to a ſtate, in which, without ſome great change, it was impoſſible that an army ſhould be provided. The army of reſerve, the only channel of recruiting not yet dry, would ſoon, poſſibly, be dry likewiſe. It had yielded 7000 men: it was doubtful how many more it had to yield. Whatever it gave to the army, was ſo much in diminution of its own numbers. How much might continue to ooze in from it, in its decreaſed and decreaſing ſtate, was very uncertain; not to mention the dreadful expence and ruinous example of theſe ſucceſſive enrolments; this double bounty. The probability was, that after yielding to the army a few more thouſands, ſo much would juſt remain of the army of reſerve, as would be ſufficient to preſerve the example of this anomalous force, and to make recruiting impoſſible by contributing, with the militia, to continue the high rate of bounties. In aid of all theſe miſchiefs, came the effect of the volunteer ſyſtem, which, as the honourable gentlemen had managed it, whether by deſign or by miſtake, locked up 400,000 men of the active population of the country. What a blow was here! He was tempted to call out to the honourable gentlemen, as the Roman Emperor did to his general, *Redde mihi, Vare legiones.* Seventy thouſand men and more, withdrawn from the ſupply of the army of reſerve, by the militia; and 400,000 men withdrawn from both militia and army of reſerve by the volunteers; and the army of reſerve, the only reſource for recruiting the army; with what ſort of men, and at what rate of recruiting, was the army likely to be ſupplied? All this, as a future conſideration, the honourable gentlemen thought nothing of. They had got, or thought they had got (they had in fact got no ſuch thing), what was ſufficient for the preſent defence; and beyond that, they never thought of looking. Defence was their utmoſt horizon. All beyond was clouds and darkneſs. He conſidered it eſſential for the country to have a large diſpoſeable force. His opinion was, that, as a firſt ſtep, there ſhould be an univerſal abolition of the ſyſtem of ſubſtitution. That all commutation for perſonal ſervice (as commutation there muſt be), ſhould be made by fixed fine, ſo as to render government the only recruiter in the market without competition from militia, army of reſerve, or any other ſervice. That to meet, and co-operate with the effects of the advantage thus given, ſervice in the army, ſhould be changed from life to term of years; drafting ſhould be formally aboliſhed; means poſſibly deviſed to render ſervice in the Weſt Indies leſs frequently neceſſary; and ſome other ſubordinate regulations adopted,

ed, calculated to give to the profeſſion of a ſoldier advantages and attractions, additional to thoſe, not inconſiderable ones, which it already had. Having made ſome further obſervations, he concluded by ſtating that theſe were his ideas of the meaſures to be adopted, for creating that firſt and moſt indiſpenſable requiſite in the preſent ſtate of the world, as well for the ſake of immediate ſafety, as with a view to the future condition of the empire, a regular and diſpoſeable military force. Inſtead of this, the honourable gentlemen ſeemed by their meaſures to be looking to any other force, rather than that of a regular army, the augmentation to which was as yet, by their own account, only 7000 men; while by their general conduct they had brought the country to a ſtate, in which, at the end of nine months, a line of cruizers, or (according to the expreſſion of an old poet, whom he did not dare to quote in the original) "a ſingle plank of wood," was all that protected the country, he would not ſay, from the "grave," but from evils and dangers, of a magnitude not to be deſcribed.

Mr. Secretary Yorke roſe briefly to anſwer this, which he termed a long and very entertaining ſpeech, although he blamed the introduction of ſuch minute details, contending that a committee of the Houſe was not the beſt or fitteſt place to go into an accurate examination of the merits or defects of ſuch a complicated ſyſtem. "The right honourable gentleman," he ſaid, "has found much cauſe for diſapprobation, in the defenceleſs and vulnerable ſtate in which ſome part of the coaſt has been ſuffered to remain. In reply to this, I will frankly admit, it is not in as good a ſtate of defence as it might have been, conſidering our means and the ſpirit of the people; but ſtill I ſhall contend, that it is fully ſufficient for the protection of the country, and capable of affording a very ſerious reſiſtance to any probable effort of the enemy."

To the charge of haſtily diſbanding the army after the peace, Mr. Yorke anſwered by a poſitive denial of the fact. "At no period of our hiſtory," he ſaid, "was there ever, at the concluſion of a peace, an eſtabliſhment both naval and military, maintained, that would ſupport any compariſon with that voted and ſanctioned by this houſe, ſubſequent to the ratification of the definitive treaty. Excluſive of that which took place in the cavalry, in which I admit it was conſiderable, the diminution in the reſt of our force, the infantry I mean, was very trifling indeed; not more than 7000 men out of the whole of our regular army. Our regular force," he proceeded, "has been nearly doubled ſince laſt ſeſſion of Parliament. Inſtead of 60,000 we have now, including the army of reſerve, an effective regular force of 120,000 men. Theſe latter troops, he ſaid, were for every military purpoſe, as effective as any regulars, although, perhaps, according to a phraſe of the right honourable gentleman, "they had not yet got the graſs out of them." There was ſcarcely a great military ſtate in Europe in which it was not the practice to eſtabliſh reſerved battalions or battalions of depot, and ſuch troops were equal to many and very important ſervices, for undertaking garriſon

garriſon duty for inſtance, and by that means relieving the troops of the line, and adding to the diſpoſeable force of the country."

Having made a few obſervations on the militia, Mr. Yorke noticed the objections to the volunteer force in theſe terms. "The volunteers, as I before ſtated, amount to upward of 379,000, among which there are 340,000 infantry, with a proportion, and certainly no inconſiderable one, of 17,000 officers. The reſt of the volunteer force is made up of cavalry and artillery; and it is this numerous body of men, diſciplined almoſt as well as any equal body of men could be in the time, that the right honourable gentleman is pleaſed to conſider as not an effective force. Although they may not at the outſet be capable of meeting a regular army in line of battle, a circumſtance, by the bye, not much to be apprehended, or expected in a country like this, yet ſtill there are many poſſible contingencies in which they may be eminently uſeful. By acting on the flanks and rear of the enemy; by making demonſtrations; by contributing, with their numbers, to increaſe to the eye of the enemy, the magnitude of our regular force, on theſe and ſimilar occaſions, they will not prove, as the right honourable gentleman has ſaid, an ineffective force, but a formidable and highly efficient one: and whenever the actual ſtruggle comes, whenever they are to contend for their country and their homes, for every thing that is dear to their feelings and to their honour, I am confident that they will all be found to do their duty, and that many of them will enter into the line. As to the objection to their cloathing, I muſt allow that it is a matter of regret, that they have not all adhered to the national colour, and principally becauſe the departure from it may occaſion ſome confuſion. I even am tempted to wiſh, that they had all adopted the regulation clothing, although that is not of ſo very much importance, as it is impoſſible, when acting in large bodies, that an enemy could diſtinguiſh the difference at a few hundred yards diſtance. The right honourable gentleman, as he conceives, has made a ſtill more ſerious objection againſt miniſters, for he aſſerts that the volunteer ſyſtem at firſt made no part of their means of defence. In reply to this, I will only recal to this houſe an act which paſſed in the year 1802, in which, among others, there were expreſs proviſions not only for continuing the whole volunteers, but even for accepting new offers. It muſt be in the recollection of gentlemen, that ſuch an act was before this Houſe, and that it created no diſcuſſion. It was in vain that I wiſhed to call the attention of the Houſe to the whole of our military and volunteer ſyſtem. The proviſions and principles of that bill paſſed through the Houſe, with little comment, and as little attention. Surely, if there had been any thing vicious in that ſyſtem, it ſhould have been reſiſted *in limine*. The general defence act, as it is entitled, did not embrace the volunteer ſyſtem, nor was it meant to ſuperſede it. The propoſition for exonerating the pariſhes, if volunteers ſhould offer to a certain extent, was made with the unanimous concurrence of this Houſe. The whole nation roſe as one man, and it was from

from that cauſe that the idea of parochial companies was laid aſide. Was ſuch an impetuous and gallant diſpoſition on the part of the people, to be rejected? Were miniſters to ſay to them, we won't accept your ſervices, we will reſort to our compulſory means? I need not ſuggeſt to the right honourable gentleman how culpable, I ſhould almoſt ſay, how criminal, government would have been, if they had not availed themſelves of the ſpirit of the people, which we have never endeavoured to repreſs, as the honourable gentleman has charged us with, but which, on the contrary we have done every thing to promote. Upward of 400,000 ſtand of arms have been diſtributed, and it was the queſtion of arms, and the queſtion of exemptions, which firſt compelled the government to the determination of reſtricting the extent of the volunteer ſyſtem."

The ſubject of fortification, he ſaid belonged rather to the ordnance department than to that over which he preſided, he had, however, no objection to allow that, in his opinion, that part of our ſyſtem had been too much neglected; and it was on that account, that the plan which was ſubmitted to parliament, ſo far back as the year 1786, had not been adopted. "Not that I think," he added, "conſiſting as the population of this country does, of a brave and gallant race of men, ſurrounded by the ſea, and encircled by a navy the moſt numerous, enterpriſing, and well appointed of any in the world, that we have any occaſion to reſort to a very extenſive plan of that ſpecies of defence. As to the Mortella towers, their eſtabliſhment muſt depend upon the opinion of military officers, and, if adviſeable, moſt certainly ſhould be adopted, wherever practicable. "Regulations," he ſaid, "were in contemplation with reſpect to the ſea-fencibles. Conſtituted as they were, they could be eminently uſeful. They were competent to the manning of the gun-boats, and he thought he ſhould not ſay too much, if he hazarded the aſſertion that they would be able to beat all the boaſted flotillas of the enemy. As to the propoſal for increaſing the army by enliſting for a certain term of years; there was one inſuperable objection, that it could not be done without diſorganizing the whole of our military ſyſtem; for it muſt be extended to the whole of the army, or it would inevitably produce jealouſies and diſſatisfaction that might prove fatal to that ſtrict diſcipline and prompt obedience and alacrity, without which an army is nothing. Such a practice prevailed in the Auſtrian ſervice, and it was one of the greateſt defects in it. Let any man only conſider the conſequence that would attend the adoption of ſuch a ſyſtem, particularly if a number of troops were ordered abroad, whoſe period of ſervice was nearly expired, and who poſſibly might have a claim to be diſcharged before they could arrive half way to the place of their deſtination.

Mr. Pitt ſaid he ſhould not follow the example of his right honourable friend, Mr. Windham, in taking that detailed and comprehenſive view of the ſubject before the committee; nor would he go into any retroſpective diſcuſſion of the meaſures of government, nor inquire

inquire whether the extraordinary means with which they were entruſted before the laſt prorogation of parliament, had been exerciſed with ſufficient vigour and ability. He would confine himſelf particularly to what was more directly before the Houſe; the nature, the amount, and the propoſed management of the military force of the country. He acknowledged that he differed fundamentally from Mr. Windham with regard to what ſhould be the nature of that force to which we ought to look as a permanent ſource of ſafety throughout the whole of the preſent conteſt, however long might be its duration. No man thought more highly than he of the importance of a regular military force, or of the regular force of this country, but to a regular army alone, however ſuperior, however excellent to the regular army, even aided by the militia, we ought not ſolely to truſt; but that in a moment ſo eventful, in a criſis ſo full of danger, in a conteſt ſo ſingular in its character, and which perhaps might be tedious in its duration, we ought to ſuperadd to the regular army ſome permanent ſyſtem of national defence, either to a certain degree compulſory, or formed upon the voluntary zeal and patriotiſm of the country itſelf. The army muſt be the rallying point; the army muſt furniſh example, muſt afford inſtruction, muſt give us the principles on which that national ſyſtem of defence muſt be formed, and by which the volunteer forces of this country, though, in a military view inferior to a regular army, would, fighting on their own ſoil, for every thing dear to individuals and important to a ſtate, be invincible. "Contemplating all theſe great and important objects," he ſaid, "I cannot but rejoice that the volunteer ſyſtem has been formed. I ſee no reaſon to complain of government for the extent to which it has been carried; neither do I complain, that it has fallen ſhort of what we could wiſh or expect. I wiſh only that in the proviſions which were enacted, with regard to its extent, the numbers had been allotted with ſome relation to the local poſition and peculiar danger of the different parts of the country; I only wiſh that when it was fixed generally, that the volunteer force might be ſix times the number of the militia, a greater proportion had been aſſigned, or a facility had been reſerved, of increaſing it in the maritime counties; or in thoſe moſt vulnerable and moſt expoſed to the firſt attacks of the enemy. I am deſirous that while we make proviſion for meeting the enemy the moment he touches the Britiſh ſoil, prepared to repel him from our ſhores, to charge him as ſoon as he aſcends the beach, we ought likewiſe to be ready, in caſe of neceſſity, to meet him with freſh armies, to overpower him with freſh armies, and even if it ſhould be requiſite, to bring army after army againſt him till he was finally diſcomfited. As far as I can perceive from the eſtimates ſubmitted to the Houſe," he proceeded, "and from the opening of the right honourable gentleman, no proviſion is made for introducing any improvement into the volunteer ſyſtem, or for ſecuring greater benefits from it than we now obtain, or even for maintaining and ſecuring thoſe we already enjoy. From what I have obſerved, and from what

what I have heard of the ſtate of the diſcipline of the volunteers, I am more and more convinced, that in order to bring them to any conſiderable degree of diſcipline, they muſt be aſſembled in bodies, and that if they continue in companies they will make but little comparative progreſs. It ſeems deſirable, therefore, that, wherever it can be done, they ſhould be formed into battalions. When that cannot be done, they ought to be formed and brought together into as numerous connected bodies as circumſtances will permit, ſo as to have the benefit of inſpection and diſcipline. It appears to me extremely deſirable, therefore, that every battalion of volunteers ſhould, in addition to its own officers, have the aſſiſtance of two officers of the ſervice, one a field officer, and one an adjutant, to aſſiſt in the inſtruction and diſcipline of the corps. Theſe officers ſhould be conſidered as belonging to the army, and ſhould in every reſpect enjoy their rank, pay, and other advantages, as if they were actually ſerving in the army. The expence of this arrangement would be conſiderable; but from what I know of the great ſuperiority which a battalion, with the benefit of ſuch officers, has over one trained under their own officers without ſuch aſſiſtance, though with the utmoſt zeal and diligence, I am ſatisfied that the expence would be abundantly compenſated by the perfection which the corps would attain. I ſhould imagine, upon a conjectural view of the matter that the whole expence of a field officer and adjutant for every battalion would not exceed 160,000 or 180,000l. a year. Now this expence ſurely is trifling in compariſon with rendering 350,000 men an efficient and improving force." Mr. Pitt alſo recommended that there ſhould be more days allowed for drill, and an additional pay to thoſe corps which accepted any. The whole expence for officers and for additional pay, on the principles above ſtated, would, probably, not exceed £.500,000 per annum; but if it had the effect to render the volunteers an efficient force, and to form them into a ſubſidiary army, conſtantly improving in diſcipline, it would be found the cheapeſt part of our military eſtabliſhment. Mr. Pitt then deſcanted with great animation on the utility of this force, if it ſhould be poſſible to employ the regular army on the continent; if any proſpect were to appear of rouſing the ſpirit and ſupporting the exertions of thoſe ſtates that now bend in abject ſubmiſſion to the deſpotiſm of France; if we could rekindle any hope of effecting the deliverance of Europe from the yoke under which it groans; in ſuch objects the army of this country might be moſt uſefully employed; in ſuch undertakings it might gloriouſly co-operate. Perhaps our arms might be inſtrumental in delivering his Majeſty's electoral dominions from the grinding dominion of France; perhaps they might concur in wreſting Holland from the ſame yoke, and might replace that ſyſtem of Europe, at leaſt in many points eſſential to our own ſafety, which the enemy had overthrown. Should the houſe concur with him in opinion, it would be proper to take meaſures for carrying theſe objects into effect before the houſe ſhould ſeparate for the receſs. It would be neceſſary that the vote of

of money ſhould be accompanied with ſome new regulations of detail, the purpoſe of which would be to keep up the number of the volunteers to their full amount, to inſure punctuality of attendance; to promote ſteadineſs, attention, and ſoldierly habits, and, though without putting the corps under martial law, provide for that obedience and diſcipline requiſite to form the military character. Having ſtrongly inforced this ſubject, and made ſome obſervations on the exemptions to which the volunteers conſidered themſelves entitled, he came to notice the ſea-fencibles. "If the ſea-fencibles," he ſaid, "were compoſed of men liable to ſerve in the navy, the objections would be well founded, but this is not the caſe. They are compoſed of ſeafaring men, it is true, but chiefly pilots and others, obliged, not merely by their own purſuits, but by their importance to the commercial intereſts of their country, to remain at the places of their reſidence. Theſe men are intended to man the boats which have been prepared for the defence of the coaſt, and only armed with pikes in ſituations where they could not act with any other weapons. Indeed, I wiſh that the Admiralty had diſplayed more diligence in preparing thoſe veſſels which the ſea-fencibles were intended to man. This ſpecies of force will, I am confident, be found of the utmoſt utility in caſe of any attempt to invade our ſhores, and will evince the ſame ſuperiority over the flotillas of France, which the other branches of our navy have evinced over the maritime force of the enemy; and when brought to trial will neither diſappoint the hopes, nor lower the character of the country."

Mr. Yorke again roſe after this ſpeech; the propoſitions reſpecting the volunteers required to be carefully examined before they could be adopted to the extent required; but with reſpect to the allowance of a ſtronger volunteer force to the maritime and expoſed counties, he ſaid that had already been effected, and ſhewed ſeveral inſtances which ſupported his aſſertion.

Mr. T. Grenville cenſured Mr. Pitt for having taken a contracted view of the queſtion, for he conſidered the preſent as the natural and fit occaſion, not only for examining the military arrangements which government propoſed proſpectively to adopt, but alſo for examining what uſe miniſters had made of thoſe powers, which, in a former ſeſſion, were entruſted to them by Parliament. No evidence was before the Houſe of the volunteers being at all in a ſtate of becoming effective. How then could it be argued, that they could ever become ſo completely effective as to prove a ſubſtitute for our regular army? That army was ſtated by the Secretary at War to amount to 120,000. By ſubtracting the militia we could at once ſee the amount of our regular force. The militia was 70,000, which being deducted from the whole regular force, as ſtated by gentlemen themſelves, there remained 50,000. In this number, it was neceſſary to obſerve, the army of reſerve was comprehended. It was known pretty well what was the ſtate of our regular force in March laſt, at the commencement of hoſtilities.

The inadequate ſtate of our military preparation, he at that time thought a charge of a ſerious nature againſt government. But, if it was then regarded as a crime, that the regular force of this country only amounted to 20, or to 25,000, what were we to think of the energy or exertion of that government, which, in the ſpace of eight months, during which every nerve ought to have been ſtretched to render our ſituation more ſuitable to the danger which threatened us, had increaſed that force only from 8 to 10,000 men; and who had, in the mean time, been compelling every man to enter into a military ſervice of a different nature, to the deſtruction of that ſervice, which it was their bounden duty to encourage and ſupport. He then made ſome obſervations on the exemptions claimed by the volunteers and contraſted the condition of the privates in the regular army with that of thoſe in the army of reſerve, the difference between whom, he ſaid, was ſo great that the one muſt laugh at the other. He ſtated ſome caſes in which he thought the volunteers had been ſubjected to cruel hardſhips, and inſiſted that the acts relating to thoſe corps ought to be reviſed; but ſtill, he added, he muſt feel the Houſe would not do its duty if it reſted contented with a force merely to aſſiſt a regular army at home.

Lord Caſtlereagh agreed with the laſt ſpeaker that the preſent was the natural and fit occaſion, not only for examining the military arrangement, which government propoſed proſpectively to adopt, but alſo for examining what uſe miniſters had made of thoſe powers which, in a former ſeſſion, were entruſted to them by Parliament; and he deprecated the extenſive view which Mr. Windham had taken of the military ſtate of the country, only as it appeared not ſo much calculated to guide our policy hereafter, as moſt unjuſtly to depreciate and diſparage the various efforts, which the country had made for its ſecurity, and to deny to all, except the troops enliſted for general ſervice, the ſhare of merit and value which fairly belonged to them. Before he ſhould ſhortly ſtate to the Committee what miniſters accompliſhed for the defence of the country ſince Parliament laſt ſeparated, he was anxious to reſcue the military ſyſtem, then decided upon from two imputations, which Mr. Windham had very unjuſtly thrown upon it. It appeared, that out of 35,000 men, already raiſed for the army of reſerve, 7,500 had entered for general ſervice. This number had entered in a period of leſs than two months, the enliſting having commenced only in the beginning of October, and having been ſuſpended, with a view to the better diſcipline of this force, ſince the 1ſt of December. The honourable gentleman would therefore find, that this meaſure, which he deſcribed as ſo fatal to the recruiting ſervice, had in the ſhort ſpace of two months produced nearly as many men for general ſervice as had been obtained in the preceding year, by the ordinary mode of recruiting. The right honourable gentlemen had very naturally conceived, that the high bounty muſt have altogether ſuſpended the ordinary mode of recruiting; but here again experience was preferable to theory, and although

though the number of recruits ſo raiſed had been of late diminiſhed, about one third, yet it by no means had the effect, at leaſt not in the extent which had been attributed to it, of injuring the ordinary recruiting ſervice. His lordſhip denied that the volunteer ſervice locked up a large proportion of our population, and deprived us of their ſervices. The exemptions granted to the volunteers, without doubt, made the ballot both for the militia, and the army of reſerve fall more ſeverely upon perſons not enrolled in theſe corps; and as few ballotted men ever ſerve in perſon, it certainly operated as an increaſe of tax upon thoſe who were not thus enrolled; but in what ſhape could this be ſaid to lock up any part of our population, ſo as to interfere with their becoming regular ſoldiers? Was there any thing to prevent a man ſerving in a volunteer corps from entering into the militia, or the regular army? was it not, on the contrary, an aſcertained fact, that any deſcription of military ſervice ripens and prepares the feelings of men for one more extended?

Having anſwered theſe objections, he proceeded to afford a general outline of the means of defence that had already been provided, under the heads of army, navy, and ordnance, in Great Britain and Ireland. The groſs force naturally divided itſelf into troops on permanent pay, and thoſe liable to ſervice in the event of invaſion. Of the firſt deſcription, he ſaid, there are at preſent in Great Britain and in the iſlands of Jerſey and Guernſey, 130,000 men; and in Ireland, 50,000 men, making in the whole 180,000 rank and file. The effective rank and file of the militia in Great Britain and Ireland amount to 84,000 men; the regular force to 96,000, of which 27,000 are for limited ſervice, and 69,000, at this moment diſpoſeable for general ſervice, in whatever proportion circumſtances may render it prudent ſo to apply them. The next great feature of our military ſtrength is the volunteer force, of which there are at preſent in Great Britain, accepted and arrayed, 340,000 men, and in Ireland 70,000, making a total of 410,000 rank and file in the United Kingdom, to which muſt be added, as connected with our defence on ſhore, though alſo applicable to ſervice afloat, the ſea fencibles, exceeding 25,000 men. The groſs force of rank and file, at preſent on foot, is therefore as follows: army in the field 180,000; volunteers 410,000; ſea-fencibles 25,000; total rank and file 615,000, adding thereto officers, non-commiſſioned officers and drummers. The groſs force in Great Britain and Ireland (excluſive of various other auxiliary means of defence) amounts to not leſs than 700,000 men, and with reſpect to the more regular part of this army, namely, that which is kept conſtantly in the field, it may be conſidered as applicable, without any deduction, to meet the enemy, as it will be relieved by the other deſcriptions of force from thoſe detailed ſervices which in general occaſion ſo ſerious a deduction from the fighting men of an army, whilſt the efficiency of the volunteer corps is ſuch as may fully qualify them, if the occaſion ſhould require it, not only to co-operate, in their due proportion, with the regular army, but to be brought

into the line immediately oppoſed to the enemy. I am aware it may be ſaid, that but a proportion of this force is at preſent armed. Whatever delicacy may uſually belong to ſubjects of this nature, I feel no diſpoſition, and ſee no reaſon why I ſhould conceal from the country, in this or in any other reſpect, its true ſituation. Of the force in Ireland, conſiſting of 120,000 men, the whole is armed, and means are provided for arming, without delay, a ſtill greater number of volunteers. Of the 495,000 men at preſent in Great Britain, there are armed as follows: army in the field 130,000, volunteers 220,000, ſea-fencibles 25,000—375,000. Remaining to be armed with muſkets 120,000,—total 495,000. Of the latter, however, a very conſiderable number are at this moment proviſionally armed with pikes, nearly 80,000 having been already iſſued from the ordnance. It is further to be remarked, that although the diſtribution of arms has been, in the firſt inſtance, directed, ſo as to complete the corps of the metropolis, and the counties on the coaſt, there has been iſſued, at the ſame time, ſuch a proportion of arms to the corps of the interior, as was deemed ſufficient for the purpoſes of immediate inſtruction, and arrangements have been made, which will enable the government to arm from the larger depôts of arms ſtill uniſſued, and which are daily augmenting, whatever proportion of this force it may be found expedient, under any emergency, to aſſemble for ſervice.

His lordſhip then deſcribed the navy as compriſing 469 ſhips of war ſupported, for the purpoſe of coaſt defence, by an armed flotilla of 800 craft. By the voluntary exertions of the Eaſt-India Company and the corporation of the Trinity-Houſe 20 armed ſhips had been ſupplied, and by the latter 10 frigates had been armed for the defence of the Thames. It would be injuſtice not to notice with due praiſe the diſtinguiſhed ſhare which the ordnance department had borne in the execution of the preſent armament. Since the commencement of hoſtilities, there had been iſſued by the ordnance 312,000 muſkets, 16,000 piſtols, and 77,000 pikes, reſerving in ſtore ſuch an amount of arms, as in the event of a campaign, might be ſufficient to meet the waſte on ſervice of ſo extended an army, whilſt meaſures had been taken, which would enable it, at no diſtant period, completely to arm the whole of the volunteers. The field train, which was fully adequate in the laſt war to the force then employed, was in Great Britain alone, already increaſed from 346 to 648 pieces of ordnance, completely appointed, and brigaded under experienced officers. The horſes attached to the ſame had been increaſed from 3,300 to 5,900, and the drivers from 1,400 to 3000. The quantity of moveable ammunition with each gun had alſo been nearly doubled. The made up ammunition for ſmall arms, both diſtributed and in ſtore, had been increaſed even in a greater degree, the general proviſion of ſtores in all the other branches was equally abundant; and correſponding exertions had been made for the ſervice of Ireland. Having made theſe details he put it to the feelings of the committee, whether miniſters

ſters had ſlept upon their poſt or failed in their duty to the public.

Mr. Fox diſapproving the limitation which Mr. Pitt ſeemed to put on the debate, when he ſaid that members ſhould not mix any other conſideration with the buſineſs of the night, and that we were not to advert to the paſt, but to take care for the future, and vote the ſupply, without conſidering the uſe that had been made of former grants for a ſimilar purpoſe, and profeſſing his perfect concurrence in the ſentiments advanced by Mr. Windham, declared his intention not to limit himſelf, like Lord Caſtlereagh, to a review of the conduct of miniſters ſince the laſt ſeſſion, but to go further back, and refer to the proceedings of miniſters at the time the meaſures which had been commented on in the preſent debate, were propoſed and diſcuſſed. "We have heard," Mr. Fox proceeded, "that the machinery of this ſyſtem was bad, and certainly in my opinion, nothing could be worſe, except the views which induced the propoſition of it. Theſe remarks I mean principally to apply to the ſyſtem of the volunteers, which forms the moſt prominent feature in the preſent debate, and the queſtion with reſpect to which has been put on very fair grounds by Mr. Windham, with all whoſe ſentiments on the ſubject I entirely agree." Mr. Fox then re-ſtated and dilated on many of the topics advanced by Mr. Windham, and reprobated many of the arguments of Mr. Pitt, and denied the truth of the explanations given by Lord Caſtlereagh. Having ſtrongly inſiſted on the impoſſibility of imparting to the volunteers by the means which the act provided, a ſufficient portion of diſcipline to make them uſeful in co-operating with a regular army, "Would it be prudent," Mr. Fox aſked, "to place the ſafety of the country under the protection, at any time of war, of a body of volunteers not ſubject to martial law, nor inured to military diſcipline? If the rumour of invaſion, which, by the bye, I never thought ſo likely to be attempted, and if attempted not ſo practicable as moſt people ſeem to imagine, were to blow over, would the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Pitt) or any other gentleman, venture to adviſe the ſending of our regular army on any foreign expedition, and depend entirely on the volunteers for our ſafety againſt any attack of the enemy on our coaſt? If in ſuch a caſe, invaſion ſhould be actually undertaken, there would, I think, be ſerious ground for apprehenſion and alarm. I ſhould have no objection to a general armament of the people under any circumſtances when the country was in danger. But the volunteers, in the light which I view them, cannot be conſidered as an arming of the people. If they are to be ſo conſidered they are in numbers quite too weak; but if they are to be regarded as the foundation of a future army, as Mr. Pitt has hinted, they are too large. For the latter purpoſe 400,000 men would be too much, and for the former one million of men would not be very conſiderable. Therefore, in either caſe, the volunteer ſyſtem is unſuitable."

To theſe obſervations Mr. Fox added many others on the diſcipline, cloathing, and employment of the

volunteers, concluding from the whole that although the individuals were to be commended for their zeal, the ſyſtem was radically bad, and that as the great battle for the ſalvation of the country, muſt be fought, if at all, by the regular army of the country, that, as our principal reſource, ought to be our chief care. "It may be obſerved," Mr. Fox, ſaid, "that it is inconſiſtent in me, who laſt year approved of the reduction of the regular army, now to call for its increaſe; but the times, it is to be recollected, are ſomewhat different; we were laſt year at peace, and whether I may be conſidered as "Nature's fool," or the Chancellor of the Exchequer's, I certainly did think that peace would continue; and at the commencement of the war, I ſtated very fully the reaſons why I thought it might with proper management, and ought to be preſerved; but if I was "Nature's fool" in thinking the peace of Amiens likely to continue, the Chancellor of the Exchequer certainly took a great deal of pains, gave many flattering deſcriptions, and uſed all the arguments in his power to confirm me in my folly. Under the influence, therefore, of that folly, I recommended the decreaſe of our armed force at the commencement of the laſt ſeſſions. With the hope expreſſed by Mr. Pitt, I heartily join, that we ſhall not long confine ourſelves to mere defenſive war; that ſo ſoon as circumſtances favour the project, we ſhall proceed upon vigorous offenſive war; that we ſhall not always limit our glory to the mere ſecurity of our own country; and that we ſhall not ſuffer ourſelves, according to the old obſervation, to "be ſwallowed up in the channel." But no deſcription of offenſive operations can be deemed practicable with the preſent conſtruction of our armed force."

Returning to the volunteers, Mr. Fox cenſured the mode which had been purſued of teaching them too many manœuvres; their ſervices were to be occaſional, and the conduct obſerved toward them he compared to that of a gentleman who if he wanted to take a ſervant with him abroad, and would teach him a few words of a foreign language, that he might know how to order him a ſupper, or take care of his horſes, or enquire his way—ſuppoſe it was the Latin language, ſhould inſtead of giving him two or three ordinary words, ſuch as bread, beer, &c. ſend him to Eton to learn his *propria quæ maribus*. He alſo decried the ſuppoſed influence of example, as generally applied, although he allowed that the example of diſtinguiſhed individuals, ſuch as Mr. Windham, who he underſtood commanded a volunteer corps in his own county, might be of great importance in particular ſituations. The volunteers had the further bad effect of raiſing the price of ſubſtitutes for the militia and army of reſerve to the enormous price of 50l. "As to the arms;" he proceeded, "the ordnance, it is ſaid, had as many as could be expected. I am not quite of that opinion, it might have been ſo in former times, but in a modern view of the buſineſs, I ſay, with the foreſight Miniſters ſay they had of the deſigns of the enemy, it ought to have been better ſtored. They concluded their peace would not laſt; we, who

who were "Nature's fools," and mere idiots, could not know that. But did they provide for war? My credulity muſt be greater than they thought it, before I can bring myſelf to believe it. But did they think of a war with France without the threat of attempting an invaſion? It ſeems hardly poſſible. It was, therefore, neceſſary to guard againſt it. I ſay that, in ſuch caſe, they muſt have ſeen the neceſſity of providing more than 300,000 muſkets."

Mr. Fox then noticed the ſervices rendered by the navy in contributing to the ſafety of the nation, and paid a tribute of applauſe to Admiral Cornwallis, but he again cenſured the general eſtabliſhment of the army. "I cannot help repeating," he ſaid, "the opinion which I gave laſt ſeſſion, and upon which a motion was ineffectually made in this houſe; namely, that there ſhould be a reſponſible military authority, to which the parliament and the people might look for the whole conduct of the army department. I have great perſonal reſpect for his royal highneſs the commander in chief, but I am perſuaded, from my perſonal knowledge of his character, that he would not be pleaſed with the flattery, that he is himſelf capable of the very difficult taſk of governing this department. It requires, above all, that the reſponſibility ſhould be clear and poſitive. I may be allowed to ſay, that there is an obſtacle in his high birth to the reſponſibility which belongs to his ſituation. There is a delicacy in queſtioning the meaſures of a perſonage of his illuſtrious rank, which deters men in general from the duty of calling him to account." Having then at ſome length cenſured ſome late promotions and removals as dictated by caprice and injuſtice, Mr. Fox ſaid, "Now I am ſpeaking on the general ſubject of miniſterial changes and confuſion, I am led to mention a circumſtance reſpecting a near relation of mine (General Fox), concerning whom the conduct of government has been ſuch as I cannot comprehend. He was ſent, after the commencement of the war, to a very high and important command in Ireland; an appointment at which I felt much more of anxiety than of pleaſure, notwithſtanding the knowledge I had of his character. A diſturbance broke out in Dublin on the 23d July, in which Lord Kilwarden was murdered. It excited univerſal aſtoniſhment, and in a few days he was no longer commander in chief. I may be told, indeed, that his departure thence proceeded from his own requeſt: but from all I have been able to learn upon the ſubject, a wiſh on the part of the civil government of Ireland was expreſſed that he ſhould be recalled. After this, there was no man of ſpirit but would ſay, "I will no longer ſtay in your way; ſince you wiſh my removal." When he comes over here, he is immediately entruſted with the high and honourable command of a diſtrict near the metropolis, a clear proof that miniſters did not think ill of his conduct. But why then was he recalled? Becauſe, it ſeems, it was the wiſh of the Iriſh civil government. Nothing that I can ſee but a ſurprize, a total and complete ſurprize, can juſtify the Iriſh government in that affair, or they muſt be a ſort of accomplices in the murder of Lord Kilwarden.

The preſs in Ireland, though not ſo much enſlaved as at Paris, is, I believe, not ſo unſhackled as it is here, and is not very likely to convey to the world that which is thought to be diſagreeable at the caſtle. Well, Sir; from this preſs, a paragraph has made its appearance, ſtating, "that the commander in chief was the brother to Mr. Charles Fox, of the Engliſh Houſe of Commons, that he was firſt couſin to the Duke of Leinſter, and, of courſe, was related to the late Lord Edward Fitzgerald." This was a ſtrange offence, if, indeed, it was an offence at all. No man of General Fox's rank has, I believe, mixed leſs, at any time, in the politics of the day."

"There is another ſubject," Mr. Fox added," of a ſtill higher nature, on which I feel it my duty to ſay a few words; I mean, the ſituation of the heir apparent of the crown. Laſt ſeſſion, we underſtood, he had made very handſome offers of his ſervices to government. Not only were they then not accepted, but nothing ſince, it appears, has been done to ſoothe his mind, for not carrying into effect his liberal and honourable offer. I ſhall hear, that this matter is dependent on the prerogative of the crown. Who queſtions it? But are we to underſtand from that, that the king's will is every thing, and the public opinion nothing? This may be very good doctrine, but I muſt ſay I am too old to learn it. I ſhould think this a ſubject on which I may claim a right to obſerve, becauſe I conſider the active ſervices of the Prince of Wales of great importance in our preſent ſituation, for exciting the ſpirit of the country, and, therefore, as being a material part of the public defence. I hope, and indeed am inclined to think, that there is as much loyalty in this country as there ever was at any former period. To all loyal perſons, muſt it not be grateful to ſee the heir apparent actively employed in the conteſt, and ſharing with the public at large, in the danger and in the glory of defending the country? That danger, notwithſtanding my confidence in our ſucceſs, may God forbid! But are you to be juſtified in omitting to uſe ſuch material means? He has been long in the army. It was natural for him to ſay, "My ſituation in ſociety is ſuch, that rank is an inferior conſideration; whether I am colonel or general, is of little importance." But at preſent, is not the caſe quite different? "If France lands her armies on our ſhores, all your other brothers in the army ſhall have a high command; but you, under the colour of ſaving you from danger, ſhall be deprived of any glorious opportunity." Look at his ſituation! at the head of the regiment he commands; but who thinks that to be colonel of a regiment of light horſe, is a ſituation, in times like theſe, fit for the Prince of Wales? I can eaſily imagine, that ſuch is the frame of ſome men's minds, that they could reconcile themſelves to the idea of ſhutting him up like an eaſtern monarch; but I am ſure his mere colonelcy is what no man here will ſay is a ſituation becoming him. I cannot enter into motives. I am ſure the conſequences will be honourable to the Prince of Wales, and not ſo to thoſe who have adviſed his Majeſty to refuſe his offer. I hope, he

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concluded, that this debate will have a good effect upon the public mind; and that they will see the parliament disposed to look that ministers do justice to their energies, and to the burthens they cheerfully bear: for their voluntary expences are as real a burthen as their taxes. I hope the people will see that we are ready to do what is owing to their love of freedom, their public spirit, and their zeal and bravery in the public cause.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer who followed Mr. Fox, declared his great anxiety to increase the regular force, and recapitulated the means which had been used for that purpose, and the success which had attended them. With respect to the volunteers, he also wished to bring them as near as possible to a level with the regular army, but he contrasted, with considerable effect, the varying opinions respecting those corps which were held by different members in opposition. "One right honourable gentleman," he said, "dislikes to see them in regimentals; he wishes them not to look like soldiers, and to wear no uniforms. Another right honourable gentleman wishes to see them approximated much nearer to regular soldiers. My opinion inclines much more to the latter suggestion. What I regret exceedingly is, that gentlemen should have so much under-rated the volunteers, as fit only to protect villages and carry provisions; and as being taught matters not conducive to the species of utility within their reach. I have a great opinion of the authority of that honourable gentleman, and of the right honourable gentleman on the same bench; but in military matters, I think I must prefer those of Lord Moira, whom the honourable gentleman had so deservedly praised, now commander in chief in Scotland, who, addressing the Edinburgh volunteers, says, he would head them confidently against any foe; and of Lord Cathcart, the present commander in chief in Ireland. Another honourable gentleman (Mr. Grenville) thinks we should have had ten times the number of volunteers. Now of the male population from 18 to 60, I apprehend one fourth to be actually under arms. It is true, when the bill was first brought in, nothing was said about the limitation, but afterwards a number was stated, much below the present number of volunteers, namely, three-fourths of the first class. And now have ministers done their duty to the state? I readily grant, that no administration ever received more cordial support from the public, in all measures calculated to promote the general welfare; and we should indeed be without excuse, were we deserving of the censures we have received." Mr. Addington, after several other remarks, noticed the project of a responsible military council. Many respectable persons wished for such an establishment when it was first proposed, who had now almost generally changed their sentiment. It would lay the foundation of weakness, and destroy all hope of distinction, all just and generous responsibility, which his Royal Highness the Duke of York charged on himself, and would produce distraction and imbecillity. But there was another subject of still greater delicacy, to which the honourable gen-

gentleman referred; that of the firſt ſubject of the realm not being in a ſituation which he thought due to his exalted rank, and which his Royal Highneſs himſelf deſired. "When this ſubject was before mentioned, I ſtated that no authority ſhort of his Majeſty's commands, or the joint authority of this houſe, ſhould compel me to ſay one word on the ſubject. Since that, nothing has intervened, and nothing ſhall make me change, but what I have deſcribed."

From this period the debate turned intirely on the removal of General Fox, a ſubject on which Mr. Fox with conſiderable warmth roſe twice to explain; it involved alſo ſome obſervations on the ſtate of Ireland, but nothing materially relative to the great ſubject of debate. The reſolution paſſed without diviſion.

12th Dec. On bringing up the report of the committee, a new debate, nearly as long, and quite as diffuſe as the former, took place. It was begun by Colonel Craufurd, who, after an apology for not having delivered his ſentiments on the preceding night, gave his opinion reſpecting the eſtabliſhment of a military council, in theſe terms. "At a time when, (in addition to the immenſe ſums that the public is called upon in other ways to contribute for military purpoſes) Parliament deems it neceſſary to vote eſtabliſhments ſo large and expenſive as thoſe contained in the eſtimates now before us; at a time, when we are engaged in a war the moſt arduous and critical in which this country was ever involved, it undoubtedly is the firſt duty of every member of this houſe to ſuggeſt all thoſe means which in his judgment would conduce to the bringing our military ſyſtem to the higheſt pitch of perfection, and to the placing the national defence and ſecurity upon a great, ſolid, and permanent baſis; and the accompliſhment of theſe moſt important objects would, in my opinion, be greatly promoted by the eſtabliſhment of a military council, properly compoſed. But before I proceed to ſtate my reaſons for adhering to this opinion, I cannot help expreſſing my ſurprize, that whenever the meaſure has been recommended on the one ſide, and reſiſted by his Majeſty's miniſters on the other, it has been reſiſted chiefly on the ground that it would imply a want of confidence in the abilities of the commander in chief. I have no heſitation in declaring that, in the preſent ſituation of affairs, I do not think his Royal Highneſs to be capable, without further aſſiſtance, of doing ample juſtice to the country in the various branches of the military department of the public ſervice. When I ſay this, it is not that I do not think as highly as any man of his Royal Highneſs's abilities and exertions; but I do not hold him to be equal to ſuch a taſk, becauſe I believe that no one man can perform it. I am fully ſenſible of the great advantages which the country has derived from his being placed at the head of the army; and I know that he devotes himſelf to the diſcharge of his public duties with a degree of laborious aſſiduity, rarely to be met with in any man, and ſtill more rarely, perhaps, in a man of his high birth. But, completely occupied as he is, in diſpatching the urgent

urgent and preſſing buſineſs that daily occurs in the command of ſuch a force as we have now on foot, it is not poſſible that he ſhould have ſufficient time and leiſure left for reflecting, as deeply and maturely as the ſubject requires, on all the poſſible means of improving the national defence, and eſtabliſhing it upon one great combined and permanent ſyſtem. But, it has been ſaid, has he not already a council of able officers to aſſiſt him? Are not the ſtaff this council? Undoubtedly, his Royal Highneſs's ſtaff is compoſed of very able and reſpectable officers; but they too are fully engaged with the details of their reſpective departments. It has alſo been urged, that all the general officers who are employed, are, in fact, his council, as he has conſtant opportunities of having recourſe to their ſervice; but here, again, I muſt object, not only that theſe general officers are greatly occupied with the particular buſineſs of their reſpective commands, but alſo that their being neceſſarily diſperſed, at a great diſtance from the commander in chief, and from each other, is an obſtacle to their rendering that ſervice, which might be expected from ſuch a council as I have in view. But let it not be ſuppoſed that I am propoſing a council, for the purpoſe of controlling the commander in chief, in the direction of the active operations of the army in the field. What I mean to recommend is a council, comprizing within it ſome officers of great experience and acknowledged abilities, who would devote the whole of their time to the mature inveſtigation of every means that might be propoſed by others, or ſhould occur to themſelves, for increaſing our military ſtrength, digeſting and combining the whole into one great and comprehenſive ſyſtem. The eſtabliſhment of ſuch a council, of which the commander in chief would be preſident; and the maſter and lieutenant-general of the ordnance, (amongſt others) would be members, would have the advantage of uniting and bringing, under one view, thoſe different branches of the military ſervice which are now independent of each other; as every thing relating to the military branch of the ordnance department would come under its cognizance. —I ſay the military, as contradiſtinguiſhed from the naval branch. I alſo think, that, without being accuſed of ſpeaking ſlightingly either of his Royal Highneſs the commander in chief, or of the noble lord at the head of the ordnance, I may be allowed to ſay, that any propoſal for the defence of the country, coming from ſuch a council, would carry with it greater weight than if proceeding either from the commander in chief or from the maſter general; and that miniſters would feel, that in neglecting to attend to ſuch a recommendation, they would take upon themſelves a ſerious reſponſibility." Having finiſhed this ſubject, the colonel at great length recapitulated the objections made in the debate of the preceding night againſt the conduct of miniſters in the defence of the country, and particularly thoſe which tended to prove that the miniſtry had been negligent in arming the people, and that the exemptions granted to the volunteers were detrimental to the regular ſervice.

Mr.

Mr. Roſe directed his attention intirely to the volunteers, on whoſe patriotiſm, zeal and ability, for actual ſervice, he made a ſtrong panegyric, ſupported by inſtances which had fallen within his own obſervation. He contended, however, that when they were called out, better proviſion ſhould be made for the ſupport of their families at home.

After a few words from Mr. Yorke, Mr. Pitt roſe to explain a propoſition which he had ſubmitted to the houſe in the late debate, for the formation of volunteer corps into battalions, and the appointment of field officers to each battalion. Far from having for its object the appointment of field officers, who were to have a controul over the colonels commandants of the corps, nothing could be more repugnant to his feelings or ſentiments. His ſole and great object was, to afford the commandants of corps the benefit, the aſſiſtance, and advice of officers not their ſuperiors; but, from experience, competent to aid them effectually by their inſtruction; and the more he reflected, the more he was convinced of the advantages that would reſult from the adoption of his propoſal. Another miſconception was, that his wiſh was to make the regulation general, but he had never propoſed extending the appointment of regular officers to any battalions but thoſe which ſhould apply for them, and he ſincerely hoped that all would do ſo. He was ſure, that too much attention could not be beſtowed on the inſtruction and improvement of the volunteer force of the country in military diſcipline and evolutions; and he was perſuaded, notwithſtanding the opinion entertained by his right honourable friend Mr. Windham, that there were many regiments of volunteer corps already in a ſtate of diſcipline to fit them for actual ſervice, and whenever it ſhould be neceſſary for them to act in line, that the volunteer corps would not be found the weakeſt part of the line. He looked upon the volunteers as completely capable, with proper attention, of rendering the country impregnable, but he muſt think, however, that the ſervice, as light troops, which ſeemed to be moſt approved by gentlemen, for volunteers, in place of requiring leſs diſcipline, was that which required the higheſt degree of diſcipline.

Mr. Yorke agreed with his right honourable friend Mr. Pitt, in the opinion he entertained reſpecting the efficiency of the volunteer corps, but doubted much whether his propoſition could be carried into effect to the extent he wiſhed. Adjutants and ſerjeant-majors, he did not deny, ought to be appointed in every caſe where the members of the corps required them, provided care were taken that none but proper and competent perſons ſhould be appointed, and that the places ſhould be filled rather with a view to the public intereſt, than, as on former occaſions, from favour. He feared it was impracticable to procure field officers from the line, if his honourable friend's plan were to be purſued, in ſufficient numbers. There were 604 troops of cavalry, 102 companies of artillery, and 3,947 companies of volunteer infantry. The cavalry alone would require ſixty field officers, and the others

others in proportion. The officers on the half pay liſt had been provided for in the reſerve, and many could not be procured from amongſt thoſe who had retired, many having been appointed inſpecting officers of the volunteers. He was aware the right honourable gentleman would ſay that field officers would not be required for all the battalions; but as theſe ſhould be taken from the regiments of the line, either field officers or the oldeſt captains, he thought it impracticable.

A converſation enſued, in the courſe of which Mr. Pitt declared his intention of ſubmitting his propoſition to the houſe, when the reſolution reſpecting volunteers ſhould be put. Accordingly, when that moment arrived, he declared that the objections of the right honourable ſecretary ſeemed to him to be founded on two or three grounds; firſt, a doubt, whether a ſufficient number of field officers could be procured; 2dly, an apprehenſion of creating diſcontent amongſt the officers of the volunteer corps; and, 3dly, the injury that the officers thus employed would ſuſtain by being placed on half pay after the war. The two firſt appeared inconſiſtent with each other. The firſt proceeded on a ſuppoſition that 4 or 500 would be neceſſary, and the ſecond on the ſuppoſition that the corps would be diſſatisfied; but as his propoſition extended only to ſuch as ſhould apply, if there ſhould not be many applications, the firſt objection as to the number would be done away, and if many ſhould apply, as he hoped all would, then there could be no diſcontent, and the ſecond objection vaniſhed. But he maintained, that a ſufficient number could be ſupplied from the line. Each regiment conſiſted of 750 men, had two lieutenant colonels, two majors, and ten captains; and the queſtion therefore would be, whether it was more material to the public ſecurity, that every old regiment ſhould have its number of old captains complete, or every battalion of 1000 volunteers, have an efficient field officer to prepare them, by diſcipline, to accompliſh the common object of all, the effectual defence and ſecurity of their country? But, if the regiments of the line could not afford the numbers neceſſary, the half pay officers might be employed, or thoſe who had retired from the ſervice, or from amongſt thoſe meritorious officers who had been in the India company's ſervice. As to the other circumſtances of diſcontent, there would be reaſon to apprehend that there might be diſappointment, if not diſcontent, ſhould the application for ſuch aſſiſtance be refuſed. As to the third objection, the aukward ſituation to which the appointment would reduce the officers, by expoſing them to be placed on half pay, and interfering with their promotion, he could not, in his view of the queſtion, admit ſuch a concluſion. He could not perceive why ſuch officers might not be in as fair a ſituation to be promoted to vacancies as if employed in any other way; he would not, however, preſs his propoſition then; but unleſs he ſhould underſtand it to be the intention of government to adopt ſome ſuch regulation, he would bring it forward again hereafter.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer repeated and enforced the objections made by Mr. Yorke. The num-

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ber of officers required for all the volunteers, he ſaid, would be 860, which would be eight from each battalion of the regular army. He allowed, however, that the houſe was indebted to the right honourable gentleman for his ſuggeſtion, as well as for that reſpecting adjutants, which had been adopted, and produced much good effect. Another ſuggeſtion of the right honourable gentleman alſo for brigading ſmall corps, under generals from the regular forces, was likely to be attended with much benefit.

Mr. Windham regretted that his opinions on the ſubject of the volunteers ſhould be ſo diametrically oppoſite to thoſe of his right honourable friend Mr. Pitt, with whom he ſo generally agreed; but he conſidered that Mr. Pitt might probably be led aſtray by conſidering too much as a general example the corps of Cinque-port volunteers, of which he himſelf had the command. His right honourable friend had at once his own perſonal powers, his general authority in the country, and the authority of his high provincial office. He had a people to deal with rendered tractable by a more immediate expoſure to the danger, and animated with ſomething of a peculiar character, and peculiar duties. For his part, he muſt confeſs, that the notions which he entertained, and the concluſions which he was led to draw, were altogether different. He muſt object to the volunteer ſyſtem; firſt, as being very ill adapted to the principal and more immediate purpoſe for which it was wanted; as increaſing moſt materially the difficulties of recruiting the army; as being liable to have a moſt injurious influence on the character and conduct of the army: as infringing the juſt claims, and violating the reaſonable feelings of military men, by confounding thoſe diſtinctions which they had hitherto enjoyed excluſively, and effecting a general depreciation of military titles and honours; as confounding the ranks and gradations in civil life, while it diſturbed and deranged the ordinary functions of ſociety; and, laſtly, as liable to become a ſource of great future political danger, ſuch as might be apprehended always, from great bodies of armed men, ſubject to no military controul, and whoſe conſtitution at this moment was, in innumerable inſtances, preciſely that which would be moſt likely to give birth to ſuch danger, and to render it formidable, were it to take place. A proof of this he would give to the houſe (ſince he perceived in ſome parts expreſſions of incredulity,) by producing the conſtitution of one of the principal corps in this city, which had been recently furniſhed to him. It would appear by this, that the corps was governed, not by officers approved and appointed by his Majeſty, but by committees and ſub-committees, ſo conſtructed, as that it might happen continually that queſtions the moſt important to the proceedings and well being of the corps, might be decided by the *quorum*, in which there ſhould be ſix privates to one officer. Any thing more completely democratical, or better ſupplied with all the apparatus uſually provided for ſuch purpoſes, could not have been furniſhed by any of the dealers in conſtitutions to be found in the correſponding ſociety. A more miſchievous thing could

could not well be conceived, than to let looſe, among the army, a wild ſpirit of ſpeculation, ſimilar to that which was ſo fatally opened at the beginning of the late war by the meaſure of raiſing men for rank, and to put half the officers of the army upon ſeeking advancement in their profeſſion, not by foreign ſervice, not by profeſſional ſkill, not by a ſtrict diſcharge of their regimental duties, nor by the approbation and good-will of their commanders, but by intereſt and recommendation among the colonels (or committees), of volunteer corps. A long communication with troops, who with appearances the ſame were, in habits, notions, conſtitution and practices, ſo widely at variance with all that was military, might in time produce an effect even on the regular army. He would not dilate upon this danger; but advert to an effect; which, though of a leſs alarming, perhaps leſs important nature, was not undeſerving of conſideration, viz. the immenſe depreciation which theſe inſtitutions muſt produce in the value of military titles and honours; honours which were, heretofore, confined to military men, but were now laviſhed among perſons, having no pretenſions to that character. Formerly, he who bore the title of captain, or colonel, could be no other than a man belonging to an honourable profeſſion, who, if not in the prime of life, muſt, probably, have been an actor in ſcenes, which every one would be glad to have ſhared in; and have diſplayed qualities, which thoſe who moſt felt to poſſeſs them, would ſtill be happy to have evinced by trial. Whether the loſs of this diſtinction had excited any regret on the part of the army, was more than he could pretend to ſay. Very poſſibly it had not; though the effects in time would not be the leſs felt. But that the diſtinction was in fact loſt, could be no longer matter of diſpute. A witty lady of the laſt age, the mother of a venerable marquis, equally diſtinguiſhed for his talents, was reported to have ſaid, upon ſome great creation of peers, that ſhe was afraid to ſpit out of her window, leſt what fell at the moment ſhould happen to light upon a peer. A ſimilar apprehenſion might be felt in the preſent circumſtances reſpecting officers. There could not be a company aſſembled of half a dozen perſons, in which the chance was not, that one of the number was an officer. Theſe were ſome of the objections to the volunteer ſyſtem, as it reſpected the army. But its effects on the community at large were far from inconſiderable. It was attended with great expenſe: it created much individual embarraſſment; it mixed in a manner by no means deſirable, the ſeveral ranks and orders of ſociety: it diſturbed, to a degree highly incommodious, many of the functions of common life; and would do ſo yet further, if the plan was purſued of giving to theſe corps a ſtill more regular conſiſtency. Mr. Windham alſo decried the mode of military inſtruction applied to the volunteers, on which ſubject he conſidered the illuſtration of Mr. Fox with reſpect to learning a language abſolutely concluſive, and he inſiſted on the bad effect of the exemptions, which, whatever good faith might require as to the volunteers already inrolled,

rolled, ſhould on no account be extended to thoſe who might enter at any future period.

Mr. Erſkine, while he declared his ſatisfaction at the ſentiments expreſſed by Mr. Pitt, cenſured Mr. Windham for the vain and ſplenetic criticiſms he had uttered on the volunteers. Did he reflect upon the probable conſequences of his conduct? or did he mean to utter opinions in that houſe, in order to encourage others to publiſh out of it the ſame opinions, and write in ſupport of them? Being called to order by Mr. Windham, Mr. Erſkine re-affirmed that great miſchief was likely to reſult from the publication of that right honourable gentleman's opinions, and added, that any man who ſhould dare to print what the right honourable gentleman had ſaid, would be guilty of a miſdemeanour. Mr. Windham, he ſaid, conſidered the volunteers as an armed democracy; how could it be an armed democracy, when it conſiſted of all ranks of men, and ſome of the greateſt and moſt opulent men in the country, all of whom received commiſſions from the crown. He extolled the voluntary, as highly preferable to the compulſory ſervice, and thought volunteers might eaſily attain a ſtate of diſcipline amply ſufficient for all purpoſes requiſite. "With regard to another point," Mr. Erſkine proceeded, "it does not ſtrike me that the military profeſſion will be at all injured by this ſyſtem. The officers of volunteer corps have no permanent rank; though they have the titles of colonel, lieutenant-colonel, captain, and lieutenant, they are merely to give reſpect, and confer no rank. I ſhould think, that ſo far from theſe titles giving offence to gentlemen of the profeſſion, the army muſt feel the greateſt ſatisfaction at the idea, that inſtead of not being well ſupported, inſtead of having their front to the enemy, and diſaffection in their rear, they are ſurrounded by the whole country, affording them every aſſiſtance they can require; for let me aſk, what would our army, brave as it is, do, if columns of the enemy were to land in Devonſhire, Suſſex, Hampſhire, and other counties at the ſame time? Could a regular army ſtop their progreſs without infinite miſchief? Is it not then of advantage to have the inhabitants of the country, not a low rabble, but in all their gradations, voluntarily armed in aid of the army, their officers accepting their commiſſions from the crown, and much of this force acting without receiving any emolument whatever. I am ready to admit that great evils may attend this ſyſtem, but while you have ſuch an enemy, with ſuch a population, with ſuch arms, and with ſuch a determination to deſtroy this country, it is the beſt means of defence that can be reſorted to. The great object of the volunteer ſyſtem is, that the men may acquire, not the ſame diſcipline as the regular army, not the ſame ſteadineſs, not the ſame experience, not the ſame firmneſs, but at leaſt add to the ſpirit and feeling of ſoldiers, that regularity acquired by conſtant habits of diſcipline, which is neceſſary to enable them to give efficient ſupport to the army." Mr. Erſkine thought that if the intent of encouraging the volunteers had been to ſuperſede or diſcountenance the regular forces, nothing could have

have been more blameable, but raiſed and inſtructed as they were, he ſhould conſider it the greateſt poſſible calamity if the volunteers were to relax their diligence, and not do every thing to accompliſh themſelves for the important duties they had undertaken to perform.

Mr. Courtenay declared, that he never heard ſuch an extravagant ſpeech from Mr. Windham, even when he was a miniſter, as he had delivered this evening; men ſeldom improved in extravagance after they had been deprived of power; but ſuch ſeemed to be his caſe. In his ſentiments on the ſubject of the volunteers, it appeared that after a great variety of diſtinctions and ſuper-diſtinctions, his object was to depreciate that force, of whom two of the moſt ſkilful and gallant officers in the Britiſh ſervice, had ſpoken in the higheſt terms of praiſe; the one Lord Hutchinſon, ſtating his opinion, that they would overwhelm a French army, if directed to a vigorous and prompt attack; and the obſervation of Lord Moira to the Scotch volunteers, was well known. What, he would aſk, would the right honourable gentleman propoſe to do with the volunteers? Would he have them quit being volunteers in order to make peaſantry of them? And how would he provide a force to defend the country? Mr. Courtenay bantered Mr. Windham on his hoſtility to volunteers, while he was aſpiring to be a colonel in a corps of that deſcription. However, he concluded, let the right honourable gentleman change as he may, I ſhall continue to eſteem the volunteers, among whom I ſhall be happy to enrol myſelf; and, as the right honourable gentleman, Mr. Pitt, has ſo well trained a corps under his command, I would be glad to enter into his ſervice. I have ſerved for many years as a private in the ranks againſt him, and now I am ready, if the French ſhould attempt to approach our ſhores, to offer him my ſervices, and hope he will accept of them.

Dr. Laurence ſupported the opinions of Mr. Windham, and ridiculed the verſatility of Mr. Erſkine, who ſpoke now quite in an oppoſite ſtrain from that which he held in the laſt war. He condemned the ideas of military obedience which the volunteer corps had formed. Some of them engaged to obey all lawful commands of their officers, reſerving of courſe to themſelves the right of judging the legality, than which nothing could be more foreign to the character of a ſoldier.

The attorney-general was perſuaded that Mr. Windham was one of the laſt in the houſe, who would uſe any curious expreſſions in argument for the ſake of an advantage, or who would wiſh to give our enemies any ſuch, or any other advantage whatever; but he had frequently had occaſion to feel, that his views of things that came under his conſideration, and the conſequent manner in which he expreſſed himſelf, had, although not ſo intended by him, a tendency to the great diſadvantage of the country. If the volunteers were not ſuch a force as the houſe could deſire, could this ſort of language be uſeful? On the contrary, was it not moſt prejudicial? The effect of the argument of the right honourable gentleman was to degrade the volunteers in their own

eyes. He did not say it was the intention of the right honourable gentleman so to do, but it was the tendency, and if assented to, would be the effect of his observations. Could they have any such confidence, if the language of parliament, of these who had encouraged them to come out for the service of their country, was to be on the model of the right honourable gentleman, and parliament was to say to them—"At best you will be little better than a rabble; you may depend upon it, no useful service can be expected from you." After noticing with great good humour some of the objections made to the regulations of the volunteer corps, on their being impediments to recruiting, on their tending to a confusion of rank, and some other subjects, the Attorney General concluded by observing, that if the right honourable gentleman had no plan instead of this system of the volunteer corps, he would, upon reflection, perhaps, doubt the wisdom of the opposition he gave it.

The resolutions of the committee were adopted by the house without alteration.

CHAP. VI.

Debates on a Bill for explaining and amending the Acts relating to Volunteers; Speech of Mr. Secretary Yorke on introducing it; Mr. Curwen; Speech of Mr. Windham on the Third Reading; Mr. Hiley Addington; other Members; Mr. Yorke; Dr. Laurence; the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Debate in the House of Lords; the Earl of Suffolk; Lord Grenville; Answer of Ministers; Bill amended and passed. Bank Restriction Bill; brought in by the Chancellor of the Exchequer; Observations of Mr. Jekyll on the hoarding of Specie; Debates in the House of Lords; Speech of Lord King, who proposes an Amendment; Answer of Lord Hawkesbury; Amendment rejected; Observations of Lord Grenville on the Issue of Bank and Private Paper; answered by Lord Hawkesbury; the Bill passes. Bank of Ireland Restriction Bill; Observations of Lord Archibald Hamilton; Mr. Corry; Maiden Speech of Lord Henry Petty; Speeches of Mr. Foster; Mr. H. Thornton; Lord Castlereagh; and Mr. Alexander, renewed Conversation on the Motion for a Third Reading; Motion by Mr. Foster for a Committee; his Statements on the Exchange, and Coinage in Ireland; supported by Mr. George Ponsonby; Observations of Mr. Corry, Lord Castlereagh, Mr. Dick, and Sir John Newport; Lord Henry Petty; Mr. Fox; Motion granted. Progress of the Bank of Ireland Restriction Bill in the House of Lords; Speech of Lord King; Short View of the Debate; Amendment proposed in the Committee; negatived. Motion respecting the Payment of Irish Salaries in England at par, by Lord Archibald Hamilton; Summary of the Arguments in support of; and against the Motions; Reply; the Order of the Day carried on a Division. Bill for consolidating the Irish Duties.

10th Dec. WHILE these measures were pending in parliament, Mr. Secretary Yorke moved for leave to bring in a bill to explain and amend the acts of the 42 and 43 Geo. III.

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ſo far as they related to the exemptions to be enjoyed by volunteers. Difficulties, he obſerved, exiſted in the interpretation of theſe ſtatutes, and the bill which he meant to prefer would go only to regulate the exemptions. Some other points required explanation, and it might perhaps be neceſſary to go into an entire review of the volunteer ſyſtem, to correct and ſtrengthen it; but as this ſhould not be done haſtily, but with mature conſideration, he thought it better to defer it till after the receſs. The object of the bill was, to regulate with preciſion the form of return which ſhould entitle volunteers to their exemptions. The former of the acts to be explained and amended, being paſſed in time of peace, required only five days attendance to give an exemption, but as it would be obvious to the houſe, that a longer attendance would be neceſſary in time of war, and particularly in ſuch a war as the preſent, he propoſed, that twenty-four days ſhould be required of the infantry, and twelve of the cavalry."

The bill was brought in and read a firſt time without oppoſition, the principal obſervations being made by Mr. Curwen, who regretted that meaſures were not already prepared to enforce the continuance of the ſervice of the volunteers. The danger was, that many of them as ſoon as the preſent ballot was over, would attend no longer, aud thus, being loſt to the militia and the army of reſerve, would be loſt alſo to the volunteer corps. He was ſure too much could not be ſaid of the honourable principles and feelings of the volunteers in general. But though an ignominious diſcharge from the ranks would have the fulleſt effect in many inſtances, it would not in all. He thought it better that intoxication, diſorderly and unſoldier-like conduct, ſhould be puniſhed by a ſmall fine, peremptorily and immediately enforced.

In the Committee, ſome diſcuſſion aroſe on the terms "properly armed and equipped," which were uſed in the Bill, and on the third reading, Mr. Windham again expreſſed his ſentiments on topics connected with this mode of national defence. He intended, he ſaid, to have offered his obſervations on the report, but that having, with a precipitancy, unuſual, except on urgent occaſions, been received immediately, he was obliged to urge them on the third reading. The very Bill, he ſaid, which miniſters now preſſed forward ſo unneceſſarily, aroſe from that haſty ſpirit of legiſlation, which left in every act doubts and ambiguities requiring further acts to remove them. The amendment he intended to have propoſed was no more than what he had already urged on more occaſions than one; the putting a ſtop to exemptions with reſpect to thoſe who ſhould enter into volnnteer corps in future. To aboliſh thoſe already ſubſiſting was, he was aware, difficult, and might perhaps be impoſſible. Certainly it ought not to be attempted, if it could not be put upon a footing to make it conſiſtent with good faith. But the granting ſuch exemptions in future, and continuing by deſign, what had got a place in the ſyſtem only by chance, and againſt the inten-

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tion of its authors, was a proceeding for which no rational motive could be aſſigned, and which, to his great ſurpriſe and concern, made part of the preſent Bill. While the right of exemption produced the effect, on the one hand, of defrauding the army, the army of reſerve, and the militia, by contracting the population from which they were to be ſupplied, it oppreſſed the whole country, and particularly the lower orders, to a degree the moſt grievous, and by means the moſt intolerable that were ever admitted deliberately into the inſtitutions of any ſtate. Mr. Windham then cenſured, in the ſtrongeſt terms, the power veſted in the commandants of corps, where the conſtitution of them was monarchial, or the committees, where it was democratical, of pronouncing who ſhould, and who ſhould not, be entitled to exemptions. This ſyſtem, he ſaid, would rank hereafter for oppreſſion and abuſe, with any of thoſe moſt famous in hiſtory; with the diſpenſing power, or power of granting indulgences. Such a power muſt however ſomewhere exiſt, ſuppoſing the privilege of exemption to continue: and the only remedy was, either to aboliſh exemptions, or to aboliſh volunteer corps. It ſeemed hardly poſſible to correct the evil by regulation. Mr. Windham alſo renewed his objections to the volunteer ſyſtem, as impeding other branches of the ſervice, by locking up ſo great a portion of population. In anſwer to ſome arguments uſed by the friends of the miniſtry in former debates on this ſubject, he contended, that if the recruiting kept up to nearly its former amount, there muſt have been ſomething to counteract the effect of theſe impediments; and this ſomething it was not difficult to find. It was a ſtate of war; it was the threat of invaſion; it was the ſtimulus of the compulſory ſervice; the diſcharge of numbers of workmen in conſequence of temporary checks to trade; the general military ſpirit, that filled and animated every part of the country. Theſe circumſtances were of force ſufficient to uphold, to a certain degree, the recruiting ſervice, even in ſpite of the cauſes which tended to depreſs and to annihilate it. How far might they not have carried it, had there been nothing on the other ſide to counteract their effects? He alſo inſiſted that volunteering muſt, in time, fail through failure of the ſubſcription funds. Unleſs parliament greaſed the wheels, the machine muſt ſoon ſtand ſtill. He wiſhed, therefore, that before that time, gentlemen would be prepared with their opinions on the ſeveral parts of the meaſure, would conſider how far the objections were valid; how far the parts objected to might be corrected or got rid of; and, failing of that, whether the whole ſyſtem would not require to be new caſt, and, in a great degree, poſſibly, to be done away.

A long and ſpirited debate enſued, in which Mr. Hiley Addington, after noticing Mr. Windham's inclination to have the laſt word on the ſubject of volunteers, accuſed him and his aſſociates of always drawing their arguments from the ſolitary inſtance of the metropolis. The ſubſcriptions in the country would not ſoon be exhauſted, for in many places none were formed. "I," ſaid Mr. Hiley

Hiley Addington, "can aſſure the houſe, as one inſtance, that, toward the formation of a large corps which I have the honour and happineſs to command, there has been no ſubſcription at all. The men were actually clothed out of the allowance made by government, with a very inconſiderable addition; and I feel a pride in ſtating, that not the ſmalleſt objection has been made by one individual to clothing of that deſcription. It was not cloth at forty ſhillings a yard, to be ſure, but the corps was extremely contented, and were not quite of an unſoldier-like appearance. Where there have been ſubſcriptions, I conceive, they were directed principally to this object, and I am therefore at a loſs to imagine how government need apprehend, even in the moſt diſtant perſpective, that a call will be made on the public purſe to afford any aſſiſtance, eſpecially as it was generally underſtood that the clothing was to laſt three years." The high price paid to ſubſtitutes in the army of reſerve was alſo, he contended, confined to the metropolis; and committees for regulating the affairs of the corps were alſo to be found in the ſame centre. This plan, he admitted, was a bad one, and nothing ſhould induce him to command ſuch a corps, or have any thing to do with it. He declared his aſtoniſhment at ſome of the arguments which had been uſed. "People," he ſaid, "cannot comprehend, poſterity will ſcarcely believe, that in a moment ſo unparalleled, one individual could be found, who would gravely aſſert, that 400,000 Britons in arms were not only doing no good, but were even injurious to the intereſts and defence of the country. If real danger ſhould preſent itſelf, what may not be expected from men, animated with one ſpirit, fired with an unexampled unanimity, to take arms in defence of a monarch, whom they love, of a conſtitution which they revere, of an independence which they cheriſh, and for the protection of every thing that can be valuable and precious to them as men and as Engliſhmen."

Mr. Alderman Price explained ſome particulars reſpecting the ſubſcriptions in the city of London; Colonel Cranfurd, Sir William Young, Mr. Calcraft, and Mr. Giles, each repeated ſome of the objections already noticed in former debates to particular circumſtances connected with the levy of volunteers, without, however, condemning the whole ſyſtem.

In anſwer to a remark by Mr. Calcraft, which appeared to imply ſome want of patriotiſm and public ſpirit in London, Mr. Yorke obſerved, that from one inſtance which came within his own knowledge, that inſinuation would not appear to apply. When he was ſecretary at war, an offer was made to him by the Drapers' company of London, immediately after the commencement of the war, to raiſe 200 or 300 men for the public ſervice, to be attached to any regiment of the line which government might think proper. This propoſal he ſubmitted to the conſideration of his Royal Highneſs the Duke of York and General Hewit, and it was the opinion of thoſe high authorities, that it would be imprudent to accede to it, becauſe as this reſpectable and wealthy com-

pany had not the means, through their own influence and connexions, to raiſe the number of men ſpecified, the probability was, that they would offer ſuch high bounties as would interfere with, and do much injury to, the ordinary courſe of recruiting for the regular army. This inſtance he mentioned merely as an anſwer to the ſtatement, that the city of London was not ſufficiently forward to contribute to the public defence; and, he had no doubt, had the offer he deſcribed been accepted, that many others of a ſimilar nature would have been made.

Dr. Laurence, in ſupporting the arguments of Mr. Windham, accuſed miniſters and their ſupporters of endeavouring to calumniate, and run down the characters of thoſe men who had the honeſty and the boldneſs to deliver their candid ſentiments in oppoſition to their meaſures, regardleſs of that temporary popularity which miniſters were ſo anxious to obtain from gratifying the whim of the moment, without looking to future reſults. Of this illiberal diſpoſition, too many inſtances had been given with reſpect to the conduct of his right honourable friend (Mr. Windham), the purity of whoſe motives no man could queſtion, and the abilities of whoſe mind even his adverſaries were forced to acknowledge; but yet he was the ſubject of much undeſerved cenſure, and extremely culpable miſrepreſentation. It was aſſerted that Mr. Windham was unpopular; the fact was not ſo; but if it were, popularity or its oppoſite could form no motive with a man who judged rightly for doing or abſtaining from that which he thought to be his duty. No rational man would wiſh to render himſelf obnoxious to the people, but yet no intelligent or dignified ſtateſman would ſhrink from his purpoſe from fear of unpopularity, for it was notorious that the people were too apt to conſult their immediate eaſe, and but ſeldom to look to future intereſts, however important. Dr. Laurence then reprobated the exiſtence of committees for the government of military bodies, and as to the amount of the bounties given to the ſubſtitutes for the army of reſerve, he could ſay, from his own knowledge, that not leſs than fifty guineas were offered for ſubſtitutes in Middleſex. A man was known to hold a paper, paſted on the top of a pole, at Charing Croſs, with an inſcription of "50 guineas for a ſubſtitute;" and one hundred guineas had been advertiſed for two ſubſtitutes at the market place in Norwich. The learned member concluded with accuſing miniſters of running away from their duty, and declaring that he ſhould always feel proud of having acted with his right honourable friend, in oppoſition to their ſyſtem, whatever animadverſion might be made upon him in that houſe, or whatever calumnies might be propagated reſpecting him out of doors.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer noticed the charges laid on miniſters by Dr. Laurence, namely, that they had deſerted their duties, and had given encouragement to a ſpirit of calumny; but, to whom the charge of dealing in groundleſs ſlander and detraction moſt properly applied, he would leave to the houſe and the public to judge. He then made ſome obſer-

obſervations on the nature of popularity, and put it to the candour and common ſenſe of the houſe, whether, in their proceedings, miniſters were in the leaſt degree influenced by any baſe, unmanly, diſhonourable wiſh to court popularity, and whether they had, in any inſtance, ſhewn the ſtill more diſhonourable wiſh to detract from, or calumniate, any member for the performance of his duty? For himſelf and his colleagues he could ſay, they deſpiſed a practice ſo illiberal and ſo vile, and he was equally certain that his right honourable relation (Mr. H. Addington), to whoſe words ſome alluſion had been made, would contemn any thing like it. That miniſters had attempted to traduce the character even of thoſe who condemned indiſcriminately every meaſure that they had taken ſince their acceſſion to his Majeſty's confidence, was an unfounded accuſation; but that they complained of Mr. Windham's conduct, was an undoubted fact. They complained of the right honourable gentleman, becauſe he reprobated their arrangements reſpecting the militia, though that body was conſtituted preciſely as it exiſted when that right honourable gentleman was in office. They complained of him, becauſe he called forth all his efforts to decry the ſyſtem of the volunteers, although it was no deviation from that which prevailed, when the right honourable gentleman was in office: but he now ſeemed to prefer an armed peaſantry. The right honourable gentleman, on the ſubject of the volunteers, had always argued as if miniſters looked to that body as every thing, while they regarded it only as an important ingredient in the public force. Our ſecurity materially depended on the diverſified conſtruction of our national army, and in a country like ours, it would be impoſſible to array in a regular army, any very conſiderable portion of the population; becauſe it would be inconſiſtent with their induſtry and their habits, and injurious to the vital intereſts of the nation. The miniſter then recapitulated the ſtate of the military force, noticing its paſt and probable increaſe, and cited it as a triumphant anſwer to the outcry raiſed reſpecting the defence of the country.

The bill thus ſtrenuouſly oppoſed in the Houſe of Commons, did not paſs the upper houſe without animadverſion. On the ſecond reading, the Earl of Suffolk profeſſed himſelf a friend of the volunteer ſyſtem, which he thought, if well regulated and applied, might be rendered of the moſt eſſential ſervice to the country. He ſupported this obſervation, by citing as an inſtance, the corps raiſed in the part of the country where he reſided, commanded by his ſon, and diſciplined under his own inſpection. After eighteen drills, his lordſhip ſaid, they had attained an almoſt incredible degree of diſcipline and order; they were, upon the whole, as fine a body of men as he would deſire to ſee, and he would as cheerfully lead them againſt the enemy, as the brigade of guards which he had the honour to command in America, and which had ſo greatly ſignalized itſelf in that country under Lord Cornwallis and other officers. After many more obſervations in favour of the volunteer ſyſtem, his Lordſhip proceeded to 16th.

recommend the formation of a depôt in ſome central part of the kingdom; Warwickſhire appeared to him the moſt eligible, and was expatiating on the utility of the Mortella tower, and offering to read a letter from Sir Eyre Coote on the ſtate of Ireland; but ſuch topics appearing quite foreign to the ſubject before the houſe, he yielded to repeated interruptions on the point of order.

Lord Grenville then made his objections to the bill. He declined offering his general opinions on the volunteer ſyſtem, reſerving them for an opportunity which he intended taking ſoon after Chriſtmas. He complained, however, that a meaſure ſo important was brought forward at a period ſo near the receſs, that it could not be deliberatively conſidered, nor fully diſcuſſed. It would have been better, inſtead of thus attempting to explain the two acts of the laſt ſeſſion, if miniſters had repealed the proviſions of the two former acts with regard to exemptions, altogether, and moulded the whole into a new bill. The preſent plan would impoſe a taſk of no little difficulty on the lords lieutenants, deputy lieutenants, and on the volunteers themſelves, by rendering it neceſſary for them to ſearch into three acts, doubtful in their meaning, if not contradictory. His lordſhip then noticed ſome differences in the modes of exemption from the militia and the army of reſerve; this and other regulations reſpecting returns, placed commanding officers under inſurmountable difficulties. On the whole, therefore, his lordſhip recommended that the bill ſhould be new modelled in the committee, ſo as to apply a diſtinct and efficient remedy to all theſe inconveniences. "With regard to the volunteers themſelves," Lord Grenville proceeded, "it is a ſyſtem of defence which has my higheſt approbation. I think it is a force peculiarly well calculated for this country. I do not mean to ſay it ever ought to ſuperſede the regular army; ſuch a ſyſtem never can be expected to ſupply the want of a regular force. But as an aid to the regular army, I am fully perſuaded that they will be of the moſt eſſential advantage; nay more, that in this capacity they will perform ſervices which a regular army could never execute. But the ſyſtem requires much amendment, and, while I declare my approbation of it in general, I cannot but reprobate many of the regulations that prevail among a great part of the volunteer corps. Their government by committees, in my opinion, ought not to be tolerated, nor their election of their own officers. If theſe things be permitted to go on, although the evils have not yet been perceived; if committees and general meetings are to aſſemble for the purpoſe of debating, the ſame dreadful conſequences may, ſome time, be apprehended, that the volunteers produced in France."

Some of Lord Grenville's objections were repeated, and enforced by the Earls of Romney and Darnley, who alſo agreed in a general approbation of the volunteer ſyſtem.

Lord Hobart and Lord Hawkeſbury anſwered ſome of the complaints, and aſſured the houſe, that it was in the ſerious conſideration of government, and every practicable opportunity would be taken

to

to meliorate the volunteer ſyſtem, and to render that part of the national force as efficacious as poſſible.

19th. On the third reading of the bill ſome further obſervations were made on its details by Earl Fitzwilliam, and ſome alterations having been made, a new debate on points of order was maintained on its return to the lower houſe, but at length the amendments were agreed to, and it paſſed into a law.

Another ſubject of great national importance engaged ſome portion of the attention of parliament before the receſs. At an early period of the ſeſſion, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, after a ſhort ſpeech, in which he made due eulogiums on the governors of the bank for not having availed itſelf of the diſpoſitions of the exiſting act, to iſſue a quantity of paper exceeding the amount of its capital; or abuſed the diſcretion, which a meaſure eſſential to the public welfare neceſſarily left them, for private ends, moved, "for leave to bring in a bill, to continue, for a time to be limited, the reſtriction on the iſſues of caſh by the bank of England."

30th Nov.

The motion was not oppoſed; but Mr. Jekyll took the opportunity to reprobate the ſhameful practice of hoarding ſpecie, which, he ſaid, was carried to an exceſſive, and unpardonable pitch, at a time when the ſituation of affairs required every practicable exertion for the general good. This practice, he ſaid, was ſo general, that bankers had declared they feared a privation of the common means of giving in ſpecie the fractional parts of a pound, and he had ſeen in a newſpaper of that morning, ſome reſolutions of a reſpectable corporation, calculated to meet the evil, and recommending the acceptance of dollars at a certain rate, and of French crowns and half crowns, in change. Theſe circumſtances loudly called for legiſlative interference. The bill paſſed the lower houſe without much further obſervation, the time for its duration being fixed at ſix months after the ratification of a treaty of peace.

In the Houſe of Lords, when the bill was in a committee, Lord King expreſſed diſapprobation and ſurprize, at ſeeing a meaſure of ſo great importance treated ſo much as a matter of courſe. No inquiry was inſtituted, no reaſon was aſſigned for paſſing the bill, nor was any information laid before the houſe to prove the expediency of perſevering in a ſyſtem, which violated all general principles, and could only be juſtified by the moſt urgent neceſſity. He did not give implicit credit to the moderation of the bank as aſſerted by miniſters and the partizans of that corporation, but was convinced, that although the abuſe had not been flagrant or exceſſive, the bank had yielded, in a certain degree, to temptation, and extended the quantity of their notes beyond the proper limits. By the preſent meaſure, the intereſt of the bank was put in oppoſition to its duty; and in ſuch a competition it was not difficult to conjecture which principle was likely to prevail among a commercial body. An exceſſive multiplication of bank notes, ſo long as they cannot be exchanged for ſpecie, had preciſely the ſame effect

9th Dec.

effect as a debaſement of the current coin; and as the bullion price of ſilver was the moſt accurate teſt of the purity of the coinage, it was the beſt ſtandard of the degree of depreciation produced by an exceſſive paper currency. Proceeding on this principle, he ſhould propoſe an amendment to the bill, calculated to give publicity to the proceedings of the bank, which might operate as a ſalutary check upon the directors. It was that they ſhould be obliged to publiſh quarterly, in the London Gazette, during the period of the reſtriction, an account of the amount of their notes in circulation, on the 25th of each of the three preceding months. By comparing the amount of the notes with the bullion price of ſilver, and the ſtate of foreign exchange, the public would be enabled to judge at the time, whether the abuſe was increaſing to any pernicious extent.

Lord Hawkeſbury anſwered ſeveral of the objections of Lord King, and reſiſted his propoſed amendment on ſeveral grounds; principally as it was inconſiſtent with the conduct adopted by parliament on former occaſions, and as it would tend to reflect on the directors, a body who, ſo far from meriting cenſure, had uniformly diſcharged the truſts repoſed in them with prudence, candour, and circumſpection.

The amendment was negatived, but the third reading of the bill being moved, Lord Grenville obtained a delay of a few days, as he had ſome obſervations to offer, which he deemed of conſiderable importance.

13th. On the day appointed, his lordſhip, in a ſpeech of conſiderable length, detailed his opinions on this important ſubject. He admitted, on the whole, that it was beſt, at the preſent moment, to continue the bank reſtriction; but this was not a ſtep to be taken with indifference, or to be forwarded as a matter of courſe through its various ſtages; it was, on the contrary, a great evil; neceſſary, perhaps, in ſuch a criſis as the preſent, but well worthy of the moſt ſerious attention of parliament. The fundamental principle of all governments on this ſubject ought to be, that credit and circulation, if undiſturbed by legiſlative interference, will invariably find their own level. Whenever any temporary purpoſe (as muſt ſometimes happen) induces a departure from this principle, the misfortune is, that the firſt deviation too commonly leads to the neceſſity of a ſecond, and ſo neceſſarily, until it becomes almoſt impoſſible to tread back the ſame ſteps, or to revert to the only wiſe ſyſtem of policy on the ſubject. So it happened in this caſe. He illuſtrated this propoſition by ſtating the hiſtory of the preſent meaſure, which originated in temporary neceſſity, and had, contrary to all the expectations at firſt entertained, been continued till the preſent time. He was afraid that there was now growing up in this country a moſt miſtaken apathy on the ſubject. Many perſons believed that the continuance of the reſtriction had hitherto produced no inconvenience, and that there was therefore no danger in prolonging it almoſt indefinitely. Both parts of this opinion were, he thought, extremely erroneous. Much evil, he was perſuaded, had already been produced by the meaſure, however neceſſary at the time of its adoption; and every day's

day's continuance augmented, in a rapid proportion, both the extent of the evil and the difficulty of its removal. That, during the continuance of this measure, our paper circulation, both bank and private paper, had infinitely increased, no man was ignorant. The power of converting paper into cash at the will of the holder, was the only safe limitation that ever could exist upon the issue of paper, and, if left to its free operation, it was a limitation that might safely be relied on. All other limitations were arbitrary, depending on the uncertain speculations of individuals upon points which no speculations ever can decide with accuracy. The restraint upon the bank must necessarily give some increased encouragement to the issue of private paper, because, for private paper, cash might legally be demanded, for bank paper it ccould not; and if, by these or any other means, the proportion of private paper were much increased, there must obviously be less room for the circulation, even for the same quantity as before, of bank paper; and there was therefore much more reason to apprehend that the issue was too large, when it appeared that instead of remaining at the same amount, the quantity of bank paper had also been very much increased. Paper, he said, now formed, in this country, the principal medium of circulation between man and man, not as formerly in commercial transactions only, but in all the ordinary dealings of life." In ordinary times some excess might take place, but the evil would then correct itself. The present case was widely different. We were called upon to provide against the danger of a sudden alarm, such as must arise, if a country so long unused to the tread of a hostile foot, should even for the shortest interval become the theatre of war. "But," said his lordship, "we are providing for the smaller evil, and seem wholly indifferent to the greater. We are guarding against the consequences of any sudden run upon the bank in a moment of alarm, but we take no consideration of the effect of a similar alarm on that mass of private paper, which constitutes so much larger a proportion of the circulating medium of the country. The stability of the bank has been guaranteed to its creditors by repeated parliamentary examinations; and when we restrain it by law from fulfilling its engagements with them, we have given a fresh pledge of public faith that they shall suffer no loss by that provision. But what will be the case with private paper? Let the house represent to itself the situation of a bank, established perhaps in the very town to be first attacked, and the state of the surrounding district, whose circulation consists, perhaps, almost exclusively of that paper. What means will such a bank possess to satisfy even the ordinary demands upon it! How much would those demands in such a case be increased? And what would be the state of such a district, if to all other evils of war were added the sudden annihilation of its whole circulating medium?"

His lordship then adverted to the practice which was supposed to prevail, of hoarding money, and, far from concurring with the general voice in censuring it, treated these

theſe cenſures as proceeding from the ſame narrow ſource of miſconception with the deluſive cry againſt foreſtallers and monopolizers. The hoards thus accumulated would, in time of need, be found our beſt ſecurity againſt the total want of a circulating medium. He was, therefore, beyond meaſure, aſtoniſhed to hear, that, in ſome other place, this conduct in perſons of ſuch a deſcription had been ſpoken of as a fit ſubject of reproach and cenſure; and that this opinion had proceeded from a quarter which ought to be of the higheſt authority in matters of this nature. Such language could have no other tendency in this caſe (as in that to which he had already likened it) than to raiſe popular odium, and to excite popular tumult, againſt men who uſed their own diſcretion in diſpoſing of their own property. Endeavours to prevent this practice could only augment the evil; as was the caſe in the Miſſiſſippi ſcheme, and in that of the aſſignats, in both which ruinous efforts had been made to limit the quantity of ſpecie which each individual ſhould be allowed to retain. He had no fear, however, that ſuch an attempt would be made in this country, where the wretched policy of neglecting neceſſary precautions, for fear of creating juſt alarm, began now to be ſufficiently underſtood.

"Yet," his lordſhip proceeded, "by the preſent bill, while we confeſs the nature of the danger, the ſlighteſt glance at the proportion which private paper bears to that of the bank, will ſhew how far we are from providing for its extent. Thoſe who at all underſtand the ſubject, know, that the bank paper poſſeſſes a ſtability not to be ſhaken but by ſuch a total ſubverſion of the country, as no Engliſhman wiſhes to ſurvive. Yet we think ourſelves obliged to protect even this corporation, reſting on ſuch immoveable pillars of ſecurity, againſt the danger of ſudden preſſure from temporary alarm. Shall we then overlook the private paper, ſo much greater in extent, and ſo much leſs ſecure in its ſtability? No man can look, without the moſt ſerious apprehenſion, at the temporary effect which the firſt moment of actual invaſion might produce on thoſe local eſtabliſhments; at the extent to which ſuch an evil might ſpread; or at the conſequences which it might produce, in a country whoſe circulation is almoſt intirely compoſed of paper. If the ſubject ſhould continue to be wholly diſregarded, overlooked by negligence, or put out of ſight by hopeleſs deſpondency, the evil would come upon us at the laſt; it would overtake us in the midſt of difficulty and diſtreſs, when precaution would be too late, and remedy impoſſible!" He therefore earneſtly recommended, after the receſs, if it could not be done before, that committees might be named by parliament, to take this ſubject into the moſt ſerious and attentive conſideration. To ſuch committees it would naturally belong to ſuggeſt thoſe remedies, which, on full diſcuſſion and conſultation with men experienced in ſuch matters, might appear moſt practicable and uſeful. His lordſhip, in the reſidue of his ſpeech, pointed out ſeveral objects which ought to engage the attention of ſuch committees, and the bene-

beneficial effects to be expected from their vigilance and diſcernment.

Lord Hawkeſbury, while he agreed in ſome of the general principles laid down by Lord Grenville, differed from him ſo much in the application of them, that he could with difficulty, in the ſpeech he had heard, recognize the words of one who had ſo great a ſhare in propoſing this meaſure originally. That the proportion of paper in circulation to the amount of the ſpecie ought to be left to find its own natural level, and that, in ſome particular ſituations, it would, when left to itſelf, find its natural level, was a principle in political economy, that no one, in the preſent day, could be hardy enough to controvert. Legiſlative interference, or any ſort of interference, ought, if poſſible, to be avoided; but, at the ſame time, circumſtances might occur, where the good to be derived from ſuch a meaſure would far overbalance the evils that might be conſequent upon it. His Lordſhip then briefly ſtated the origin and progreſs of the reſtriction, and proceeded in his obſervations. "But although I ſo far agree with the noble Lord in the general principle, that it is proper to avoid all interference in thoſe things, which, by their own natural operations, will find their juſt level, I am by no means prepared to admit that thoſe conſequences have reſulted from the reſtriction upon the Bank, which he has aſcribed to it, or that ſuch conſequences are to be dreaded. It will, perhaps, be in the recollection of all, that previous to the laſt war, and four years before the original paſſing of this bill, the quantity of paper had increaſed to an enormous degree. This naturally aroſe from the extenſive ſpeculation and commercial enterprize of the country. Theſe, along with the improvements in agriculture, the ſpirit of adventure, the riches and growing population of the nation, brought a quantity of paper into circulation above its juſt proportion to the amount of caſh. His Lordſhip has adverted to what was ſaid in another place, with reſpect to laying up caſh, at this time, or, as it has been generally called, hoarding. I ſincerely agree with the noble lord, and it has been, as he has ſtated it, the opinion of the moſt eminent and luminous writers on political economy, that laying up any commodity in times of a ſcarcity of of that commodity, is a corrective of the ſcarcity. But the noble Lord has certainly miſtaken the ſenſe in which the words to which he alluded were applied. In another place, a cenſure, and a juſt cenſure, was meant to be caſt on thoſe individuals, who were ſo defective in their patriotiſm as, in the preſent moment, to hoard up their money and keep it out of general circulation, from a want of confidence in the ſecurity of their country; and in this ſenſe the words were certainly uſed." With reſpect to the propoſed committee, Lord Hawkeſbury deſired to be underſtood, as not either acceding to, or abſolutely rejecting the plan. It might be attended with ſome advantage, but conſiderable evil might alſo ariſe from it; but he ſtrongly cenſured every propoſition for identifying the paper

iſſued

iſſued from private Banks with that for which, as it was iſſued by the Bank of England, the public faith ſtood engaged. Much miſchief would reſult from a ſcheme of this nature, in teaching people to rely upon public ſecurity inſtead of their own exertions. Bankruptcies might thus, in ſome inſtances, be prevented; but, in the natural courſe of things, great, extenſive, and ill founded ſpeculation would bring on bankruptcies, which, in fact, are the natural correctives that apply to ſuch evils. In ſuch caſes, therefore, the public ought not to interfere.

Lord King, in a ſpeech of ſome length, ſupported and amplified ſome of the obſervations of Lord Grenville, and ſtrenuouſly urged the appointment of a committee. He noticed alſo, the defective ſtate of the ſilver coin in Ireland, a ſubject on which his aſſertions were confirmed by the Marquis of Sligo. Some intimations were alſo given that the Bill before the Houſe was brought in at the deſire of the Governors of the Bank; but the fact was moſt poſitively denied by Lord Hawkeſbury. The propoſal of a Committee was not, however, reduced into the form of a motion, and the Bill paſſed.

While this meaſure was in its progreſs, the attention of Parliament was alſo called to a ſimilar one with reſpect to the Bank of Ireland. This meaſure had been early propoſed to the Houſe of Commons by Mr. Corry, but the completion of it was delayed till after the Bill reſtraining the Bank of England had paſſed, and it was not finally ſanctioned until parliament had ſate ſome time after the receſs. Leave to bring in the Bill was given without oppoſition, and even without any detailed explanation from the mover, who merely ſaid, that the ſame motives which induced the Houſe to entertain the Bill with reſpect to the Bank of England, applied to the preſent caſe; the one meaſure being always conſequential to the other.

2d Dec.

On the ſecond reading, Lord Archibald Hamilton ſaid, he could not ſee any reaſon why the reſtriction of payments in ſpecie ſhould be continued, either on the bank of England or Ireland, to the protracted period of ſix months after the ratification of the preliminaries of peace. It muſt be obvious, that the paper currency of Ireland was already carried to an alarming extent, and it was his intention to move in the committee, that there ſhould be a reſtriction of paper circulation in Ireland, and that the directors of that Bank ſhould be perſonally reſponſible for the iſſues they ſhould make. 6th.

Mr. Corry declined entering on theſe topics until certain accounts ſhould be laid before the Houſe, and until more of the members from Ireland ſhould be preſent, and with this view the committee was deferred until after the receſs.

On the day appointed, a ſpirited and intereſting debate took place. 1804, Feb. 13th.

Lord Archibald Hamilton introduced the buſineſs by reminding the Houſe of the notice of motion he had given before the receſs, but which it was not now his intention to carry into effect. More mature inquiry had convinced

vinced him that it would not for the preſent be expedient. His Lordſhip requeſted, however, to be indulged in making a few obſervations, to ſhew that he had not taken up the idea without due conſideration, or without endeavouring to avail himſelf of all means of correct knowledge on a ſubject of ſuch vaſt importance and intereſt. The meaſure of reſtriction generally, he could not help thinking a great and growing calamity. The conſequence of the repeated renewals of the meaſure of reſtriction had been, that the paper currency of Ireland had increaſed to a moſt alarming extent, and the attendant evils had been manifeſted in a proportionate degree. The doctrines of Adam Smith on this point were clear and explicit, and ſuch an authority could not be lightly regarded. Depreciation was the neceſſary and conſtant reſult of ſuch an extenſive circulation of paper. At the time the bank of Ireland reſtriction Bill paſſed the Iriſh Houſe of Commons, the amount of Bank notes iſſued was 600,000l. and, at this moment, he found that their amount was not leſs than 2,700,000l. Thus there was, by the meaſure of reſtriction, an increaſe to the amount of two millions. On the other hand, what was the proportion of the gold coin to be balanced againſt this quantity of paper? About a million, at the utmoſt. At this time the price given for gold coin in Ireland was conſiderably higher than the ſtandard price of Bullion. Gold coin roſe in price exactly in proportion as paper currency was depreciated in value. Between Dublin and Belfaſt, though there was not a diſtance of more than a hundred miles, there was a difference of exchange to the amount of ten per cent. But the effect of the depreciation of money was felt more ſtrongly on the rate of exchange between this country and Ireland. For a number of years, the rate of exchange between London and Dublin had fluctuated from 8 or 9 to 16 per cent. to the diſadvantage of Ireland. But now, the loſs was far more conſiderable. It was as high as 17, 18, and even 19 per cent. In ſome inſtances it was not leſs than 20; and thus an Iriſh gentleman, who came to attend his duty in Parliament, found, at the end of his journey, where he haſt allotted 500l. for his expences, that 400l. only were really to be received. His Lordſhip then made ſome obſervations and inquiries on the manner in which payment in ſpecie was to be reſumed, and the probable effect of ſuch a meaſure, and earneſtly recommended the ſubject to the attention of Parliament, requeſting them alſo to pay ſome regard to the ſilver currency of Ireland, which, he ſaid, was in a ſtate abſolutely diſgraceful and degrading.

Mr. Corry acknowledged in warm terms, the handſome manner in which the noble Lord had made his obſervations. As the notice of motion was relinquiſhed, he did not conceive that it would be regular for him to go into any detail on the topics which had been introduced. He would, however, make a few general obſervations. The ſtate of the paper currency of Ireland was doubtleſs deplorable in the higheſt degree, and nothing would afford him greater ſatisfaction than the proſpect

pect of any means of redreſſing evils, which all parties admitted to exiſt. It was true, that Ireland was inundated with a profuſion of paper, but this was not the fault of the Bank directors. They had no controul over the iſſuing of notes by private banks in various parts of the country. In the year when the reſtriction firſt took place, the Bank received an addition of capital to the amount of half a million. Previous to the reſtriction, ſpecie had diſappeared from year to year, and private bankers had been prohibited from iſſuing notes under five guineas value. The conſequence was, that a new iſſue of ſmall notes became neceſſary to fill up the deficiencies occaſioned by this prohibition. Additional iſſues of notes were further rendered expedient from the accumulation of taxes, and from a variety of local cauſes. In this ſtate of things, the Bank directors had iſſued notes to a great amount, but it did not follow that their conduct in this reſpect was criminal. To compel the bank of Ireland to iſſue caſh when the reſtriction continued here, would be equally impolitic and unjuſt. The Bill for reſtricting the iſſues of caſh by the bank of Ireland, was, in fact, a bill auxiliary to, and co-exiſtent with, the bill for a ſimilar purpoſe here. With reſpect to the relative proportion of the paper iſſued in England and Ireland, Mr. Corry obſerved, it was not a fair way of determining the criminality or policy of theſe iſſues merely by their extent. In determining this queſtion, the extent of the capital was to be materially attended to. In ſpeaking of the extent of capital, the queſtion turned on the nature and extent of ſecurity. On the other hand, if the propriety of theſe iſſues was canvaſſed, the criterion muſt be of a different deſcription. Nothing poſitive appeared to ſhew, that the Bank directors had carried their iſſues to an unwarrantable extent. The fact was, that when the Bill paſſed in Ireland, it was carried, as it were, by acclamation. No inveſtigation of the ſituation of the Bank, or the conduct of the directors took place. The Bill was carried through the Houſe, from a conviction, that it was rendered abſolutely indiſpenſable, after the paſſing of the reſtriction act by the parliament of England.

In this debate, Lord Henry Petty delivered his maiden ſpeech. He allowed that the amount of the iſſues of paper money by the Bank of Ireland was not itſelf a fair criterion whereby to judge of the propriety of this increaſed circulation. It was, however, a circumſtance which could not fail to excite ſurpriſe, and certainly loudly demanded inquiry, that the iſſues of paper by the Bank of Ireland had been five times greater ſince the reſtriction bill had been paſſed than they previouſly were, whereas the iſſues by the Bank of England had, in proportion to the capital, increaſed only in the proportion of one fifth beyond what they were when the act was paſſed. It might be true, that the directors of the Bank of Ireland might not hold themſelves ſubject to reſponſibility for this extraordinary increaſe of their paper; but, ſurely, parliament was reſponſible, after committing to theſe directors a power as extenſive as ever

ever was committed to a public body, the power of manufacturing paper for national circulation. This was indeed a great delegation of authority, for all economiſts agreed that money was power. When ſuch powers were delegated, it was, undoubtedly, the duty of parliament to ſee in what manner they were exerted, to aſcertain what were the evils connected with the ſyſtem on which they acted, and to adopt ſuch remedies as appeared moſt adapted to their ſituation. The depreciation of paper in Ireland was conſtantly increaſing, and muſt, as long as it exiſted, be productive of the moſt alarming conſequences. The balance of trade muſt continue unfavourable to Ireland as long as the depreciation continued, and the merchant muſt continue to reſort to the foreign market inſtead of home manufacture. The preſent depreciation could not be deſcribed as ariſing from any thing in the commerce of the country for the laſt year; becauſe, during that year, the exports of Ireland had conſiderably exceeded the imports; but even if it were the caſe, it was an evil inſeparable from the continuance of the reſtriction. As long as the merchants could obtain accommodation from the bank by the iſſues of paper, and as long as the bank found it advantageous to give this accommodation, no favourable alteration in the ſtate of the exchange could be expected. The whole trade and property of Ireland were threatened with danger, if a change of ſyſtem did not take place. This danger was already viſible in a variety of circumſtances. Since the time of the reſtriction, the bank had increaſed its dividends full one and a half per cent. Under theſe circumſtances, the bank had not only no motive to wiſh for the removal of the reſtriction act, but found it their intereſt to extend the circulation of their paper. The meaſure which ſtruck him as beſt calculated to prevent the growth of this evil, was a plan for compelling the directors to curtail their iſſues of paper money, and thus forcing the private bankers to adopt a ſimilar practice.

Mr. Foſter, although he did not oppoſe the reſtriction, could not abſtain from pointing out ſome of the effects which it naturally produced in Ireland. The ſcarcity of ſpecie there was well known, they had no gold in circulation but what was bought at a premium; ſilver, there was none; he did not believe there was one real ſhilling to be found from one end of Ireland to the other; there was even a ſcarcity of braſs. The effect which this want of braſs produced upon trade was obvious. In the north of Ireland, where payments were made all in gold, it was neceſſary to purchaſe guineas at a premium of 2s. 4d. which was above ten per cent. The linen manufacturers could only buy their materials for guineas, for which they paid this enormous advance, which they were of courſe obliged to lay upon the price of their manufactures; this would render them unable to meet foreigners in foreign markets, and if ſome remedy was not adminiſtered, the trade could not ſtand. In addition to all this, there was a duty of four per cent. upon the importation of the article.

Mr. Henry Thornton was of opinion, that the exceſs of paper

circulation was the cauſe of the bad ſtate of exchange in that country. There was a material difference that gentlemen ſhould all keep in view between the banks of England and Ireland: in Ireland there was no bank that took upon itſelf to manage and regulate the circulation of the country; whereas in England it was perfectly well known, that the bank commanded the whole paper circulation of the metropolis, and regulated that of the kingdom. The bank of Ireland was inſtituted after a great deal of oppoſition, and the private banks ſucceeded in obtaining permiſſion to remain in the ſame ſtate that they were before the national bank was eſtabliſhed, and conſequently had the power of iſſuing their paper for the circulation both of the metropolis and the country. In England, there was no bank in the metropolis that interfered with the paper of the national bank. Although the paper iſſued by the private banks in Dublin, was, he had no doubt, on very good ſecurity, yet, as they were not now bound to pay their own paper in ſpecie, it naturally muſt be their intereſt to have as much of their paper in circulation as they could. The great object, therefore, which he wiſhed to obtain, would be, if poſſible, to limit the circulation of private banks: another remedy which he thought might be applied, would be to make Iriſh bank paper exchangeable for that of the bank of England.

Lord Caſtlereagh did not conſider the ſubjects which had been introduced into the diſcuſſion, at all connected with the limitation of the operation of the meaſure. They formed a queſtion which might be taken up as a ſubject of ſeparate inquiry, if the inveſtigation ſhould be deemed expedient. He agreed with Mr. Foſter, that, the commercial tranſactions in the north of Ireland were carried on with gold, and, therefore, when no gold was iſſued, when the ordinary means of obtaining it were cut off by the reſtriction, the effect was, that while they continued to carry on their buſineſs by means of gold, they were obliged to pay the price ſet upon it by thoſe who had it in their poſſeſſion. As the demand for guineas increaſed, they of neceſſity acquired a greater local, factitious value; and while the reſtrictions continued on the banks, and the apprehenſion from invaſion induced thoſe poſſeſſing ſpecie to hoard it up, the fact could not be otherwiſe. He could not, however, conceive, that this circumſtance would have the effect of embarraſſing the linen manufacturers in foreign markets. If gold were neceſſary in a bargain, the bargain muſt neceſſarily be delayed till the gold could be procured, and in all caſes of bargains proſpectively made, the terms muſt neceſſarily be regulated according to the medium of the purchaſe. He had riſen merely to ſtate his doubts, whether the premium of 2s 4d was occaſioned in that part of the country ſo much by a depreciation of paper, as by an extraordinary riſe in the value of gold, and he ſtated thus much as doubt, rather than as difference of opinion. As to the ſtate of internal induſtry, there appeared to him no ground of gloomy apprehenſions. He remembered, when in the Iriſh government, that the conſtant complaint was of the diſcount paid for ſpecie, particularly by

by the ſoldiery; now the ſoldiery were increaſed, and the induſtry of the country formed another drain on ſpecie, while the means of procuring it were altogether cut off.

After ſome explanations from ſome preceding ſpeakers, and a few obſervations with reſpect to the duration of the reſtriction, the debate was cloſed by Mr. Alexander, who agreed that the ſilver currency was wretched. Conſiderable inconvenience had been felt from the circumſtance that paper was not conſidered a legal tender, and the courts even had not ventured to decide the queſtion. The landlords in the north of Ireland inſiſted on gold, while thoſe in the interior, in the ſouthern and weſtern provinces, were ſatisfied with bank notes. If the landlords of England were, pending the reſtriction on the bank, to inſiſt on gold in payment of their rents, he contended that the ſame inconveniencies would be felt in this country, and to the ſame extent, as are now felt in Ireland. Another circumſtance which contributed greatly to increaſe the circulation of paper, was, that the bank of Ireland diſcounted at one per cent. under the legal intereſt, whilſt the private banks, by diſcounting at the uſual intereſt, had thereby an advantage of one per cent. The conſequence was, that they kept diſcounting offices in parts of the country, even the leaſt commercial, and deluged the kingdom with their notes.

20th. Notwithſtanding the length of this diſcuſſion, the converſation was renewed on the motion for a third reading of the bill, which produced little novelty, but at the concluſion Mr. Foſter ſaid, he had entertained a hope that miniſters would have expreſſed an intention of taking up the ſubject of exchange and currency, but as they remained ſilent, he felt the call upon him ſo imperiouſly, that he would, on a future day, bring the matter under the conſideration of parliament, at the ſame time he ſhould be glad if miniſters would take the taſk out of his hands.

In purſuance of this notice, Mr. Foſter, on the firſt convenient day, 2d March. moved for the appointment of a committee to inquire into the cauſes of the preſent high rate of exchange between Great Britain and Ireland, and the ſtate of the currency in the latter kingdom, and to report the ſame to the houſe.

After ſtating that the exchange between London and Dublin was full 18½ per cent. or 10 per cent. above the ordinary rate, he begged the houſe to conſider that Ireland was now conſolidated with England, in all reſpects, and bore her quota in the public burthens of the empire; yet her intercourſe with this country ſtood charged with this moſt ſevere and oppreſſive burthen, while the intercourſe between the capital and Scotland, and all other departments of the kingdom much more diſtant from the imperial capital than Dublin, was charged with no ſuch impoſts at all. Among other cauſes which had been aſſigned for the exiſtence of this evil, the balance of trade had been mentioned. This, he would admit, was one of the obvious cauſes; for, during a ſpace of twenty years previous to 1800, the balance of exports, between

Ireland and this country, was, upon an average, in favour of the former, by above a million a year. In that year, a conſiderable alteration took place, by which the balance changed two millions againſt Ireland. In the next year it was £.1,600,000; in the next above a million; and had ſo continued, and was likely ſo to continue increaſing every year. Another of the cauſes, and a ſtill more prominent one, was the annual remittances to this country of £.1,300,000 to pay the intereſts of loans, borrowed in this country, for the uſe of the Iriſh government; and the remittances of rent to Iriſh abſentee landlords, which by many had been confidently ſtated at three millions, but which, he believed, would be more correctly eſtimated at two millions. The only account to balance this, was the remittance of two millions annually, to defray the expences of government in Ireland, which left a balance againſt that country of £1,300,000. He then re-ſtated the difference in value between guineas and bank notes, inſiſting that all the cauſes aſſigned for this difference might be reduced to one, the reſtriction on the bank. But, whatever were the cauſes altogether, the lamentable reſult was, that the whole bank paper of the country ſtood at this moment at a depreciation of 10 per cent. Whether it cauſed the depreciation or not, it was fit to mention as a fact the enormous iſſue of paper from the bank; by theſe laſt returns it was £2,600,000, of which one million was in notes under £.5. There was every probability that this quantity muſt continue to increaſe, as it was well known, that the paper of the bank of Ireland was the ſtock upon which all the private banks in the kingdom traded; and, in proportion to the quantity of the national bank paper the private banker was able to get into his poſſeſſion, he was enabled to iſſue his own paper (which he was bound to pay in national bank paper), to a much more conſiderable amount. Another cauſe that might operate, was the ſuppoſed inſecurity of the country. He was not inclined, however, to think that the ſtate of the country had much effect in producing this very unfavourable ſtate of exchange. No man, he ſaid, ever preſumed to call in queſtion the undoubted validity of the national bank of Ireland; therefore, no inconvenience was ultimately to be apprehended from any portion of the paper which it would think fit to iſſue. Now, with reſpect to the remedy, he ſhould think there was one ſimple one, which, if it could, under the wiſdom of the legiſlature, be accompliſhed, would prove at once moſt effectual. It was the accompliſhment of one common circulating medium through both countries. There was another point which had not yet been touched on by any perſon in the courſe of thoſe diſcuſſions which had already taken place on this ſubject, and to which he now begged leave to call the attention of the houſe. In the commercial intercourſe between this country and Scotland, and almoſt every other branch of the empire, ſave Ireland, there were two ſpecies of circulating medium equally current; namely, gold, and the bank of England notes. When the iſſues of gold were reſtricted, the currency

currency of the notes continued, with little or no inconvenience to the commerce between the countries. But, between Ireland and this country, there was but one current circulating medium—gold; and the moment that was reſtrained, the medium was taken away; for, in Ireland the notes of the bank of England did not currently run; ſo that Ireland, to make her remittances an adequate ſubſtitute for gold, deals at a certain loſs of 10 per cent. upon her commerce. There was another point too, which was highly deſirable to be accompliſhed, though it might have little or no effect upon the rates of exchange, namely, an equalization of the currency in both countries. Mr. Foſter then obſerved at conſiderable length on the great drain from Ireland occaſioned by the balance againſt her of £.1,300,000 in annual remittances; a burthen, he obſerved, greater than her trade could bear. In concluſion, he noticed the wretched ſtate of the coinage, ſo bad, that there was ſcarcely any thing in the ſhape of money to be ſeen, but a miſerable fabrication of adulterated copper, and of counterfeit ſhillings, ſo bad, that for a pound bank note, even at its depreciated value, 26 or 27 of ſuch ſhillings would be given in exchange.

On this laſt point, Mr. Foſter was confirmed by Mr. George Ponſonby, who ſaid the diſtreſs on this point was ſuch, that he was ſure no man who had not been in that country could form a juſt conception of it from any deſcription however accurate. There was not to be found in the country parts of Ireland, except in the north, any deſcription of coin whatſoever, except ſome very bad copper. Silver or gold there was none, but, as ſomething muſt be uſed for circulation, there were many perſons who, without any capital whatſoever, ſet up a kind of banking ſhops, and iſſued notes of 6d, of 1s, and a note for 3s 6d was conſidered as a very large one! The difficulties and inconvenience which this occaſioned to the higher claſſes of ſociety, were very great indeed, but infinitely more ſo to the lower claſſes. In the courſe of his profeſſional experience in the courts of juſtice, he had witneſſed the trials of many of thoſe bankers who had become bankrupts, and the lamentable conſequences to thoſe who had been ſufferers by their inſolvency. He had himſelf paid, laſt Saturday at Dublin, 2s 4d each for guineas, to bear his expences hither on his parliamentary duty, and if he had choſen Engliſh bank notes, he muſt have paid a ſtill higher premium in proportion.

No direct oppoſition was made to the motion; but Mr. Corry, Lord Caſtlereagh, Mr. Dick, and Sir John Newport, expreſſed conſiderable doubts of the utility of the committee, and ſome gave ſtrong opinions of the ill conſequences to be apprehended from the preſent diſcuſſion. Not only thoſe diſcuſſions which were inſtituted in Parliament, it was ſaid, but the ſpeculations that were circulated through every part of the country, were extremely diſadvantageous, and had a tendency to augment the evil they meant to remedy. There ſeemed to be a kind of prejudice entertained againſt the bank of Ireland, which

was very ill founded. Various obſervations were made reſpecting the rate of exchange tending to invalidate the arguments drawn from that circumſtance; and with reſpect to remittances, it was ſaid that the loan remitted from this country to Ireland certainly affected the immediate balance; but the expenditure in Ireland being greater than its contribution to the joint expenditure of the united kingdom, the conſequence was, that very conſiderable ſums were remitted to that country, and that was one reaſon why Ireland had been better able to go on than ſhe otherwiſe would have been. On the balance of trade, it was obſerved that the arguments reſted entirely upon what was called the official value, but it was perfectly well known that the official value was very conſiderably below the real value. It was certainly true, that if gentlemen were guided by the official value of the exports, the balance of trade would appear to be againſt Ireland, whereas, if they looked to the real value of the article exported, which certainly was the only true way of knowing whether the balance was for or againſt a country, the balance would appear to be in favour of Ireland. To illuſtrate this point, one or two inſtances were mentioned. It was perfectly well known, that the ſecond great article of export from Ireland was proviſions. The barrel of beef exported from Ireland was valued in the official books at 16s per cwt. whereas, in fact, the real value, that is to ſay, the real price at which it was exported, was 25, 30, and even 40s per cwt. With regard to pork, the official value was 19s per cwt. whereas the real price at which it was exported, was 30, 33, and even ſometimes up to 65s. Butter was ſtated, according to official value, at 42s per cwt. whereas, in point of fact, it was exported at 70, 80, and even at 105s per cwt. It was, therefore, a very unfair mode of aſcertaining the trade of a country to look merely at official value. It was true, that the real value of the imports was greater than the official value, but not in ſo great a degree as in the exports.

Lord Henry Petty ranged himſelf on the other ſide. He could not omit this opportunity of adverting to an evil which was admitted on all hands to exiſt, and which paſſing under the eye of his Majeſty's miniſters in Ireland, might be more effectually remedied. He alluded to the exceſſive iſſue of country bank paper. He ſhould be the laſt to recommend any rigorous meaſures to reſtrain the operations of the private bankers, but he could not be perſuaded of the propriety of forcing their paper into circulation. He underſtood that the military forces in Ireland were paid altogether in the paper of the country banks, and that an improper, he had almoſt ſaid a corrupt, connexion, exiſted between the agents employed in paying the military and yeomanry, and the bankers. As ſoon as theſe agents received their remittances, they lodged them in the country bank, taking their paper in exchange for paying the forces, and the noble lord agreed that the bank of Ireland paper became thus, an additional capital to the country banker. In ſuch a ſtate of the country, he looked upon inveſtigation,

gation, to the end of deviſing ſome remedy, as abſolutely indiſpenſable. Unhappy, indeed, muſt that ſituation of a country be, which affords to the fraudulent an opportunity of deluding the unwary, and to the ſtrong the means of oppreſſing the weak. He was of opinion, that great benefit was to be expected from the committee.

Sir John Dick, having in his ſpeech made ſome reflections on a pamphlet publiſhed by Lord King, Mr. Fox defended the publication, and with the arguments generally uſed on ſuch occaſions, extolled public diſcuſſion, and decried that ſecurity or confidence in any ſet of principles, or in any meaſures, that were the reſult only of ſilence, and that muſt fall to the ground the moment ſuch principles were diſcuſſed and examined.

The committee was appointed, and in their number were Mr. Pitt, Mr. Fox, and ſeveral others of the moſt diſtinguiſhed perſonages in the houſe.

5th March. Meanwhile, the bank of Ireland Reſtriction Bill was read a firſt time in the Houſe of Lords, and on the motion for a ſecond reading, Lord King made his obſervations on the meaſure. He affirmed that the diſcuſſion which had already taken place was highly beneficial. Of the depreciation of the Iriſh bank paper no doubt could be entertained, but if a proof was wanted, one that could not be refuted was found in the conduct of his Majeſty's officers in Ireland. They paid themſelves their ſalaries and penſions at par. If the bank paper was good for that for which it was iſſued, why not take it themſelves? No! for they knew they muſt loſe 10 per cent. by it. If one of thoſe officers had £.100 to receive, he knew it would produce him no more than £.90 if in bank paper; and, therefore, he took care to be paid at par. It was ſaid that the diſturbed ſtate of the country and the apprehenſion of invaſion, were the cauſes of the evil. But fact was againſt this reaſoning. In the laſt war, when there was an open rebellion in Ireland, when a French army was in the country, and a French fleet off the coaſt, the diſcount was only at 9 per cent. while in 1802, in time of peace, it was from 12 to 13 per cent. The quantity of paper iſſued by the bank was the cauſe. Having recapitulated his former arguments reſpecting the exceſſive iſſue of bank paper, at conſiderable length, his lordſhip ſaid, every man in Ireland who received £.100 was robbed, by the operation of that exceſs, of £.10, while the bank proprietors were the only gainers by the ſyſtem. Having no call for caſh, they might employ their capital, producing intereſt; and their exceſs of paper producing intereſt alſo. He had, on a former occaſion, propoſed that the bank of Ireland ſhould be compelled to pay their notes in thoſe of the bank of England. Had this been adopted, there would not have been this diſcount on bank of Ireland notes. The bank of Scotland is compelled to pay in bank of England notes; and their notes are at par. It would be the ſame with the Iriſh bank, if it was under the ſame compulſion. It had been ſaid, that to obtain bank of England notes, it muſt purchaſe them with gold; and, therefore, to compel it to pay in thoſe notes was to compel it to

pay in gold. But he denied that. The Iriſh bank would purchaſe the bank of England notes with bills of exchange, as all other articles of merchandize are bought. The ſole effect would be to make the notes of the two banks convertible into each other, which they ought to be; and, therefore, to prevent the bank of Ireland notes being at a diſcount. Another great evil occaſioned by the overflow of bank of Ireland notes, which fell chiefly on the labouring claſſes of people, was the forgery of theſe notes. To ſuch a length had this gone, that no perſon in the interior and remote parts of Ireland, would take a bank note without the perſon's name who had it being indorſed on it. But of what uſe was this to the ignorant labourer in Connaught, who could not read? If his note was forged with which he meant to buy bread, he could not read the names of thoſe who ſeemed to ſtand as his pledges for its validity. The loſs by forged notes, therefore, chiefly fell on the very pooreſt of the people. On the whole, his lordſhip maintained that the preſent bill created all thoſe evils he had ſtated, eſpecially the depreciation of the bank notes, and the rate of exchange with this country. Of the latter fact he would give one more eminent proof. In a quarter where the bank notes had not yet got into general circulation, in the north of Ireland, exchange was at par, or, he believed, ſomething above par.

This ſpeech was introductory to a long and animated debate, in which Lord Grenville, the Earl of Caernarvon, Lord Auckland, and Lord Carysfort, cenſured the meaſures of government, and were anſwered by the Earl of Limerick, Lord Hawkeſbury, and the Lord Chancellor; but after the details already afforded of previous debates connected with this ſubject, nothing new can be added, either in fact or in illuſtration. The lords who cenſured, did not oppoſe the bill, admitting, although with regret, that it was too late to diſcuſs the policy of it, after paſſing the bank of England Reſtriction Bill. The bank of Ireland muſt be reſtricted as long as the bank of England was.

6th. In the committee, a clauſe was propoſed by Lord King, limiting the iſſue of paper by the bank of Ireland to the amount it was on the 25th of November laſt, the lateſt period to which the accounts were made up: this would give room even for an exceſſive iſſue, as it was upwards of £2,900,000, which was £300,000 more than in the year 1802; but this propoſition, after a few obſervations from Lord Hawkeſbury, was rejected.

29th Feb. The mention in theſe debates of ſalaries paid to the officers of the government in Ireland at par, occaſioned a motion by Lord King for an account of all penſions and ſalaries chargeable on the revenues of Ireland, and paid at par in this country, which was granted.

26th March. Some time afterward, the Earl of Limerick moved for an account of all ſums, paid at par, to perſons in and from Ireland, on the part of the Iriſh government ſince the Union, and diſtinguiſhing the ſums ſo paid, in the preſent ſeſſion of parliament, with an account of the average of exchange during that period, together

gether with a ſtatement of the orders from the government of Ireland, under which ſums were paid. This was alſo granted, but no motion in the Houſe of Lords was founded on the papers produced.

29th Feb. 2d March, and 12th April.

On ſimilar motions, ſimilar papers were obtained in the Houſe of Commons, and on them Lord Archibald Hamilton moved three reſolutions, affirming that payments had been made in London, of ſalaries charged on the Iriſh eſtabliſhment, out of money to be remitted to the Iriſh treaſury, thereby preventing the profits of the exchange thereof, from being of credit to the public, as is done in other caſes. That they had been made without ſufficient authority. That ſuch practice was unwarrantable, and ought to be diſcontinued. Theſe reſolutions were ſupported by Mr. Fox, Dr. Laurence, Lord Henry Petty, Mr. Francis, Mr. Foſter, Mr. T. Grenville, and ſome other members. They cited the acts of the 30th of the king, for regulating the payment of the ſalaries of all the ſervants of the crown in the civil departments of the ſtate; and then contended, that the commiſſioners of the treaſury in Ireland, had no right to interfere with the payment of the ſalaries of the officers of government, nor with any ſums of money whatever, while it was *in tranſitu;* for it was not only repugnant to the law thus quoted, but contrary alſo to precedent. They did not charge miniſters with a deliberate deſign to over-rule the law; but theſe irregular and unwarrantable acts would have had that effect, unleſs checked by the houſe. Without imputing any improper motives, it looked unfavourably, that the commiſſioners of the revenue ſhould benefit themſelves by an order which they made contrary to law, and ſhould themſelves claim, by their own order, a benefit which they did not allow to others, who, if the meaſure was right, had a better claim to it. It was ſtated as a principle inſeparable from the uſage of all government, and from the duties of this government more than any other, that the perſonal intereſt of every individual truſted with power, ſhould, in all caſes, be one and the ſame with the intereſt of the community. If a general calamity ſhould exiſt, or a general burden is to be endured, to the remedy or relief of which the labour, the induſtry, and the ſkill of perſons high in office, ought to be unremittingly applied, it is not wiſe, it is not ſafe, to exempt ſuch perſons from their ſhare in the general preſſure or ſuffering that falls upon all the reſt. You take away a principal motive or ſtimulus to ſuch perſons to exert themſelves in the public ſervice, when you tell them, that whether they neglect their duty or not, they are ſure to be borne harmleſs in the receipt of their own income. Leaſt of all, is it prudent or ſafe to ſuffer ſuch parties to form the meaſure, and to diſtribute the amount of their own relief.

The chief ſpeakers on the other ſide were Lord Caſtlereagh, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, the Maſter of the Rolls, Sir Lawrence Parſons, and the Attorney General. The queſtion, they ſaid, was a very ſimple one, namely, whether money in poſſeſſion of the agent in England

England belonging to the Iriſh treaſury, was or was not ſubject to the order of the commiſſioners of the Iriſh treaſury? Then, ſuppoſing that to be decided in the affirmative, the next queſtion would be, whether the application that was made of that money under that order, was a fit and proper application, under all the circumſtances of the caſe! In other words, whether the order of the commiſſioners of the Iriſh treaſury proceeded from a competent or legal authority or not? The mover of the reſolutions ſeemed to argue this matter as if there was an actual increaſe of ſalary to theſe officers, by the mode of payment which had been adopted in this caſe; if ſo, the mode was improper; for it was beyond the competency of the Iriſh treaſury to increaſe the ſalaries of theſe officers, the amount of which was ſpecified by law. The act of parliament had ſaid, what the ſalaries of theſe officers ſhould be; but that was while they exerciſed their functions in Ireland, and when they were to be paid there; but in the caſe now before the houſe, the officers of government, whoſe ſalaries were thus paid, had been taken from their natural ſphere of action in which they had been uſually called upon to move, and brought, for ſpecial purpoſes, to exerciſe their functions in this country. The queſtion was, whether an officer who did his duty in England ſhould not be paid in Engliſh currency? If, indeed, he diſcharged the functions of his office in Ireland, it would be an advantage to him that he ſhould be paid in Engliſh currency, and an advantage to which he would not be intitled; but if he was obliged to come here to perform that office, in a country in which certainly he could not live cheaper than in Ireland, nor could he do his duty in it with more ſatisfaction or convenience to himſelf than in Ireland; was it fair to call on ſuch an officer to perform his duty with a diminution of ſalary; for that would be the caſe if he were to be paid in Iriſh currency. This mode of payment was not, in fact, an increaſe of ſalary, but a mere relief from a tax to which theſe officers would be liable if this mode of payment was not adopted. The officers employed under the Iriſh government, who would have received £.100 Iriſh if they had remained in Ireland, did not receive £.100. Britiſh. They only received £.92 Britiſh, which was equal to £.100 Iriſh, and thoſe officers, and thoſe ſalaries, were all eſtabliſhed before the Union, when it could not be in contemplation that it would be neceſſary to bring them over to England. If theſe officers were, in addition to the inconvenience they ſuffered by being brought over to England, to loſe by the exchange, inſtead of receiving £.92, they would, in fact, only receive £.82, which could never be intended. Upon the principle attempted to be eſtabliſhed, perſons concerned in Eaſt India affairs might be ſent to Calcutta to receive their ſalaries. So if a perſon were ordered to go to York, and could not get his ſalary from London, but at a great expence attending the tranſfer, he was to be a ſufferer. But what was exchange but the expence of attending the tranſfer of money; and why ſhould the civil officer ſuſtain that expence, if he did not voluntarily

voluntarily ſhift his reſidence. The Iriſh nation had funds in this country in conſequence of the intimacy which ſubſiſted between the two iſlands; and would any one ſay that, when they had a puplic officer on buſineſs here, the money ſhould not be paid here to that officer, but be ſent back to the treaſury of Ireland, to do that mighty piece of juſtice, the putting money into the public purſe at the expence of the individual?

Some parts of this defence were animadverted on with much ſeverity, and the caſes of ſome officers of the Iriſh government who reſided and received their ſalaries in England, were cited as unwarrantable exceptions from a general rule. No ſmall ſtreſs, it was ſaid, had been laid upon the aſſertion, that a man's ſalary had not been increaſed becauſe he was relieved from the operation of a tax, but it was difficult to underſtand the difference between an increaſe of ſalary and an exemption from the payment of a tax. His Majeſty might as well exempt a man of landed property from the payment of the land tax, and what was that in fact but an increaſe of ſalary? Mention had been made of perſons who were called here by order of their ſuperiors, but on inſpecting the liſt laid before the houſe of thoſe who received payments at par, it was not eaſy to diſcover who they were. Was the right honourable gentleman on the oppoſite ſide of the houſe (Mr. Corry) called here by his ſuperiors, and ſuppoſing him not to be a member of parliament, what was the neceſſity which compelled him to reſide in this country? With reſpect to the Lord Chancellor of Ireland; was a judge, whoſe proper reſidence was in reality in Ireland, and who came by choice to this country, to be allowed to plead in his juſtification, that he was called by his ſuperiors? It could not be admitted that there exiſted a greater duty to attend parliament, in thoſe perſons who were in office, than in thoſe perſons who were out of office, for that would be to admit, that the country gentlemen were to be taxed, and that his Majeſty's ſervants were to be paid for their attendance in parliament. There exiſted no neceſſity whatever, with regard to the Lord Chancellor; for who had the right of ordering him to come to this country? Certainly none but the king, and even then there might be doubts upon that ſubject, as his Majeſty had his own chancellor here. The chancellor was, in fact, a half-pay officer; for he had 4 or 5000l. a year for having formerly done the duty of Speaker of the Houſe of Lords; yet his claims were freely allowed, and he received his ſalary at par. Some alluſions were alſo made to payments at par to Mr. Wickham and Colonel Loftus, and to an advance in the fee given to the counſel for the commiſſioners of the revenue, who, inſtead of £.100 paid to him formerly, now received at the rate of £.300 a year.

That ſome of theſe allegations were well founded could not be denied, but the order of the day had been moved early in the debate, and in ſupport of this motion it was juſtly obſerved, that no one perſon had pretended to ſay that there was a great ſum of money ſunk, ſquandered, or applied to improper uſes, and therefore it was evident that his Majeſty's ſervants had not acted

from

from a corrupt and dirty motive. If the principle was admitted, and it was ſtated that one or two perſons had, by miſtake, been included in the payment who were not entitled to it; there was every reaſon to believe that even the noble mover of the reſolutions would be ſatisfied as to the propriety of the conduct of miniſters.

On a diviſion, the order of the day was carried by a majority of 38, the numbers being 82 to 44.

1803. Dec. 19. Another meaſure relating to Ireland, introduced to the attention of parliament before the receſs, but principally debated after that period, was a conſolidation of the import duties, and ſome of the inland duties of that country. The duties referred to, were principally upon foreign articles, either imported directly into Ireland, or through Great Britain. The duties payable on foreign articles were principally thoſe under recent ſtatutes, but the conſolidation was not to be made ſtrictly and preciſely upon the duties as they ſtood, but fractional parts of a penny were to be avoided, by raiſing the impoſt in ſome inſtances, and lowering it in others. This meaſure generally acknowledged to be juſt and beneficial, occaſioned ſome debates on the details, but finally paſſed to the ſatisfaction of all parties.

CHAP. VII.

Efforts made during the Receſs to unite the various Bodies of Oppoſition. Impediments to this Plan. Its ſucceſs probable. Illneſs of the King. Mention of this Subject in the Houſe of Commons by Sir Robert Lawley. Anſwer of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Animadverſions of Mr. Fox. Further Anſwer of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Obſervations of Mr. Pitt, Mr. Windham, Mr. Canning, aud Mr. Grenville. The ſame ſubject noticed in the Houſe of Lords, by Lord King. Anſwers of Lord Hawkeſbury and the Lord Chancellor. Obſervations of Lord Grenville and ſome other Peers. His Majeſty's recovery announced. Struggle of Parties proceeds. Intended motion, by Admiral Berkely, on the removal of General Fox. Abandoned. Motion on the Inſurrection in Dublin, by Sir John Wrotteſley. General view of the Arguments in favour of Government; and of the Anſwers to them. Opinions of Mr. Windham reſpecting Lord Redeſdale's Correſpondence with Lord Fingal. Obſervations of ſeveral Members on the Character of General Fox. High Eulogies beſtowed by Oppoſition on Lord Hardwicke. Proviſion made for the family of Lord Kilwarden.

AS it is not intended at this period to relate ſome important tranſactions which were taking place on the Continent, and produced ſignal effects, two circumſtances only in domeſtic hiſtory, connected with the time of the parliamentary receſs, which laſted

laſted from the 20th of December till the 1ſt of February, will at preſent be adverted to.

The firſt is the increaſing endeavours which were daily made by the opponents of adminiſtration, and that too, with increaſing proſpects of ſucceſs, to engage all the parties hoſtile to government in a firm ſyſtem of co-operation. A coalition of this ſort was loudly invoked by the whole hoſt of news and pamphlet writers, on the one ſide, and not leſs ſtrenuouſly decried on the other, while no leading individual of any party diſtinctly diſavowed the intention. In fact, the marked concurrence between Mr. Windham and Mr. Fox, during that portion of the ſeſſion which had already elapſed, left no room to doubt that theſe two ſtateſmen were forming a political connexion, although the friends of each might be ſuppoſed to offer ſome impediments. Lord Grenville had even expreſſed a leaning rather toward the ſentiments of Mr. Pitt than thoſe of Mr. Windham, with reſpect to volunteers; Mr. Sheridan had not interfered in the debates, but Mr. Erſkine had uttered a ſtrong philippic againſt the reflections of Mr. Windham on this ſubject, and both theſe gentlemen were ſaid to be adverſe to any exertion to be made for the removal of the preſent government, partly from a ſtrong conviction of the general propriety of their meaſures, and ſtill more from a ſenſe of the great injury to the intereſts of the leader with whom they were connected, in a party view, which muſt enſue from any mode of coalition which could probably be propoſed. If they united with Lord Grenville and Mr. Windham, without the aid of Mr. Pitt, it would induce him and his adherents either to join with ſome portion of the exiſting government to form an adminiſtration, or to make one by themſelves, truſting to time, to Mr. Pitt's great talents, and to the predeliction of the country in his favour to effect its conſolidation and eſtabliſhment. In either caſe, the united oppoſition would be reduced to great difficulties in the conduct they ſhould adopt, as they could hope for power only through the means of popularity, and as it could not be expected that the new oppoſition would endeavour, or could with ſucceſs attempt, to acquire the ſame ſpecies of popularity which had been cultivated by their intended coadjutors. Beſide, whatever care the great leaders might take, in their public ſpeeches, and even in their private converſations, to abſtain from topics on which their old differences were founded, it could not be expected that their inferior adherents would refrain, either in ſpeech, or in writing, from reviving recollections which muſt be painful as well as dangerous, and even from a ſtyle of congratulation which could hardly be diſtinguiſhed from inſult.

If, in the plan of a coalition, Mr. Pitt was to be ſuppoſed in a ſtate of diſunion from Lord Grenville, weakneſs would be occaſioned by the ſeparation of their reſpective adherents, and it would not eaſily be ſuppoſed at firſt, that they would long remain apart, conſidering the natural effects of relationſhip and long political aſſociation; but if Mr. Pitt was to be united with all who were contending

tending for power, it was not believed that he would abate in the claims ſo long allowed to him, of complete and abſolute pre-eminence; a diſtinction which Mr. Fox and his adherents would with difficulty, if at all, admit. On no great national queſtion which had been agitated for many years, could theſe parties cordially cooperate with any hope of ſucceſs. With reſpect to the emancipation, as it was called, of the Catholics, they might agree, but the ſame circumſtances which prevented the meaſure from taking effect in 1801 would ſtill operate, and it was well aſcertained that on this point, the majority of the country agreed in the neceſſity of retaining the exiſting reſtrictions. On the ſubject of the Slave-trade, Mr. Windham was in direct oppoſition to all the other political leaders; on that of parliamentary reform, Mr. Fox and his diviſion of friends ſtood quite apart from the adherents of Mr. Pitt and Lord Grenville; on the conduct of the war and national defence, each individual had a ſeparate ſet of opinions of his own, and with reſpect to the origin and neceſſity of it, Mr. Fox thought differently, not only from his intended new allies, but even from Mr. Sheridan, and many of his own old adherents.

Yet, ſo alluring is the temptation of an immediate acceſſion to power, that theſe obvious circumſtances were overlooked by ſome, and ſoftened by others, and before the renewed meeting of Parliament, it was publicly, and with an appearance of authority, announced, that Lord Grenville, Mr. Fox, and Mr. Windham had agreed on a plan of cordial cooperation, and it was more than intimated that their operations would be promoted by Mr. Pitt.

While the certainty of a coalition and the probable courſe of political diſcuſſion to be purſued deeply engaged the public attention, a new and unexpected event, by its predominant intereſt, ſeemed, for a while, to damp and even almoſt extinguiſh the ardour which the intended attack on miniſters had created. This was the illneſs of the king. This afflicting circumſtance aroſe, it was ſaid, from a rheumatiſm, contracted through exceſſive heat, ariſing from the exerciſe of hunting. At firſt, the diſorder was deemed ſlight, and hopes were entertained that it would eaſily be removed, but after various intermiſſions, and after ſome varieties of health and diſeaſe in which his Majeſty was occaſionally adviſed by his medical attendants not to admit any viſitants, the diſorder aſſumed a more alarming appearance; and four phyſicians, doctors, Sir Lucas Pepys, Reynolds, Millman, and Heberden, were in conſtant attendance, and iſſued daily declarations or bulletins to ſatisfy the eager inquiries of an anxious people on this moſt intereſting topic. Doctor Turton and doctor Symmonds alſo attended occaſionally. 1804. Jan.

In both houſes of parliament motions were made on this alarming occaſion. In the Houſe of Commons, it was firſt mentioned in a debate on a bill for conſolidating the ſeveral acts relative to volunteers, on the propoſition for a ſecond reading of which, Sir Robert Lawley moved 27th Feb.

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an adjournment. Ever ſince the 14th of the preſent month, he ſaid, the houſe, in common with the public at large, had been in poſſeſſion of the melancholy information that his Majeſty had been confined by a dangerous and doubtful illneſs. It was not his wiſh to enter, with any degree of minuteneſs, into this moſt delicate and diſtreſſing ſubject; but he could not help thinking, after the interval which had taken place, and after the reports of the phyſicians ſpecially appointed to declare to the public the ſtate of his Majeſty's health for the laſt two days, that Parliament had a right to expect ſome explicit communication.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer immediately declared himſelf happy in being able to ſtate that, in the opinion of his Majeſty's confidential ſervants, founded on the beſt information that could be obtained, ſuch a communication as that required by the honourable baronet, could not poſſibly anſwer any good purpoſe; and further, that any proceeding founded on ſuch communication on the part of his Majeſty's miniſters, would, in their opinion, be inconſiſtent with the duty they owed to the King, to Parliament, and to the country; highly indecent in itſelf, under the preſent circumſtances of his Majeſty's indiſpoſition, and therefore utterly unwarrantable.

Mr. Fox, while he denied any intention in the coure of his obſervations, to fail in that delicacy which the ſubject in debate ſo ſtrongly ſuggeſted, avowed that it did not accord with his opinion, to attach ſo great a degree of delicacy to this diſcuſſion, as ſome perſons might wiſh to inculcate. The public, he contended, had a right to better information than could be derived from the daily reports publiſhed by official authority. He then analyzed the anſwer juſt given by Mr. Addington. He knew of no ſuch perſons as the King's confidential ſervants. They were a body utterly unknown in any conſtitutional view of the ſubject. He knew, indeed, of a body of individuals more particularly employed in the executive government, but in this capacity alone could they be recognized. From the moment that the Sovereign, from illneſs or from any other cauſe, was rendered incapable of diſcharging the functions of royalty, thoſe perſons, deſcribed as confidential ſervants of the crown, were nothing more than ordinary privy counſellors. Then how did the Houſe ſtand with reſpect to any communication at the preſent moment? Why the whole was reduced to this ſimple point. The right honourable gentleman had informed them that certain individuals, ſtyling themſelves his Majeſty's confidential ſervants, of whom the Houſe conſtitutionally knew nothing, had felt it their duty to give no information on a ſubject deeply intereſting, not to the members of the houſe alone, but to every loyal man throughout the empire. They added, that any communication of this ſort would be productive of no good conſequence, but that to require any information at preſent would be equally improper and indecent. Mr. Fox then noticed the critical ſituation of public affairs, and the current reports, ſanctioned by government itſelf, that an immediate invaſion was in contemplation by

by the enemy, and under ſuch circumſtances, called on miniſters to conſider what would be the conſequence of the ſuſpenſion of the royal functions, if the enemy ſhould at ſuch a criſis ſucceed in landing on our ſhores? Before the volunteers could be called into action, it would be neceſſary to ſubject them to martial law, but how was this to be effected, if there was no power in the ſtate to iſſue the requiſite proclamation? If even under any circumſtances invaſion would be formidable, it was needleſs to expatiate on the increaſe of this danger under circumſtances ſuch as thoſe now alluded to. The conſtitution alſo required, both in its letter and ſpirit, that the executive authority ſhould keep up a due influence over the legiſlative power. It was the undoubted prerogative of the Sovereign to preſerve a certain degree of controul over the legiſlature, as it was of the legiſlature to watch over the proceedings of the executive part of the conſtitution. A diſſolution of Parliament might be neceſſary, even at five minutes notice, and how was this controul to be exerciſed, during a ſuſpenſion of the royal functions; or how could miniſters claim a right to decide what was the fit time to make a communication? Already a fortnight had elapſed, during which the functions of royalty had been confeſſedly ſuſpended. Another fortnight might elapſe, and the Houſe might remain as uninformed on the ſubject of the indiſpoſition of the Sovereign, as at the preſent moment. He required that Parliament ſhould be appriſed of the actual ſtate of his Majeſty's health, and thus be enabled to form an opinion of the ſteps neceſſary to be adopted for the public intereſt.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer firſt anſwered Mr. Fox's objection to the term confidential ſervants, renouncing all intention of employing it in an unconſtitutional ſenſe, but applying it merely as a term long uſed, and perfectly well underſtood in that Houſe. Miniſters had no wiſh to withhold any degree of information which, conſiſtently with their duty, could poſſibly be diſcloſed; but in the conduct which they had hitherto purſued, had flattered themſelves they had conſulted the wiſhes and the feelings of a great majority of the Houſe, as well as the public; and if they now abſtained from any communication, it was from a ſincere conviction, that it would be inexpedient, and that, inſtead of being ſubſervient to any uſeful purpoſe, it might only furniſh grounds for diſcuſſions, at all times to be reprobated; but more eſpecially to be avoided in the preſent circumſtances of the empire. They were aware of the extent of their reſponſibility, before they determined on their preſent mode of conduct. It ſurely would not be maintained that on every occaſion when, by temporary illneſs, the functions of the Sovereign were ſuſpended, it would be either neceſſary or expedient to make a communication on the ſubject to Parliament. But this would be the amount of Mr. Fox's argument, if carried to its utmoſt extent. From the reports of the phyſicians, Mr. Addington inferred that the illneſs of his Majeſty was not likely to be of long duration, and if an expreſſion from which

which a contrary opinion could be drawn, had been uſed in one of their daily reports, it had been put in more through a wiſh to relieve that impatience which pervaded all ranks of the community, than on any opinion that the diſorder with which his Majeſty was afflicted was of a lingering deſcription. "There is one other point," Mr. Addington proceeded, "on which I wiſh to remark. The honourable gentleman ſeemed to ſuppoſe, that if, during the ſuſpenſion of the royal functions, a landing of the enemy ſhould be effected, no proclamation could be iſſued for calling out the volunteers, and placing them under martial law. In this idea, the honourable gentleman is certainly miſtaken, for the royal ſignature, under the ſign manual, is not neceſſary for ſuch a proclamation. But even admitting that ſuch a proclamation were neceſſary, the honourable gentleman will not gain much in his argument. For, I am happy to be able to ſtate, that even in the event of invaſion, the buſineſs of government would encounter no ſort of obſtruction. I cannot, at preſent, enter on the ſtatement of particular facts to eſtabliſh this poſition, but ſhall content myſelf with aſſuring the Houſe, that if any extraordinary occaſion ſhould occur for the exerciſe of the Royal functions, there exiſts no obſtruction to their exerciſe." Mr. Addington alſo decried the motion of adjournment, as being not at all calculated to promote the object of inquiry.

Mr. Pitt agreed in the laſt obſervation, and, not without many remarks on the perilous nature of the reſponſibility of miniſters, at length declared, that they being, up to the moment of the ſuppoſed inability of his Majeſty to exerciſe his Royal functions, entruſted with the management of public affairs, it was not poſſible that they could be diſplaced from their ſituations, or abſolved from the duties of their offices, until the fact was aſcertained by Parliament. He would not take upon himſelf to ſay how long the communication might be delayed, or at what moment it ought to be made; but, whatever might be his opinion of the conduct of miniſters upon other points, he could not believe they would puſh, to a dangerous and criminal exceſs, that awful reſponſibility which belonged to them.

From this period the diſcuſſion reſted in a great meaſure on words uſed in the debate. Mr. Windham, while he maintained as a general propoſition ſubject to qualification by particular circumſtances, that on every temporary illneſs, to which his Majeſty might be ſubject, it was neceſſary to go to Parliament, animadverted ſtrongly on the uſe of the term indecent by the Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Mr. Canning concurred in opinion with Mr. Pitt; Mr. Grey rejoiced to hear of the improved ſtate of his Majeſty's health, but conſidered as ambiguous the aſſertion of the miniſter, that the King was able to do all public acts which it was incumbent on him to diſcharge. If miniſters thought the royal authority in the preſent ſtate of his Majeſty's health, competent to ſome things, and incompetent to others, they, in fact, took every thing upon themſelves.

When the Chancellor of the Ex-

chequer had anſwered this objection by a new explanation, Mr. Grenville cenſured that explanation as ſtill unſatisfactory, and inſiſted that the phyſicians ought to be examined at the bar. The motion for an adjournment was, at laſt, negatived without a diviſion.

1ſt March. The ſame ſubject was mentioned in the Upper Houſe, three days afterward, by Lord King, who alluded alſo to the declaration made in the Houſe of Commons by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. He required ſome explicit information from miniſters, but made no motion.

Lord Hawkeſbury, and the Lord Chancellor, ſtated that there exiſted at preſent no neceſſary ſuſpenſion whatever of his Majeſty's royal functions or authorities, and that his Majeſty was in a ſtate of convaleſcence.

Lord Grenville, Lord King, and the Earls of Carliſle, Fitzwilliam, and Caernarvon, profeſſed themſelves not ſatisfied with this explanation; their reaſons were nearly thoſe which had been given in the Houſe of Commons, and Lord Grenville mentioned that he ſhould renew a converſation on the ſubject at an early day.

2d to the 9th Short converſations afterward took place in both Houſes, and particularly when the Royal aſſent was given by commiſſion to ſeveral bills, but to every ſucceeding inquiry, the anſwers of miniſters were more and more explicit in aſſerting, from the authority of the medical attendants, and from the interviews of the Lord Chancellor, that the cauſe of public anxiety was rapidly diminiſhing. The reports of the phyſicians were equally favourable, and before the end of the month, it was formally announced, that their official attendance was cloſed, and his Majeſty gave audience to his Miniſters, and tranſacted buſineſs as uſual. 22d March.

During this period, the conflict of parties had been carried on with conſiderable warmth, and motions were made, and others announced as in preparation, which were likely to try to the utmoſt the ſtrength of government.

Some of the earlieſt of theſe efforts related to Ireland. Admiral Berkeley had before the receſs given notice of his intention to move for certain papers relative to the inſurrection of laſt year, for the purpoſe of clearing from blame his relation, General Fox; but having received from miniſters the moſt explicit aſſurances that they never intended to criminate that officer, he waved his motion. 8th Feb.

The conduct of General Fox, and of Government, toward him were however incidentally reviewed, when Sir John Wrotteſley made a motion for the Houſe to reſolve itſelf into a committee to inquire into the conduct of the Iriſh government relative to the inſurrection of the 23d of July, and the previous conduct of that government, ſo far as related to that inſurrection. From this meaſure he contended, a beneficial effect muſt reſult. If on the one hand, it ſhould appear that the government of Ireland was active and vigilant, that they had taken all means of procuring correct information, that they had had the ability to diſcriminate what 7th March.

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was true, from what was exaggerated; if the Lord Lieutenant ſhould appear to have been at his poſt, prepared, in concert with the Commander of the forces, to give the neceſſary orders, anxiouſly watching over the lives of his Majeſty's ſubjects entruſted to his care, and placed under his immediate protection; could any man ſay, that a beneficial effect would not be derived by removing doubts which were entertained, and very generally too, of the conduct of the Iriſh government? If on the other hand, it ſhould appear, that government diſregarded all the information given them, deſpiſed all advice, had been ſo ignorant of the real ſtate of the country, as to be incapable of diſcrimination; that, during their adminiſtration, no ſyſtem of police was arranged, with which they kept up a conſtant communication; if it ſhould appear, that though frequently warned, they were not aware of the extent of the preparations, or inclined to give credit to them, would any man deny, that a beneficial effect would be produced by an immediate application to the throne, to diſmiſs thoſe, under whoſe very eye, an inſurrection had been matured, by whoſe negligence a great and illuſtrious character had been dragged from the arms of his daughter, and murdered in her preſence, who, if proper precautions had been taken, might ſtill have been contributing to the happineſs of his family, and the advantage of his country. The honourable baronet then went into a recital of the origin and progreſs of the inſurrection, calculated to ſhew that the Iriſh government was at firſt intirely uninformed of moſt important facts; afterward negligent of diſcloſures which would have called for great exertion and precaution; and finally, at the time the rebellion broke out, confuſed, uncertain and incapable of any direct and manly proceeding. In December, he ſaid, Mr. Emmett returned from the Continent, and joined a conſpiracy already formed. Nothing very material tranſpired till his Majeſty's meſſage of the 8th of March was known. In the ſame month, in the metropolis of Ireland, under the immediate eye of government, ſeveral depôts were eſtabliſhed, and particularly one in Patrick Street, and one near Dirty Lane. The forging pikes, making pike handles, collecting blunderbuſſes and piſtols, making up military cloathing, and other warlike preparations, continued without any interruption from the government, till the 16th of July, when the depôt in Patrick Street exploded. A peace-officer viſited this depôt the day the exploſion took place, and found pikes, pike handles, and preparations for making gunpowder. What the government did in conſequence of a circumſtance of ſuch evident notoriety, would be for them to explain ſhould the Houſe think fit to grant an inquiry. During the following week, Emmett made every exertion to accelerate his preparations, till the hour of nine on Saturday night the 23d of July, when he is ſtated, upon his trial, to have ſallied forth, avowedly for the purpoſe of attacking the Caſtle of Dublin. Men, from all parts of the Country, had been obſerved reſorting to Dublin, and a large body were actually armed near the depôt in

Dirty Lane, before they were at all perceived by the peace-officers; nor had government any intimation of this depôt, which contained 8,000 pikes, and above 34,000 ball cartridges, beſide other military ſtores. Government were repeatedly warned of their danger, by perſons of great credit and reſpectability, and in many inſtances, that information was moſt ungraciouſly received. At three o'clock, the Commander in Chief is ſtated to have been informed of it, and the Lord Lieutenant proceeded ſoon after to the Phœnix Lodge to prevent giving any alarm. Precautions were recommended relative to the bank and the ordnance ſtores, and a meeting of the principal officers of the garriſon was alſo determined upon; but ſtill in order to avoid giving an *alarm*, this meeting was not to take place till after dark, nor were the guards to be reinforced till the ſame period. No information was given to the mayor. In the abſence of the Lord Lieutenant and a right honourable gentleman who was attending his duty in parliament, the firſt public officer was Mr. Marſden, the under ſecretary. When the accounts continued to increaſe, it was his opinion, or rather, (to uſe his own words) it would be "*handſomely done*" to reinforce the guards at Phœnix Lodge. Yet, even at that moment, Mr. Marſden declared, the accounts he received were ſuch that he could neither wholly credit nor reject them. When the military were at length called out, only one magiſtrate acted with them, who refuſed to allow them to fire, alleging himſelf not to be within the limits of his juriſdiction, and the inſurrection was quelled in Thomas Street by a military force, without the aſſiſtance of a magiſtrate, the officer acting in his own defence; nor was he enabled to act effectually in purſuing the rebels, as he might have done, for want of proper aſſiſtance from the civil power, but was obliged to fall back on the barracks in James Street. Sir John Wrotteſley then quoted ſome parts of letters from General Fox to prove that he was as much unacquainted with the nature and extent of the danger, and as much unprovided and unprepared as the leaders of the government. If his motion was granted, he ſaid, he would move for letters from the Lord Lieutenant, written after this barbarous and ſanguinary rebellion, with an apathy and unconcern, of which nothing but the letters themſelves could give an adequate idea. The precautions taken for the lord lieutenant would ſhew the inſignificant opinion originally entertained of this rebellion, and form a hiſtory of the mind of government during nine very important hours. At three o'clock the lord lieutenant conceived himſelf ſufficiently guarded by a ſerjeant and twelve men; between eight and nine, he was ſurprized that it ſhould be neceſſary for him to be guarded by an officer and thirty men; and before eleven he ſent orders to Sir Charles Aſgill, by Sir Edward Littlehales, for a further re-inforcement of a captain and fifty dragoons, and a field-officer and one hundred infantry. In conſidering all theſe facts, he had wiſhed to have ſome principle upon which the government acted; and the only conſiſtent part they appeared to have held, was a determination

mination to avoid giving alarm. It might, therefore, be neceſſary to ſay a few words on the propriety of that determination. It had always been admitted, that it is better to prevent than puniſh crimes. It had been argued, that the melancholy circumſtance of Lord Kilwarden's death was "accidental," the riſing, "a contemptible riot." Could that be deemed "contemptible," which had for its object the ſeparation of Ireland, to deprive us of her valuable aſſiſtance at a moment when we were called upon to make every exertion for the very defence of theſe kingdoms? which was evidently undertaken in concert with the enemy, who had probably contributed to the powerful means which they had of carrying their plans into execution. Could that be called a "contemptible riot," which induced parliament to paſs bills giving the greateſt poſſible power to the government of that country, and after a period of four months deliberately to renew them? which obliged parliament to place the yeomanry of Ireland on permanent duty at an expenſe of above 400,000l. to be defrayed by the two countries? No! the government of Ireland found itſelf embarraſſed. To juſtify theſe ſtrong meaſures, they were obliged to repreſent it in its true light; they then perceived that if it was important and extenſive, they ſhould have been better prepared againſt it, and what they called in their proclamations "daring and rebellious outrages in proſecution of a rebellious conſpiracy," dwindled into a "contemptible riot."

This motion was oppoſed by Lord Caſtlereagh, Mr. Archdall, Mr. Dawſon, Mr. Secretary Yorke, Mr. Dallas, the Attorney-General, Mr. Tierney the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Colonel Hutchinſon.

On their part it was denied that any blame in the tranſactions alluded to attached to miniſters. The intent of the motion was to attack Lord Hardwicke, and it was ſurely not conſiſtent with juſtice to inſtitute an inquiry concerning his conduct, while his whole time was taken up in adminiſtering the affairs of Ireland; and the ſame obſervation would apply to the other perſons concerned in the government of Ireland, whether civil or military. Although Ireland was, in general tranquil, miniſters were not ſuch drivellers as to believe, much leſs aſſert, that treaſon was eradicated. On the contrary, it was but juſtice to Lord Hardwicke to ſtate, that he did, before the 23d of July, ſeriouſly ſubmit to miniſters, upon general grounds, whether, under the contemplation of the treaſon exiſting in that country, the ſuſpenſion of the Habeas Corpus act ought not to be adopted as a meaſure of precaution; a proof, that his mind was not miſled as to the ſtate of the country. Government was blamed for not having obtained full intelligence before the rebellion broke out; but this was not always a ground of cenſure. During the former rebellion in Ireland, the ſyſtem of terror was carried to ſuch a pitch, that it was almoſt impoſſible to obtain intelligence. In the preſent, it was equally difficult, though from a different reaſon, for the ſecret was in ſo few hands, that there were ſcarcely any means of obtaining information. The exploſion of the powder mill in Patrick-

trick-ſtreet, however, determined the conſpirators to loſe no time in carrying their plot into execution; yet the ſecret was ſtill confined to very few perſons, namely, thoſe who were ſuffered to go to the depôt, and they were not above eight in number. This exploſion had been much exaggerated, it having been ſaid by ſome that a powder-mill blew up. Now what was the ſtate of the fact? Two perſons only were at home at the time, one of whom being nearly ſuffocated, in the act of throwing up a window, ſo cut his arm with the glaſs, that he bled to death; the other, who was alſo nearly ſuffocated, was a poor ignorant man, and could give no further account than that the powder was brought there to make up the combuſtibles. But after the exploſion, government did obtain intelligence, for the conſpirators wrote from Dublin, on the 18th of July, to ſome perſons at Belfaſt, requeſting aſſiſtance, and that circumſtance was known to government on the 21ſt in Dublin. Information was alſo received from many channels of the intended riſing on the 21ſt, 22d, and 23d of July. The conſpirators had not determined to act till after the exploſion in Patrick-ſtreet, and then, inſtead of adopting the conduct which was adopted in the former rebellion, of communicating the ſecret to a great many perſons, they only communicated it to a few. Government knew that an application had been made to the people of the north to riſe, which application was ſo coldly received, that the report made to the conſpirators was, that the north would not act. It was alſo known, that almoſt all the counties in the interior had refuſed to act, and that the only ſupport upon which the rebels could depend was from the counties of Kildare and Wicklow, and one barony in the formerly rebellious county of Wexford; and it was known that there was not any conſiderable body of rebels that could move ſpeedily to Dublin. Under ſuch circumſtances, could it be ſuppoſed that the rebels in Dublin would have entertained ſo abſurd and mad an idea, as that they could, conſidering the garriſon that was in that city, have entertained any hope of taking the caſtle. The man who, however, did attempt to carry this ſcheme into execution was a Mr. Emmett, a young man of an enthuſiaſtic mind, who in conſequence of the death of his father*, became poſſeſſed of about 3000l., and this ſum he thought proper wholly to embark in the project of overturning the government of his country; he did not, as had been done on former occaſions, run the riſk of detection by applying for ſubſcriptions, but proceeded on his own capital, and collected a conſiderable quantity of pikes; but, certainly, not ſo many as had been ſtated, for inſtead of 8000 there were not above 3000; but even if he had collected 8000 pikes, it never could have entered into his head that he could find 8000 men in Dublin to uſe them. Indeed Emmett did not ſeem to have beſtowed much conſideration on the ſubject. It appeared that he applied to ſome peo-

* In the narrative of theſe tranſactions, in our laſt volume, p. 234, it is ſtated that Mr. Emmet's father was alive at the time of the rebellion, but from what is here ſaid, that appears to have been a miſtake.

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ple in Kildare to join him; they were prudent enough, however, to make ſome inquiries as to the means he had provided to inſure ſucceſs: Emmett replied, that he could not communicate with them at that diſtance, but if they would ſend two confidential delegates, he would ſhew them the means he had provided: they did, accordingly, ſend two delegates, who arrived in Dublin immediately before the inſurrection, and were taken by him to the depôt in Thomas-ſtreet; but they were ſo ſatisfied that the means were inſufficient, that on their report, ſcarcely any of the people from Kildare aſſiſted on that occaſion. Mr. Emmett was, therefore, obliged at laſt to march from his depôt at the head of an army of 80 men, and before he reached the market-houſe in Thomas-ſtreet, his army was reduced to 20 men, moſt of whom were general officers. This, therefore, appeared to be the whole of the danger the Iriſh government had to guard againſt. But, even if Emmett had 8000 men for his 8000 pikes, the garriſon of Dublin was able to have driven twice that number out of the town. That garriſon conſiſted of four regiments of infantry, and one of cavalry, amounting together, including artillery, to 4000 rank and file. It was not placed at one point, but occupied no leſs than eight different poſitions, in barracks, and the guard conſtantly mounted was between 3 and 400 men. Now, with reſpect to the precautions that were uſed. The commander in chief, when he returned from the lord lieutenant, wrote to the officer commanding the artillery and ordnance, in conſequence of which all neceſſary precautions for their ſecurity were adopted. The national bank was the next object, which was defended by an officer's guard; it is beſides a very ſtrong building, and ſituated within two hundred yards of two of the moſt conſiderable military ſtations in Dublin, the royal barracks and the barracks at Eſſex bridge. With regard to the caſtle of Dublin, even if the rebels had taken it, it would not have facilitated their operations, nor would it have done any other miſchief than that of enabling them to deſtroy a few records; but the caſtle was always defended by a ſtrong garriſon, and beſides, it was within a hundred yards of the barracks at Eſſex-bridge, in which was the 62d regiment, conſiſting of between 6 and 700 men. Between ſeven and eight o'clock, the artillery officer reported that all theſe ſtations were in perfect ſecurity. But the commander in chief did not ſtop here, he made other arrangements; he augmented ſome of the guards, and others he ordered to be augmented after it was dark. At half paſt ſix o'clock he ſent orders to augment the bank and the caſtle guards with 50 men each, but the reinforcements were not to march till after dark. He gave orders for guards alſo to march to the lord lieutenant's, in the park; to the royal hoſpital, at Kilmainham; and to the guard at Kilmainham, each a ſerjeant and twelve men; 20 men to Chapelizod, and an officer's guard to Clondalkin, where the powder mills were. When the attack broke out, it appeared that two ſmall parties were ſufficient, completely to diſperſe the rebels, even before any others could march to their aſſiſtance.

ance. As ſoon as the inſurrection was known, parties marched from the royal barracks and General Dunn, who commanded the garriſon in the barracks that night, reported officially, that between 10 and 11 o'clock, had marched from the barracks, 100 foot and 50 horſe, to the lord lieutenant's in the park; 50 men to the bank; three parties of 100 men each, beſide ſome ſmaller ones, were ſent in different directions; in all 470 foot, and 50 horſe were ſent from the barracks, and there remained beſides 600 rank and file. There was not, therefore, the ſlighteſt ground for imputing any negligence to the commander in chief; in fact, the precautions uſed, when compared with the danger, might almoſt appear more than were neceſſary. It was the death of Lord Kilwarden and Colonel Brown, that gave a degree of importance to this tranſaction, which did not really belong to it; for when it came to be examined in a court of juſtice, it appeared to be a moſt contemptible effort of a wild and extravagant young man, and had more diſcouraged the rebels, and brought the cauſe of rebellion into more contempt than any event that had ever occurred.

The motion, it was obſerved, aſſumed more than it ought. It aſſumed, in the firſt place, that the Iriſh government had not done its duty; and, ſecondly, that this was the beſt time for going into an inquiry on the ſubject. Many other governments, beſide this, had, at former periods, been in equally unfortunate circumſtances. It was not difficult to recollect ſeeing a much larger city than Dublin, which was alſo the metropolis of a much more extenſive country, in a ſtate of conflagration for ſeveral ſucceſſive days, when her priſons were in broad day thrown open, and burned to the ground; private houſes marked out for pillage and devaſtation; and its high court of parliament actually ſitting during the whole time, and this done by an infatuated and drunken multitude, not confined to a few hundreds, as was the caſe in Dublin, but amounting to at leaſt 40,000; and yet no mention had ever been made of calling for an inquiry into the conduct of the government of that country. It was material to the complete view of this matter, to conſider what the character of the inſurrection was. Gentlemen were condemned for calling this a "contemptible riot." What, it was ſaid, is that contemptible, whoſe object is to ſeparate Ireland from England? No! not as to its object; but contemptible it might be in its means; and ſuch it appeared to be as far as Dublin was concerned. Inquiries into the conduct of the executive government ought never to be inſtituted, but on the moſt grave and important reaſons. The principal merit of the preſent motion, was, that it contrived to unite all parties in a common vote: gentlemen who could agree on no two ſubjects were thus made to vote all one way, and carry on appearances of unanimity againſt miniſters, more ſpecious than real. It was like the contrivances ſought by parents who had agreed on a match, how to bring the young people together. Some did it by a ball, ſome by a water party, and ſome by one way and ſome by another; but all contrived to help forward a matter very

very distinct from the apparent and avowed object.

In support of the motion were heard, Mr. Canning, Earl Temple, General Tarleton, Mr. Fox, Dr. Laurence, Lord De Blaquiere, Mr. Windham, and Mr. Grey.

In their speeches, they restated several of the propositions advanced by the mover, and controverted many of those offered by their opponents, but, in general, the debate presented few features of interest.

The characters of several individuals were treated of with great freedom, and the difference of opinion occasioned by their conduct was strongly expressed.

The friends of ministers regretted that the correspondence between the Lord Chancellor of Ireland and the Earl of Fingal, had been brought before the public; and next to the impropriety of publishing those letters, that of bringing them into discussion in Parliament, or indeed in any place whatever, was most to be deprecated; but government neither was, nor ought to be supposed answerable for the conduct of judicial characters. The writer only acted as Lord Chancellor, and if he had in his judicial character mixed any thing that was political in its tendency, it might, perhaps, be wished that he had not done so; for judicial characters should interfere, as little as possible, with politics. Lord Redesdale, it was said, had not published his letters, and the mischief, if indeed any had been produced, was caused by the publication of the correspondence. It was rather extraordinary and hard, that the subject of that correspondence should be mingled with the conduct of government, for Lord Redesdale, in communicating his sentiments to the noble lord, on whom he was conferring the right of exercising the duties of a magistrate, was not guilty of any impropriety in suggesting what he conceived might be useful to the noble lord in the discharge of the duties of his new office.

On these points Mr. Windham observed that he should not talk of the imprudence of these letters, nor upon the endeavour of removing the blame from the writer to those who had been instrumental in the publication. The letters could not have been published, if they had never been written; and as to the right of publication, without discussing that case too nicely, or professing to have formed any decided opinion upon it, it did not immediately appear how a man was restrained, on any principle of engagement or good faith, in respect to a transaction, to which his consent had never been asked. It was by no act of a man's own that he received a letter: there could be no engagement, therefore, entered into, that he should not communicate that letter. What security even had he, that the writer had not previously communicated the letter, or might not at any time do so to others? And, without professing to know the fact, he (Mr. Windham) should be glad to learn, whether those letters had not been seen by friends of the noble writer, perhaps by his Majesty's ministers, before the time, when copies had got abroad from the hands of Lord Fingal. But if even these letters were to be considered as private, or could be made so by the mere act of the writer, and that the person receiving

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ing them was in conſequence debarred the privilege of ſhewing them to thoſe whom they immediately concerned, the ſame interpretation could not well be extended to thoſe which paſſed with Doctor Coppinger, the nature of which, any more than the ſituation of the parties, did not ſeem to imply any thing particularly confidential. Theſe latter, however, were perhaps the moſt objectionable of all. In the former there was one, the infinite abſurdity and indiſcretion of a correſpondence, which was to offend, and prove to be rebels, whether they would or no, three-fourths of the population of Ireland, and to exhibit a picture, not indeed quite ſo extravagant as that which one of our poets aſcribed to certain paſſages in another, "Where God the father turns a ſchool divine," but where as great an indecorum was found as human affairs could well admit; namely, where a chancellor appeared in that character, and for the purpoſe of preſent oppreſſion and perſecution, was raking up all the exploded controverſies of more than two centuries ago. This was bad enough in theology, and ſtill worſe in politics. The doctrines were as falſe as the promulgation was injudicious and dangerous. But, in the other caſe, there were circumſtances leading to more fatal impreſſions of the character of the perſon concerned, than thoſe even which could be derived from the ſtrange perverſion and ſingular imprudence manifeſted in the former correſpondence. A man who could write and think of the caſe of Father O'Neil as is done in the letter to Dr. Coppinger, muſt be conſidered as having loſt for the moment all legal ideas and feeling. What could be thought of a perſon in the ſituation of the noble lord, the firſt law officer of the country, the great ſource of juſtice and equity, who, inſtead of being ſhocked at the horrors of that caſe, the illegality of it as well as the cruelty, could find nothing to excite his indignation in the firſt inſtance, but the audacity of the ſufferer who had dared to complain?

With reſpect to General Fox, General Tarleton ſaid he did not think that an officer who had done moſt meritorious ſervice from a very early age, ſhould be deprived of a command, ſuperior in importance to any other in the ſervice, without any reaſon being aſſigned for that privation. It was a command of much difficulty and danger, but there was the more room for reaping glory if the enemy ſhould come.

Mr. Yorke, vindicating his relative Lord Hardwicke, ſaid that he did not know that General Fox had been recalled. A difference of opinion had ariſen between him and the lord lieutenant, which made it neceſſary that one of them ſhould withdraw. General Fox thought proper to return to England, and thus the matter ended.

With equal zeal for an individual of his own family, Mr. Fox offered his obſervations on the ſubject. He firſt noticed the motion of which Admiral Berkeley had given notice, but which was afterward abandoned, and added that if the government here, as in Ireland, were ſtill diſpoſed to defend themſelves by imputing blame to the late commander in chief in Ireland, the infamy was theirs, and he ſtood acquitted.

quitted. Had Lord Hardwicke, as well as miniſters here, acquitted General Fox, and ceaſed to defend himſelf by imputing blame to that gallant officer? Looking at the government of Ireland, parliament muſt be convinced they had not. When did the coolneſs ariſe between the lord lieutenant and the commander in chief, which rendered it impoſſible that both could remain in the offices they held? Not till many days after the affair of the 23d, for till then a perfect good underſtanding continued between them. But when accounts came from England, ſtating the impreſſion made by that affair in this country, and when the lord lieutenant, perhaps to his ſecond ſurpriſe, found that every body was crying out againſt the Iriſh government for having been ſurpriſed, then, perhaps, it was inſinuated to him by thoſe around him, that the beſt way to defend himſelf was to blame others, and that the diſgrace of the commander in chief would ſcreen the caſtle from all cenſure. From that moment, indeed, a coolneſs did exiſt, and the commander in chief did reſign, becauſe he knew that it was the wiſh of the lord lieutenant that he ſhould do ſo. To prove this to be the fact, Mr. Fox read two paragraphs from a newſpaper printed in Dublin, called Faulkner's Journal, which, he ſaid, was the Journal of the Caſtle, and, had the firſt paragraph given offence there, the ſecond could never have appeared. From this, two material inferences were to be drawn. The firſt was a perſonal one, and it was clear that the recal of General Fox was intended to imply a charge of miſconduct on that officer, and in this view the attack on him was purſued up to the preſent moment. The next was of a public nature, and it was, that the Iriſh government were aware that their defence was utterly untenable, unleſs they were permitted to throw the blame, exiſting ſomewhere, on General Fox.

The cenſure of the lord lieutenant was however purely political, and the high eulogy pronounced on his perſonal character by Lord De Blaquiere, one of the members from Ireland, who ſpoke and voted for the motion, almoſt deſtroyed the effect of all that was ſaid to the lord lieutenant's diſadvantage. He ſaid he conſidered Lord Hardwicke as a high bred nobleman, of fine manners and engaging addreſs; that for probity and integrity, he had never been ſurpaſſed; and, that in his breaſt the God of nature had planted a heart as pure and immaculate, as ever reſted in the boſom of man.

The debate was protracted till near five o'clock in the morning, when, on a diviſion, the motion was negatived by more than two to one. the numbers being for the motion 82; againſt it 178; majority 96.

An act of juſtice, not only unreſiſted but called for by the general opponents of adminiſtration took place in the courſe of the ſeſſion, by an act for ſettling the ſum of 1200l. per annum on the family of Lord Kilwarden, in the following manner. To his widow for her life; and after her death, 800l. a year to the ſon, bearing the title of Lord Kilwarden, and 400l. a year to the two daughters of the late Lord, the annuity to commence from the 23d of July, 1803.

CHAP.

CHAP. VIII.

Volunteer Conſolidation Bill; moved by Mr. Yorke; progreſs of the bill; Mr. Thomas Grenville's motion for Papers; granted; debate on the ſecond reading; obſervations of Mr. Yorke; and of Mr. Pitt; debate on the commitment of the bill; obſervations of Mr. Francis; Colonel Craufurd; Mr. Fox; Mr. Pitt; and Mr. Windham; amendments proposed by Ministry in the Committee; one withdrawn; Mr. Yorke moves further amendments; debate on the clause empowering commanding officers to diſcharge volunteers; an amendment propoſed by Mr. Pitt; oppoſed by the Miniſter; rejected by a ſmall majority; another amendment rejected by one only; an amendment moved by Mr. Grey negatived by a conſiderable majority. Motion by Mr. Pitt on the ſubject of Naval Defence; his ſpeech; Mr. Tierney; Sir Charles Pole; Sir Edward Pellew; Admiral Berkeley; Mr. Sheridan; Mr. Fox; general courſe of the debate; Mr. Pitt's reply; his motion negatived. Further progreſs of the Volunteer Conſolidation Bill; which paſſes both Houſes. Bill for ſuſpending the Army of Reſerve Act; motion by Mr. Fox; anſwer of the Chancellor of the Exchequer; attack on Miniſters by Mr. Pitt; obſervations of the Attorney-General; Mr. Windham; and Mr. Tierney; Mr. Fox's motion negatived; further progreſs of the bill. View of the ſituation of Miniſters; they determine to reſign; the event announced to Parliament. Mr. Addington makes the financial arrangements for the year; Budget; new Taxes; Supplementary Army Eſtimates; Iriſh Budget; Iriſh Militia Bills.

WHILE the diſcuſſions already noticed were proceeding, a ſyſtematic attack on the miniſtry was purſued by all the parties in oppoſition, through the medium of inveſtigations on the military and naval affairs of the empire. This oppoſition was moſt particularly diſplayed in the progreſs through parliament of a bill to explain, amend, and conſolidate the proviſions contained in the general acts relative to yeomanry and volunteer corps, throughout the United Kingdom*.

Mr. Secretary Yorke, on moving for leave to bring in this bill, explained its ſcope and objects. Having deprecated all paſſionate and partial conſiderations of the important ſubject of national defence, and adverted to the evident neceſſity of making every exertion for protecting the country againſt the deſigns of France, he propoſed to point out the defects in the volunteer ſyſtem, and the remedies for them, which, he ſaid, would be perfectly ſimple and eaſy. Perhaps the re- 8th Feb.

* It ſhould be obſerved, that a ſhort time before the introduction of this bill, the Court of King's Bench, contrary to the opinion of the Attorney-General, given in writing, and publiſhed, had decided that a volunteer was at liberty to reſign whenever he might think proper.

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gular force of the country could, under particular arrangements, and by the obſervance of the moſt rigid economy, be augmented to a certain extent; but that force, now amounting to about 90,000, could not be augmented to any very conſiderable amount, conſiſtently with a due regard either to views of conſtitutional liberty, or of financial reſources. The militia of Ireland was 2000 leſs in number than in the laſt war, but that force could not with prudence be augmented; on the contrary, a conſiderable portion of the regulars of this country was required to preſerve that portion of the empire from the dangers of invaſion, and of popular inſurrection. Under theſe circumſtances, it became a matter of policy, as well as of neceſſity, that a great proportion of the population ſhould be trained to the uſe of arms, a principle far from novel. It was firſt introduced during the Shelburne adminiſtration, near the cloſe of the American war, revived in 1794, and from that period it had continued in full activity. On the concluſion of the peace, the houſe and the public were ſo well convinced of the excellence of the volunteer eſtabliſhment, that it was judged politic to encourage its perpetuity, by continuing, on a limited ſcale, the exemptions formerly granted; and for this purpoſe the act of the 42d of his Majeſty was paſſed. When the war broke out, an immediate want of extraordinary means of protection was experienced, and the voluntary ſpirit of the country manifeſted itſelf in a way equally honourable to the national character, and the individuals by whom this ſpirit was diſplayed. A new act of parliament became neceſſary, and the 43d of his Majeſty was framed, which contained the terms under which voluntary was to be preferred to compulſory ſervice. Under this act, voluntary offers to the amount of 400,000 men were received, while the whole number liable to ſerve under the general training act did not exceed 500,000. The number of volunteers, ſpeaking in round numbers, was now upwards of 350,000, excluſive of thoſe in Ireland, and thus the intention of the legiſlature was fulfilled. Theſe troops, under proper regulations, were fully adequate, in co-operation with our regular force, to put the country out of all danger. Mr. Yorke then adverted to the recent deciſion of the court of King's Bench, declaring himſelf not quite convinced that the opinion of the Attorney-General was not correct, and entered into a refutation of ſome of the moſt uſual objections to the exemptions and diſcipline of the volunteers. On the ſubject of the corps electing their own officers, he obſerved, that there was a great diſtinction between the election of officers by a volunteer corps previous to its being regularly embodied, and the ſuppoſed right of filling up vacancies among the officers, as often as, by a variety of circumſtances, they might take place. An election, in the latter caſe, was only a permiſſion given, and not a right conferred; and, in the inſtance of a vacancy occurring, it never was meant that volunteer corps ſhould exerciſe the right of chuſing their own officers. Having noticed ſome other topics, connected with this ſubject, he obſerved, that the queſtion now would be,

be, whether parliament ſhould adhere to this ſyſtem, with all its defects, at the preſent critical period, or reſort to another, which, though in ſome reſpects more perfect, was in others far more liable to objection, and infinitely leſs adapted to the circumſtances of the times. He conſidered it better to go on temperately and coolly, than by raſhneſs to overturn a ſyſtem, capable of the moſt uſeful ends and the higheſt purpoſes. The object of his bill would be, to conſolidate the three acts for the regulation of the volunteer ſyſtem. As to the exemptions, ſeveral important alterations would be introduced. As the law ſtood, a certain deſcription of volunteers was exempted from the ballot of the militia, by five days attendance at drill. This attendance would not exempt them from the ballot for the army of reſerve; but if drawn, they were exempted from actual ſervice, provided they had attended twenty-four drills in the year, or a proportionate number, before the time of their being drawn to ſerve. It was meant by this new bill, that the time entitling to exemption ſhould be equalized, and that none ſhould claim exemption from the militia who had not been drilled twenty-four times in the year. Every member of a volunteer corps ſhould be at liberty to reſign at his option; but all volunteers ſhall be ſubject to the ballot both for the militia and army of reſerve. A liſt of thoſe actually ſerving in volunteer corps, and who had certificates of regular attendance, was to be ſeparately preſerved. When a member was either diſcharged, or choſe to quit a volunteer corps, then his name ſhould be returned to the clerks who prepare the county liſts, and from that time he would be liable to ſupply any vacancy which might occur. Another object of the bill would be to ſimplify the returned or effective force, and to point out the manner in which reſignation was to take place, which was to be done by notice from the individual ſo intending, accompanied with a reſtitution of his arms and accoutrements. From this option, Mr. Yorke ſaid, he feared no dangerous conſequences. Surely thoſe who, in Auguſt and September laſt, ſtepped forward to defend their country, threatened by an implacable foe, would not ſhow leſs zeal now that the enemy's preparations were ſtill further advanced, or rather nearly completed, and that he only waited the favourable moment to land on our ſhores. He was confident that they were now, as much as ever, alive to the calls of patriotiſm, of duty, and of honour; and that they would not deſert their king and their country at this great criſis. Even thoſe whom circumſtances might oblige to withdraw from regular attendanee, would, in the hour of danger, rally round the ſtandard of freedom, and expire in the ſame grave which ſhould ſwallow up the liberties and independence of their country.

A debate of conſiderable length and ſpirit enſued, although all parties profeſſed that it was deſirable in that ſtage of the buſineſs to avoid diſcuſſion. Mr. Windham and Mr. Sheridan particularly diſtinguiſhed themſelves by the diverſity of their opinions, and by the wit and eloquence with which each maintained his own. The queſtion for leave to bring in the bill

bill was carried without a division.

The diſcuſſions which enſued during the progreſs of this bill, were ſo frequent and ſo long, that it would be an impracticable endeavour to reduce them within the compaſs of a moderate narrative, and the attempt is the leſs neceſſary, as in the debates already noticed, the general intereſt of the ſubject is exhauſted. In the outline which follows, therefore, it is intended only to mark the courſe of the conteſt for power, maintained by the parties in oppoſition, and to ſelect ſuch particular topics from the various ſpeeches as produced the greateſt effect, or appear moſt entitled to commemoration.

9th Feb. Before the ſecond reading of the bill, Mr. Thomas Grenville moved for various papers, which were ordered without an objection; but the indiſpoſition of his majeſty having occaſioned ſome delay in the progreſs of the bill, he commenced his ſpeech in oppoſition to the ſecond reading, by a ſarcaſtical obſervation, that miniſters had determined to give the houſe the liberty of reſuming the debate, which they themſelves had thought proper ſo long to ſuſpend.

27th.

Mr. Secretary Yorke, in anſwering ſome of the objections of Mr. Grenville, obſerved, that the ſyſtem of volunteering did not, as had been ſuppoſed, impede, but rather aided other ſervices. As a proof, he inſtanced two corps, the Norwich and the St. George's volunteers, from both which the military habits acquired by the men had induced them to inliſt in the regulars, in a far greater proportion than the ſame number of men otherwiſe would have done, during both the laſt and preſent war. From the St. George's corps, from the 11th of March, 1795, to 1801, out of 600, or at moſt 780 men, 94 had entered the navy, and 337 into other regiments. During the preſent war, from the ſame corps, 40 had already inliſted. So, of the Norwich corps, conſiſting of 300, twenty-five had, during this war, already enter d the army. In order to ſhew that government were upon the alert, and provided for the defence of the kingdoms, he ſtated a liſt of the quantity of arms in the Tower, and at the ſeveral outports, for ſeveral years paſt. In 1755, previous to the breaking out of the ſeven years war, there were 36,098 ſtand of fire-arms in the Tower, &c.; in 1775, during the American war, 98,488; in 1783, at the concluſion of the war, 94,786; in 1790, during the Spaniſh armament, 92,131; in 1793, at the commencement of the French war, 53,482; and in 1803, at the commencement of the preſent war, no leſs than 329,246 ſtand of arms. With reſpect to the number of arms delivered out: In the beginning of 1803, there were delivered out 101,034 ſtand of arms; and up to the 27th of February of the preſent year (the day on which he was ſpeaking) 365,426 ſtand of arms, excluſive of pikes, &c. amounting to 18,000. Of this number, 217,196 were delivered to the volunteers of Great Britain, and 32,051 to thoſe of Ireland. A very conſiderable portion of arms had been furniſhed at the expence of the volunteers themſelves; and, from the beſt information which he could gain, upwards

of 250,000 fire-arms had been provided, for adding to the general defence of the country.

Mr. Pitt, in the courſe of a long and able ſpeech, regretted to find that the country was not more advanced in military quality, that the army was ſtill extremely inadequate to its object, and that the proper means of promoting its diſcipline had not been as yet adopted. To promote the efficiency which he had in view, he would propoſe, that the volunteer corps ſhould be encouraged to go on permanent duty, ſuppoſe for a week, or two, or three, as was the caſe laſt ſummer, in particular diſtricts on the coaſt, always taking care to aſſemble the corps in places convenient to their native home. For this purpoſe, he ſhould propoſe that a ſmall bounty be given to each volunteer who would conſent to march on ſuch permanent duty, namely, 7s. per week, above his regular allowance of 1s. per day. This plan would do more toward promoting diſcipline and military habits among the men, than any drilling at different and detached periods. About two or £.300,000 would be quite ſufficient to defray the expence.

Mr. Windham, Mr. Fox, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer ſpoke in the courſe of the debate, but there was no diviſion.

29th. The general principle of the volunteer ſyſtem was again moſt fully diſcuſſed, when, on a propoſal for the ſpeaker to leave the chair, Mr. Francis oppoſed the motion, not as meaning finally to reſiſt, but to delay it. He diſapproved the mode of conducting the war. On our ſide, it was purely and ſtrictly defenſive, and in all appearance it never could be any thing elſe. But what was a defenſive war? What was a war in which we could not offend our enemy? This was not the principle on which that wiſe perſonage, Queen Elizabeth, acted in parallel circumſtances. Her language was, that "having adviſed with herſelf, ſhe was reſolved either to make war or peace, for *via di mezzo* was very unſafe; and beſides a courſe of continual charge and continual fear; and to ſtand only on the defenſive, was to live at the diſcretion of her enemies." Such was her wiſdom, or ſuch were the counſels of the great men who adviſed her; of Raleigh, of Walſingham, of Burleigh, whoſe characters would not ſuffer much by compariſon with that of the gentlemen oppoſite.

Colonel Craufurd, in a ſpeech of great length, cenſured the volunteer ſyſtem as altogether inadequate to any deſirable purpoſe. If the houſe would effect any thing great, they muſt not proceed upon this inſignificant bill, but muſt come to a complete reviſion of our whole military ſyſtem. He would not, however, recommend, at this moment, to undo any thing that had been done, with a view to any future and diſtant improvement; he would not make one retrograde ſtep; but would propoſe, to paſs as quickly as poſſible from a bad ſyſtem to a good one; not by abruptly undoing what had been done, but by improving what was faulty, and adding what was deficient. He therefore oppoſed all further proceeding with the bill.

General Maitland, having anſwered this ſpeaker, Mr. Fox vehemently cenſured many of his ſtatements, declaring Colonel Craufurd's

ſurd's to be a ſpeech for which the houſe was highly indebted to him; a ſpeech containing more profeſſional information than any ſpeech perhaps he ever heard in the houſe, and conveyed in a manner ſo perſpicuous as to be more intelligible to men unacquainted with military tactics, than military eſſays generally are. Mr. Fox cenſured the defence of the country, as at preſent conducted, and the volunteer eſtabliſhment in particular, preferring a general arming of the whole people. A noble lord, he obſerved, in treating this ſubject, had ſaid, that he was old enough to recollect the American rebellion, as he called it, and, certainly, if he recollected all the circumſtances of the caſe he ſo deſcribed, he ſhould be aware that the term rebellion was not applicable, and that the uſe of it was long ſince abandoned. He would alſo recollect that which was very fortunate to the ſubject of this debate, that America was victorious over her opponents, not becauſe ſhe had a large regular army, but becauſe ſhe was an armed country, and the reſult of that popular armament was, that two of our beſt generals, at the head of ſome of the beſt troops, were compelled to ſurrender. Preciſely that kind of force which ſo conquered in America, which emancipated Holland, which triumphed in Switzerland, and which performed ſuch prodigies of valour in La Vendée and Ireland, was what he ſhould recommend to be reſorted to in this country. The misfortune was, with a view to this, that the volunteers had taken ſo many arms, that enough were not left for arming the peaſantry; but there were weapons in abundance to be found to ſuit them, and they would not require much training.

Mr. Pitt, while he differed from Mr. Fox on many points relating to the volunteer eſtabliſhment, ſupported the effect of his argument by joining in a cenſure of miniſters, for not deriving the greateſt poſſible advantage from the general glow of public ſpirit. Mr. Windham alſo recapitulated many of his objections, and at the end of the debate, although the queſtion for the ſpeaker's leaving the chair was carried without a diviſion, the lateneſs of the hour prevented further proceeding.

In the committee, Mr. Secretary Yorke propoſed ſome amendments in the bill, the firſt was, to confine its operation to Great Britain, excluding Ireland; the ſecond related to fines and penalties, and the third was to authoriſe the continuance of the corps now in exiſtence, unleſs his Majeſty ſhould pleaſe to diſcontinue the ſervices of any corps, or part of a corps, by an order through the Secretary of State. 2d March.

Theſe amendments being agreed to, one was moved, by which, exemptions from other duties were to be confined to thoſe corps whoſe ſervices had been accepted before the 27th of July laſt. This propoſition was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by Mr. Pitt, and other members, and at length withdrawn; but as the introduction of clauſes from various parties, without order or method, threatened great embarraſſment to the courſe of proceeding, it was at length agreed, that Mr. Secretary Yorke ſhould firſt propoſe all his amendments, and that afterward Mr.

Pitt, and every other member, might propoſe thoſe which they had in contemplation.

In conſequence of this arrangement, Mr. Yorke, in an able ſpeech, vindicated the proceedings of government with reſpect to the volunteers, and pointed out the amendments intended to be introduced by the preſent bill. He was anſwered at conſiderable length by Mr. Pitt, who diſapproved of ſome of the alterations propoſed by government, pointed out the ſuperiority of thoſe he meant to offer to the conſideration of the committee, and enforced the neceſſity of attending to ſome intimations which he had formerly given, reſpecting the employ of field officers and other perſons on half-pay, to perfect the diſcipline of the volunteers.

6th March. In the next ſitting of the committee, after ſeveral amendments had been diſcuſſed and diſpoſed of, a deſultory debate aroſe on a clauſe in the bill for enabling the commanding officers to diſcharge volunteers for non-attendance, miſbehaviour, or other ſufficient cauſe. This clauſe was objected to by Mr. Laſcelles, as of too great latitude; and he and ſome other members wiſhed that ſome more definite limitation ſhould be ſet to the power of the commanding officer. Mr. Fox, and ſome others, inſiſted that the commanding officer ought, when he diſcharged a volunteer, to aſſign the cauſe of his doing ſo, that he might be ſubject to an action at law, if the reaſon was inſufficient. Mr. Pitt objected to the clauſe as altogether unneceſſary, becauſe, he conceived, that without it, the commanding officer of a volunteer corps had the power of diſcharging any volunteer he thought proper.

After this clauſe had been long debated, and an amendment propoſed, Mr. Pitt moved, as an amendment, that the whole clauſe be rejected but the firſt two lines. The Chancellor of the Exchequer deprecated the idea of dividing the houſe on a queſtion of this nature. He hoped the right honourable gentleman would not inſiſt on a diviſion, as the queſtion was ſo delicate, and, in ſome reſpects, ſo intricate. He thought it the duty of the houſe not to come to any deciſion at preſent, but to avail themſelves of the interval between this and the report, to conſider the ſubject more maturely. He would aſk his right honourable friend (Mr. Pitt), if it was conſiſtent with his principles to debar gentlemen from conſidering the ſubject, and to hurry on an immediate deciſion, without regard to the many conſequences it might occaſion; to decide raſhly a queſtion on which the volunteer intereſts, the very fate indeed, of the volunteer corps might ultimately depend. Theſe arguments were combated by Mr. Fox, and a diviſion being inſiſted on, the queſtion was put on the amendment firſt propoſed, and the miniſter had a majority of fourteen only, the numbers being 101 to 87.

9th and 10th. Other clauſes and amendments were debated with great ſpirit, but no diviſion took place, until Mr. Pitt, in a committee thinly attended, propoſed to give the commander of a corps a power to order any member miſbehaving himſelf, while under arms, into cuſtody, during the time the corps remained under arms; to inflict fines as high as 5s.

in cases of non-attendance, not taking care of their arms, &c. This proposition was resisted, not so much because it was exceptionable in itself, as, because it attempted to effect too much in volunteer corps, and would create jealousy, and produce numerous resignations. It was lost, on a division, by a majority of one only, the numbers being 27 to 26. The

12th. next division was on an amendment proposed by Mr. Grey, for the purpose of giving volunteers dismissed by their commanding officer an appeal to a board of Inquiry; this was lost by a majority of 47, there appearing on the division 116 against it, while only 69 supported it.

15th. The course of debate on the volunteer bill was interrupted by a motion of which Mr. Pitt had before given notice, on a subject of much higher interest, the naval defence of the country; a question which was expected, more than any other, to try the strength of the ministry, and even to shake their power to its foundation.

Mr. Pitt began by expressing his expectation that part of the objects he intended to move for would be granted by ministers without resistance. His first motion, he said, would be for an address, requesting that his Majesty would order to be laid before parliament an account of the number of ships of the line, ships of 50 guns, frigates, sloops of war, bombs, hired armed vessels, &c. in commission on the 31st of December 1793, on the 30th of September 1801, and on the 31st of December 1803, specifying the service in which they were respectively employed. He made this motion, he said, because he was convinced that if the papers were granted, it would appear that the number of that description of our naval force, fit to repel the actual attempts of the enemy, was at the present moment much inferior and less adequate to the exigency of the danger, than at any period in former times. Having said a few words on the imperious necessity which existed for a great and vigorous effort to secure our coasts from attack, he adverted to the species of naval force best calculated to meet and defeat that preparing by the enemy, to accomplish the great and favourite object of invasion. The Admiralty had considered gun-vessels to be best calculated for this purpose, and yet only twenty-three gun-vessels were provided, as an augmentation to this species of naval force, five of which were to be completed in three, and the remainder in six months. Vigorous exertion had been evidently necessary through the whole summer. In the month of August, we had seen transports for the conveyance of troops collecting daily in the port of Boulogne; we had seen them gaining new strength and new additions, during the fine weather, until the months of November and December; and we knew that they had increased to upwards of 1000 in the same port, independent of the armament in Helvoet, in the Texel, in Brest, and other points of attack; what reason then could be assigned for the gross neglect which had taken place in this respect? He hoped he should not be thought unreasonable in asking, why the best and most effectual means of meeting and triumphing over the

danger, had been ſo long ſuſpended; and why a part of our counteracting exertions, in the naval department of our ſtrength, had been deferred for three months, and the more conſiderable part had been poſtponed for the ſpace of ſix months? If the documents he required were granted, he would undertake to prove, that the means of defence by gun-boats had been improperly uſed, and much leſs vigour diſplayed in preparing them, than had been ſhewn in the laſt war, and particularly in 1794, 1797, and 1801. Theſe would be ſufficient grounds for an addreſs to his Majeſty, praying him to uſe additional vigour and expedition in preparing and maturing our naval means of defence againſt the enemy's armaments; for employing redoubled activity againſt the danger with which we were threatened; and for guarding the narrow ſeas with more ſtrictneſs and vigilance.

Mr. Pitt ſaid, if his firſt motion was granted, his next would be for a copy of the contracts made, and the orders given by the Lords of the Admiralty, in 1793, 1797, and 1803, with reſpect to the number of gun-veſſels to be built, diſtinguiſhing the time at which each contract was made, the period in which it was to be brought to a concluſion, and the amount of the ſum to be paid for the performance of it. This account would ſhew the opinion of the Lords of the Admiralty on the ſubject, and would alſo afford the means of comparing our naval ſtrength in this reſpect, as it actually exiſted, with what it was in former inſtances, and tend moſt eſſentially to promote that end for which we could not be too zealous in our wiſhes, the ſecurity of the country. Another object, of the higheſt importance to the country, and to Europe at large, might, to ſome, appear ſomewhat remote from the preſent ſubject; it related not to our preſent danger, and our actual exertions, but to what ſhould be our ſyſtem of conduct, even were peace to be concluded, with reſpect to any future war. In 1801, it was impoſſible to ſuppoſe that the navy did not require more exertion than in 1793, for every thing indicated that it was not ſo promiſing as in the beginning of the former war. Miniſters were bound to make every poſſible exertion, and even efforts altogether unprecedented, to augment and repair the navy at the beginning of the preſent war, from motives and cauſes which did not exiſt in the commencement of the former war. There were two modes of increaſing our naval ſtrength with reſpect to our ſhipping; the one by building veſſels in the King's yards, the other in building them, in conſequence of private contracts, in the merchants' yards. If we were to look to the progreſs of our naval improvement for a very long time, we ſhould find that no leſs than two thirds of it had been built in the merchants' yards; and building in the King's yards, in time of war, was nearly ſuſpended altogether. It was alſo to be obſerved, that the great augmentation of our navy did not ariſe from ſhips begun in a period of war, but from ſhips which had been laid upon the ſtocks for ſeveral years antecedent. During the laſt war, out of twenty-four ſhips of the line, prepared and finiſhed for actual ſervice, two alone were ſupplied from his Majeſty's yards. From theſe facts, he wiſhed

to

to eſtabliſh it as a ſyſtem which ſhould be acted upon, that when the circumſtances of the times required extraordinary efforts, miniſters ſhould look to the building of ſhips by contract, and alſo to the augmentation of the navy; not in the preciſe moment when neceſſity calls for exertion, but many years antecedent to the preſſure of any unforeſeen exigency. Now, ſince the preſent Lords of the Admiralty had come into office, only two ſhips of the line had been contracted for to be built in the merchants' yards. Entering on the preſent war, when our navy could not be in ſo good a condition as at the beginning of the former war, every poſſible means ſhould have been taken to augment and ſtrengthen it; it was a period which required greater exertion, and yet only two ſhips of the line had been contracted for; while, during the laſt war, out of 29 ſhips of the line, the King's yards furniſhed but two. Nor did this deficiency ariſe from the impracticability of forming contracts, for there were, at the moment, docks and ſlips in the River, unoccupied, calculated for building 14 or 15 ſhips of the line. His next motion, therefore, would be, that there be laid before the houſe a liſt of ſuch ſhips as had been built in the King's yards in 1793 and 1801. But, if gentlemen ſhould think any information on this head might be the channel of improper intelligence to the enemy, he would abſtain from preſſing the motion on the houſe.

On the ſubject of manning the navy, he obſerved, that in the former war we ſet out with 16,000 men, who were ſoon after augmented with 2000 more, and in the courſe of the year were increaſed to the number of 75 or 76,000, including marines. In the preſent war we ſtarted with 50,000 men, and it ſhould not paſs unnoticed, that we alſo engaged in it when our mercantile marine was increaſed in a material proportion. Yet, what was done? Why, although we began with 50,000 men, and had all the great advantages ariſing from an unprecedented proſperity of trade and commerce, our naval force did not exceed in the number of men 86,000, at the end of the year. Thus, in the firſt year of the former war, we had an increaſe of 60,000 ſeamen, and on the firſt year of the preſent war, an augmentation of 36,000 only. He concluded by moving his firſt reſolution.

Mr. Tierney roſe to anſwer Mr. Pitt, and began by remarking how extraordinary it was that a motion of inquiry, tending to a cenſure of the Admiralty, ſhould be propoſed juſt at a time when all the enemy's ports were ſealed up, our commerce protected in every direction, and our trade proſperous in an unexampled degree. If I recollect right, he proceeded, there was a time when the right honourable gentleman was unbounded in his expreſſions of eſteem for the capacity and talents of the firſt lord of the Admiralty, and I ſhould wiſh to know how long it is, ſince he has changed his mind reſpecting that noble lord. It cannot be out of recollection of the houſe, that the right honourable gentleman ſpoke in terms of the higheſt panegyric of Lord St. Vincent, and that, when he recomended others to fill ſituations under government, as likely to execute the duties of their

office with credit, he mentioned the noble earl as one ſo admirably qualified to preſide over the naval department, that the whole country looked up to him as the only perſon fitted for the ſituation of firſt Lord of the Admiralty. With reſpect to the great talents of Earl St. Vincent, let me ſay, although they can derive no ſupport from my feeble praiſe, I believe no man is ſuperior to him as an admiral; and I am confident I ſhall be borne out by the unanimous voice of the public, when I ſtate, that his ſervices have been no leſs ſplendid than productive of ſolid and permanent advantages. I alſo know, that ſuch are his patriotiſm and his ſenſe of honour, that the noble lord would rather ſuffer every thing, than loſe what he values beyond all other conſiderations, the confidence of his countrymen. Mr. Tierney objected ſtrongly to the production of the papers required, and was at a loſs to conceive how the meaſure could, for a ſingle inſtant, be entertained by the houſe, when no cauſe, no fact, was brought forward in ſupport of it; when every poſſible energy pervaded the whole branch of the public ſervice over which the noble lord preſided; when naval ſkill, vigilance, and activity, were diſplayed in every quarter, and the beſt officers were employed in every direction, with the higheſt honour to themſelves, and the greateſt advantages to their country.

Mr. Tierney treated the charge reſpecting the ſmall preparation of gun-boats, as calculated to depreſs the ſpirit of the nation, but in anſwer, he undertook to ſhew that there was an ample force of all kinds, and particularly of that peculiar kind of naval force, which was adapted to meet the enemy's armament on the coaſt. The ſhips of the line, frigates, ſloops of war, bombs and other veſſels, amounted to 511; block-ſhips, ſupplied by the Trinity Houſe, 9; the lighters and ſmall craft, fitted in the King's yards, were, according to the laſt returns, 373; the ſhips furniſhed by the Eaſt India Company, 19; and the flotilla, completely equipped and ready for immediate ſervice, amounted to 624. Making altogether 1,536; and yet this force of 1,536 veſſels had been prepared and completed by this unworthy Firſt Lord of the Admiralty! On the ſubject of gun-boats, as well as on the preference to be given to merchants' yards over the royal yards for building ſhips, Mr. Tierney ſaid, the country would probably be more inclined to confide, and might more ſafely confide in the judgment of Lord St. Vincent, than in that of Mr. Pitt, whoſe obſervations on this head, he ſaid, ſmelt of a contract.

On the ſubject of ſeamen raiſed, Mr. Tierney ſaid he had no objection to agree to the production of that account; but the right honourable gentleman had not taken a fair comparative view of the number raiſed within the firſt year of the laſt war and the year 1803. At the former period, after a peace of ten years, the navy derived a very conſiderable increaſe of men from the ſpirit of enterprize, the proſpect of prize-money, and the great diſtreſs of the mercantile intereſt. There was alſo, at that time, no ſupplementary militia, no army of reſerve, nor a variety of collateral circumſtances, which, in the actual conjuncture of affairs, prevented

prevented the ſupplies of men for the ſea ſervice. The ſucceſs which had attended the levy of men in the preſent year was truly ſatisfactory, conſidering that the land ſervice had required great efforts, that the volunteer force alone amounted to 450,000 men; and ſo far ſhould parliament be from blaming Lord St. Vincent, that his conduct in this reſpect was intitled to the higheſt praiſe. It appeared, that of the 100,000 men voted by parliament, there were not quite 2000 deficient; for, by the returns made, there were in actual ſervice, to the 31ſt of December, 76,000 men; according to the returns made to the Admiralty by the regulating captains, 6,441; and the marines amounted, on the 10th of March, to 15,673 men; giving a total of 98,174 ſeamen and marines. Could a more ſucceſsful exertion have been made in the teeth of the volunteers, of the army of reſerve, and of the ſupplementary militia, where only 1,700 men were wanting to complete the whole of the eſtimate? But we had alſo a force of 25,000 ſea fencibles for Great Britain, putting Ireland out of the queſtion. After a high panegyric on the Firſt Lord of the Admiralty, and an obſervation that Mr. Pitt's ſpeech would tend to inſpirit the enemy, Mr. Tierney concluded, by declaring his readineſs to grant two of the papers required, but withholding the reſt, and he moved an amendment accordingly.

Sir Charles Pole and Sir Edward Pellew defended the conduct of the Admiralty. The latter ſpoke with great contempt of the ſhips built by contract at the merchants' yards, two of them he had ſeen, the Ajax and the Achilles, and took them for Frenchmen. The boaſted gun-boats too, he decried as the moſt contemptible moſquito craft that could be employed.

Admiral Berkeley, on the other ſide, controverted Mr. Tierney's aſſertion, that the naval force voted by parliament had been all raiſed except about 1700 men. To hear him make ſuch a ſtatement, he muſt ſuppoſe that he was ſo newly come into office, and as yet felt himſelf ſo little at home in it, that he had neither examined the truth of his aſſertions, nor aſked any profeſſional perſon if they could poſſibly be exact. The fact was, that he had taken the whole of the returns of the Navy Office from the monthly books of the ſhips, which amounted to 76,000 men, in which the marines were included, and had added the 15,000 marines which were returned to the Admiralty from the head quarters. Did he mean to ſay, that there were 15,000 marines at this time who were not embarked. Becauſe certainly the fact was not ſo. There was hardly a marine at any of the head quarters. They were all embarked on board the fleet, and included, as well as the 6000 impreſſed ſeamen, in the returns of the Navy Office, and conſequently included in the 76,000 men; which brought the queſtion, if it had any reference to the motion before the houſe, to a ſtate much nearer the truth, viz. that inſtead of the ſeamen being equal to the vote, which was for 100,000 men, inſtead of being 1700 ſhort of that vote, it would be found that the deficiency was nearly 20,000. The Admiral alſo denied the correctneſs of the ſtatement reſpecting the number of veſſels, unleſs it was meant to call every cockle-ſhell in which a gun

was placed, a gun-veſſel. He complained too of the inſufficient protection afforded to trade; giving, as an inſtance, that out of a late convoy, 19 had been taken and carried into Spaniſh and French ports; and even between Spithead and the Downs, a rich Weſt Indiaman had been captured by the enemy's privateers. He wiſhed to ſee an inquiry into every part of the naval ſyſtem, into the treatment of the officers and men, into the ſituation and ſtate of the ſhips, into the ſtate of the dock-yards, and into the want of ſtores and artificers; for, of theſe laſt, he underſtood, there was a defalcation of 800 ſhipwrights leſs than the uſual war eſtabliſhment. This inquiry would either prove the negligence and incapacity of the Admiralty, or place their fame ſo high as not to be touched by the breath of ſlander. Upon theſe heads, however, he ſhould not enlarge, as they were extraneous to the motion before the houſe; not but he held papers on this ſubject, which might make the houſe ſtart. Theſe contained ſubjects which, even in that houſe, were too dreadful and too delicate to ſtate publicly. But this he did not heſitate to affirm, and he begged the houſe to remember, that he warned them of it; that if the preſent ſyſtem was purſued, whoever might be at the Admiralty, if this ſyſtem was not immediately changed, the moſt dreadful, the moſt fatal calamity that ever happened to this country might be expected.

Mr. Wilberforce, having made a ſpeech of conſiderable length, in ſupport of Mr. Pitt's motions, Mr. Sheridan delivered his opinions on the oppoſite ſide. After noticing ſeveral paſſages in Mr. Wilberforce's ſpeech, he treated the preſent motion as a direct attack on Lord St. Vincent, and really, he ſaid, he had never heard of any public character for whom men were more forward to profeſs reſpect, nor one that was ſo much reſpected, and yet ſo much aſperſed. He would aſk the right honourable mover of this propoſition, what were the reaſons, for he certainly had not ſtated any, which had provoked him to alter his ſentiments with reſpect to the noble lord who was the ſubject of ſuch warm panegyric, upon the firſt acceſſion of the preſent miniſters to office; and who, he would be curious to know, did the right hon. gentleman think more adequate to the high ſtation he filled; whom would he recommend to ſucceed him? If the right honourable gentleman did pronounce the ſplendid panegyric upon this noble lord upon light grounds, he was certainly very cenſurable, for he was, as it were, giving a falſe character, and that of a great public ſervant; but it was well known that thoſe grounds were not light, they reſted upon the higheſt public ſervices, and were ſupported by the warm and unanimous applauſes of the country. Why then had the right honourable gentleman, or the honourable gentleman who ſpoke laſt, changed their opinions? Why had they altered their ſentiments of the noble lord? What facts had they in their power to produce? On every ſuch motion heretofore, particularly during the adminiſtration of Mr. Pitt, ample grounds were laid to demand inquiry; but in this inſtance the demand was unſupported, not merely by common ſenſe, but by common decency. He

He did not intend to attribute improper motives to the right honourable mover; but would aſk what good could he accompliſh by the production of papers reſpecting the ſtate of our navy in a former war? What were his views? Did he mean to inſtitute a compariſon between Lord St. Vincent and Lord Spencer? To aſcertain which of the two was better qualified to manage our naval concerns? He could not ſee the purpoſe of ſuch a contraſt. Indeed, if a ſtranger were to obſerve the whole of this proceeding, he would not heſitate to pronounce that it could be only actuated by factious and party motives. He then noticed the utter inutility of gun-boats, obſerving that out of 120, built by contract during the late war, 87 were ſold, after advertiſement, for almoſt nothing; ſome, which could not be diſpoſed of, were retained, and ſix were ſent to Jerſey, which were found ſo utterly uſeleſs, that Capt. D'Auvergne knew not what to do with them. He, however, ſent five of them home ſome time after, and was obliged to ſend ſome of his beſt cruiſers to tow them ſafely. Of theſe boats, he further obſerved, that whatever might be their uſe in the ſhoals along the French coaſt, they ſurely were incapable of any degree of utility, comparable to that which might be derived from large ſhipping upon our own coaſt. Wherever the latter could be employed, the former muſt be comparatively uſeleſs. It was notorious that, all along from Pevenſey to Dungeneſs, a man of war could anchor cloſe in ſhore, ſuch was the depth of water. This, therefore, was the deſcription of force upon which he would place his confidence, either for attack or defence. As to the former, who could entertain a doubt that if French gun-boats ſhould venture out, and the ſlighteſt breeze ſhould ariſe, that Captain Markham, Sir Edward Pellew, Sir Thomas Trowbridge, or, in fact, any officer known in our naval records, would not, with a ſingle 74, ſhoot through and ſink a crowd of that contemptible craft. Mr. Sheridan then reſtated and vindicated Mr. Tierney's aſſertion, reſpecting the manning of the navy, treated the notion of relying on gun-boats when men of war could act, as a revival of the age of chivalry, applauded the board of Admiralty for their general conduct, proved their ſuperiority to their predeceſſors, by referring to ſome reports already publiſhed by the Commiſſioners of Naval Inquiry, and renewed his panegyric on the firſt lord in particular. He noticed Mr. Pitt's ſtatement of the preference to be given to private yards over the royal dock-yards, in theſe terms: "The right honourable gentleman has ſaid, that it is impoſſible, during war, to build any number of ſhips in the King's dock-yards, and that, therefore, a neceſſity ariſes of reſorting to the merchants' yards. What a melancholy expreſſion; that in thoſe yards, where there are 3,200 men employed, nothing more than the mere repair of ſhips could be done! If ſo, then our ſurpriſe muſt be diminiſhed, that a French fleet ſhould have been permitted, in the courſe of the laſt war, to find its way to Egypt, and another French fleet to ſail to Ireland, where nothing but the elements offered to prevent a formidable French army from landing. If, however,

however, the King's dock-yards are really ſo little uſeful, or rather ſo uſeleſs, they ought to be aboliſhed altogether. A new ſyſtem ought to be adopted. If they could only finiſh in theſe yards 24 ſail of the line, 15 frigates, and ſome few ſloops, in the courſe of twenty years, although it is known that 45 ſhipwrights can build a 74 in one year, that there are 3,200 ſhipwrights in thoſe yards, and that the expence, &c. could not be leſs in twenty years than £.4,100,000, a ſum equal to the building of the whole navy of England, it follows, of courſe, that it is bad policy to continue the maintenance of theſe dock-yards. It is beſides well known that the internal ſyſtem of theſe yards is bad. There is no difference in the wages allowed to the workmen; the unſkilful can earn as much as thoſe of a different deſcription. Thus emulation is prevented, and many advantages, of courſe, loſt to the employers. The right honourable gentleman may anſwer this, and ſay, that although ſo many abuſes have been detected by the Commiſſioners of Naval Inquiry, that ſtill the ſyſtem of the dock-yards is good: but I aſſert, and am prepared to maintain the aſſertion, that abuſes pervade every department of the ſyſtem. Does the right honourable gentleman know of the frauds which the Commiſſioners have found to have been committed in every article with which theſe yards are furniſhed, particularly blocks? From theſe abuſes ariſes the neceſſity of advertiſing for contractors to build ſhipping; and as to correct them, to produce integrity and arrangement in all the departments of the navy, is and has been the great endeavour of the high character upon whom it appears to be the object of the motion before the houſe to fix an imputation, I ſhall vote againſt it, with as much ſatisfaction as ever I gave a vote ſince I had the honour of a ſeat in this houſe, fully convinced that ſuch a motion is calculated to gratify the corrupt, to frown upon reform, and to aſſail the reputation of a gallant officer, whoſe claims to the gratitude of the country can only be equalled by the eſteem and attachment he enjoys among all that are great and good."

Mr. Fox acknowledged that Mr. Sheridan had made, as uſual, a brilliant ſpeech, and concurred in his praiſe of Lord St. Vincent, but miniſters, he ſaid, had but two courſes which they could with propriety purſue, either to ſay that no caſe whatever had been made out, and then refuſe all the papers aſked, or to produce all the papers which could reaſonably be aſked for, and upon the conſideration of thoſe to call for the cenſure or acquittal of the houſe. But the line of conduct which they had taken, did neither the one nor the other. By granting ſome papers and refuſing others, they admitted enough to countenance the ſuſpicion of ſomething wrong in the naval adminiſtration, and did not go far enough to let that ſuſpicion be wiped away. They wiſhed to have defended Lord St. Vincent as they would have defended themſelves; they wiſhed to put him on a level with them, to obtain the precedent of his great name to reſiſt inquiry, ſo that every other inquiry might be fruſtrated; they wiſhed to put him on a level with Lord Hardwicke, ſo that the refuſal of inquiry in the inſtance of one that could bear it,

might

might be an argument for ſetting inquiry aſide, when it might tend to produce diſcoveries they would ſuppreſs. Mr. Fox then conſidered the miniſtry, and Mr. Wilberforce, if not Mr. Pitt, as enemies, rather than friends to the Firſt Lord of the Admiralty, and aſcribed their hoſtility to his great exertions in detecting and preventing corruption and jobs. On the 14th of February, ſaid Mr. Fox, he engaged and vanquiſhed the enemy; but he has waged a war no leſs difficult, with jobs, and contracts, and frauds. He has broken the embattled line, no leſs arduous than to penetrate that of the enemy. My admiration of him is increaſed to find him poſſeſs, in ſo high a degree, that which is more rare than gallantry in the field, civil courage and deciſion, as well as perſonal bravery. During the whole debate, he added, the only perſon who has made any direct charge againſt the conduct of the Admiralty in general, is my honourable and gallant relation (Admiral Berkeley). The right honourable gentleman who made the motions, ſeems to me to have made out little or no caſe. He then adverted to the ſubject of gun-boats, and after animadverting on ſeveral parts of Mr. Tierney's ſpeech, made the following obſervations. On the general character of miniſters with the public, I ſhall give no teſtimony; but if the conduct of miniſters were to be the ſubject of diſcuſſion, and decided by argument, it would not be difficult to ſhow what the public ought to think of them. This, ſuffer me to illuſtrate, by one of thoſe good-humoured compariſons, which, on general principles, often afford the beſt illuſtrations. In one of Moliere's plays, a grave old gentleman marries a yonng wife, or does ſomething or other not very ſuitable to his character. Every body, however, is mightily content with what he had done, except that when it is mentioned every one burſt out a-laughing. In the ſame manner, though it happens that every body is ſo well content with the preſent miniſters, yet, when their merits are ſpoken of, it generally produces a laugh, or at leaſt a ſmile, on every countenance.

The debate was continued ſome time longer, and in a great meaſure turned on the queſtion, whether it would be more demonſtrative of high conſideration for Lord St. Vincent to vote for or againſt Mr. Pitt's motion. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, and ſeveral other members, were againſt the motion, and Sir William Curtis, in anſwer to the charge that the trade of the country was neglected, ſaid, that it was never ſo well protected as at the preſent moment. In the year 1793, the number of veſſels taken by the enemy was 418; in 1794, they were 484; in 1795, 493; and in 1796, there were no leſs than 793 veſſels of various deſcriptions loſt. He did not know what gentlemen would wiſh to have, when we had fleets at preſent every where. Mr. Sturges Bourne, Mr. Courtenay, and ſome other members were heard in ſupport of the motion, when Mr. Pitt roſe to reply.

After treating on the character of Lord St. Vincent, and the neceſſity of inquiry, that he might be fully vindicated; Mr. Pitt reproached miniſters ſeverely for not availing themſelves of the intermediate

termediate ſpace between peace and war, when they ſaw, according to their own confeſſion, the hoſtile diſpoſition of the French government. Our naval ſpirit had already done wonders in the ſyſtem of preparation, but miniſters had done little or nothing. Miniſters, inſtead of encouraging that ſpirit, had frequently checked its progreſs. Their meaſures had ſometimes been ſo feebly concerted, as to preſent to the mind of a candid obſerver nothing but inſtantaneous deſtruction, ruin, and diſgrace. To aid them in their duty to the public, to diſcharge his own duty to the nation, he wiſhed for the information now mentioned, but which they reſiſted without aſſigning a ſufficient cauſe. Glancing at Mr. Tierney, he ridiculed the powerful ſupport which he gave them; but ſtated, that perhaps it might be unfair yet to form a judgment of his zeal and activity in the cauſe; for, as he had evinced zeal and activity in oppoſing a former government, he might perhaps ſtill evince zeal and activity in ſupporting the preſent. But Mr. Pitt's principal attack was on Mr. Sheridan, of whom he ſaid—Among the many aſſaults which I have had to repel this evening, was one from a very brilliant flaſh of lightning, a meteor which for ſome time has moved neither on the one ſide nor on the other; a meteor whoſe abſence all may, with me, have regretted; a meteor which, on its return, having concentrated its force, has fixed its rays of reſentment and indigration againſt me; but in whoſe blazing face I can look without fear or dread. No inſinuations, however bitter and bold, will ever induce me to ſurrender my freedom in this houſe. I am fully determined not to renounce my privileges as a member of parliament. Mr. Pitt, while he admired the uncommon valour, and extolled the vaſt renown and glorious achievements of Lord St. Vincent, would not ſhrink from his duty in cenſuring him, when preſiding at the board of Admiralty, if he deſerved it. His motion implied blame on his Lordſhip, and he candidly avowed, that he did not come forward on this occaſion from a tender regard to his character or conduct while at the Board of Admiralty.

On a diviſion, the numbers were, for Mr. Pitt's motion, 130; againſt it, 201; majority, 71.

In its further progreſs through the Houſe of Commons, the volunteer conſolidation occaſioned ſeveral animated debates, aud ſome diviſions, in which the majorities were flattering to miniſters. 19th to 22d.

The bill was received in the Houſe of Lords with ſome ſhew of oppoſition, in which Lord Grenville and Lord Spencer took the lead, and propoſed ſeveral amendments, but the miniſtry generally had a majority exceeding two to one. In the courſe of the diſcuſſions, the Earl of Suffolk moved for a committee to inquire into the ſtate of the defence of the country, but the propoſition was negatived without a diviſion, and the bill was finally enacted into a law. 23d to 12 April.

Another meaſure, connected with the defence of the country, which occaſioned ſtrenuous debates and diviſions, was a propoſition for ſuſpending the operation of the army of reſerve act, in order to graft on it

it a plan for the augmentation and improvement of the regular army. To this propoſition Mr. Pitt ſhewed the moſt decided hoſtility. Some diſcuſſion took place on the motion for going into a committee, and a delay of the meaſure having been thus obtained, Mr. Fox, purſuant to a notice he had given, moved that it ſhould be referred to a committee of the whole houſe, to reviſe the ſeveral bills for the defence of the country, and to conſider of ſuch further meaſures as might be neceſſary to make that defence more complete and permanent. In ſome preliminary obſervations, Mr. Fox extolled the great zeal which prevailed in all ranks to ſupport the war, but was anxious to prevent that circumſtance from being conſtrued into an approbation of the grounds on which the war was commenced, or the manner in which it had been conducted. He ſpoke of invaſion as probable, or at leaſt ſo far ſo, that the nation was not to build hopes, or form an idea, that becauſe the enemy had not hitherto put his threats in execution, he had given up his deſign. Such reaſoning would be fallacious in the extreme. Omitting the ſubject of naval defence, he propoſed to confine himſelf to the land ſervice. To enable parliament to judge of the ſtate of defence, miniſters ought to lay on the table an exact account of the ſtrength of the regular army, and of the artillery, with its drivers, horſes, carriages, ammunition, &c. He profeſſed himſelf in favour of a large regular army in time of war, but diſapproved the mode of recruiting, and preferred raiſing men for a limited time, to enliſting them for life. To prove that the ſyſtem actually purſued injured the recruiting ſervice, he would mention a fact, well known to have happened within the laſt twelvemonths: A whole regiment of the propoſed army of reſerve would have enliſted into the regular army, if it had been for a limited ſervice, but as it was, very few indeed had been prevailed on to do ſo, with all the influence that could be exerted. Having treated this ſubject in its various points of view, he noticed another circumſtance which, he ſaid, had greatly retarded and injured the recruiting for the regular army, which was the pernicious conſequence of raiſing men for rank; but as this cuſtom had long prevailed, it would require great ſteadineſs and perſeverance to prevent it. Turning from the regular force, Mr. Fox arraigned the compoſition of the volunteer army, reſtating and enforcing many of his former objections, and particularly dwelling on the preference to be given to a general arming of the people. He cenſured, with great ſeverity, the aſſertion in the preamble to the general defence act, that the King had a right to command all his liege ſubjects to take up arms, and ſupported his opinion by a reference to the work of Mr. Juſtice Foſter. He reprobated the enactments which proceeded on the principle contained in this preamble; the ballot was, from its generality, unjuſt, as men moſt unfit and incapable might be drawn and compelled to ſerve, and the uſe made of the act to ſtimulate the volunteers, was like putting them in front, and compelling them to march on through fear of the bayonet behind them.

20th April.

23d April.

But,

But, in truth, he added, what is this bugbear? Miniſters admit that this act might have given way! What was the value of this threat, this ſtimulus of the general defence act, which had its uſe? At any rate, if the people wanted a ſpur, as they do not, would you employ a menace, which, in fact, had in it nothing that could really alarm? At leaſt you ought not to threaten what you cannot enforce. I remember an anecdote of one of your predeceſſors, Sir, who is allowed to have maintained the dignity and authority of the chair in a manner ſuperior to all thoſe who went before him, however he may have yielded to thoſe who have come after him. It was a cuſtom of that perſon (Mr. Speaker Onſlow), when any member was guilty of any irregularity, to cry, "Take care, Sir, or I'll name you." And, on one occaſion, a member, not much frightened by the threat, aſked coolly, "and ſuppoſe you do name me, what will be the conſequence?" "The conſequence!" replied the Speaker, "God only knows!" Mr. Fox, in concluſion, declared himſelf ſtrongly of opinion that there ſhould be an armed peaſantry, and enforced the neceſſity of a committee to conſider the means of eſtabliſhing and giving it effect.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer conſidered Mr. Fox's obſervations on the origin of the war as moſt unwarranted, the conduct of government, in that reſpect, having been ſanctioned almoſt unanimouſly by parliament, and on one queſtion, by Mr. Fox himſelf. He had made a motion which was one of the moſt extraordinary ever brought before the houſe; a motion for which there was no precedent in parliamentary hiſtory, to which there was nothing analogous in parliamentary uſage, and which he was well juſtified in deſcribing as a meaſure moſt uncommon and extraordinay, when coupled with the ſtrange and ſingular matter which the honourable gentleman had contrived to mix with it. Its object was to appoint a committee to reviſe the acts that had been paſſed for the defence of the country, and to conſider of, and provide adequate means for the protection of it in future. While he admitted the power of the houſe to do this, he might ſafely confide in the diſcretion of gentlemen, that they would not, by ſupporting the motion, countenance the eſtabliſhment of a committee, which, by its proceedings and reſult, muſt terminate in and become, to all intents and purpoſes, a committee of a purely military nature. The peculiarity was not to be excluſively appropriated to the purport of the motion, or the various details that it was intended to embrace. The mover had ſo worded it, as to take in all deſcriptions of perſons in the houſe, with all their floating and contradictory opinions; one man objecting to too great an extenſion of one part of our force, another lamenting any attempt at its diminution; ſome recommending a greater, ſome a leſſer addition to the regular army, and others, who differed as to the particular ſpecies of naval force we ſhould employ; ſome preferring a large number of ſmall veſſels, and ſome a ſmall number of large veſſels; all, all theſe, the honourable gentleman had found means to gratify, in their individual caprices and opinions, and to include them within the compaſs of this ſweeping and general motion. The Chancellor of the Exchequer then analyzed

analyzed Mr. Fox's argument, and vindicated miniſters againſt the charges he had adduced. He acknowledged that for the origin of this motion, he looked to other motives than thoſe Mr. Fox had thought prudent to avow. He was to ſeek for other reaſons for a motion peculiarly calculated to collect all the floating opinions of the houſe, and create ſuch an oppoſition to miniſters as would tend to produce a change. If that be the object of the honourable gentleman's motion, he ſaid, let him ſtate it broadly and unequivocally; let him produce ſome ſpecific accuſation; let him bring forward ſome direct, explicit charge, and let him take the ſenſe of the houſe on it; but let him not bring it forward in this covert and underhand mode, and, by a detour, endeavour to ſtigmatize thoſe he has not the courage to accuſe frankly and manfully. Let not the honourable gentleman, I ſay, have recourſe to a paltry expedient of this nature; it is unworthy of him. If we are fairly attacked, if we are accuſed upon ſpecific grounds, we are ready and willing to meet the charge, and we ſhall find, I truſt, no difficulty in defending and juſtifying ourſelves, upon fair, open, and conſtitutional principles.

Mr. Pitt, although he did not in all points agree with Mr. Fox, ſupported his motion, and in a ſpeech of conſiderable length, made a violent attack on miniſters, affirming, that after twelve months of war, preceded by a peace which, by the confeſſion of miniſters themſelves, was a mere notice of that war, and a war in which they themſelves had been exhauſted in their ſkill; they had brought forward nothing in which there had not been a variety of contradictions in the plans, repugnancies in the meaſures, and imbecility in the execution. Nothing in which every ſtep had not been marked by unneceſſary delay; and meaſures at laſt adopted, amounting almoſt to a retraction of the principle upon which it was founded. After renewing his objections to their proceedings on every point relating to the conduct of the war, and augmentation of the national force, he conſidered the conduct purſued with reſpect to the volunteers alone enough to expoſe the mind of miniſters; to ſhew their diſacquaintance with the means of executing their own purpoſes. Indeed every circumſtance ſerved to ſhew their want of vigour, and that they were incapable of acting upon any thing like ſyſtem, of adopting or executing any well-digeſted or energetic plan for the defence of the country.

As the object of this motion was avowedly to diſplace the miniſtry, much of the debate turned on ſubjects connected with that event. Their conduct was defended by Mr. Secretary Yorke, Mr. G. Vanſittart, Sir William Pulteney, the Attorney-General, and Mr. Tierney; and cenſured by Mr. Windham and ſome other members. The Attorney-General, in the courſe of his ſpeech, deprecated the ſuppoſed coalition of parties, and, after a ſtrong and manly appeal to Mr. Pitt, on the probable conſequences of uniting with the other portion of oppoſition, in ſupport of ſome public meaſures which they would be anxious to bring forward, he addreſſed himſelf particularly to Mr. Windham, conjuring him, by the many well fought

fought days of argument he had maintained in the houſe; by the memory of his departed friend, Mr. Burke, by a memory he ſhould and he ought to reſpect ſtill more, the memory of his departed ſelf, to pauſe before it was too late, and before he ſhould ſign and ſeal for ever his own inconſiſtency. Was he prepared to join the advocates of French principles? or did he conſider this as the proper moment for the introduction of ſuch principles? And he conjured the houſe to look ſeriouſly to the conſequences of agreeing to the preſent motion, as it muſt infallibly lead to the introduction of a new miniſtry, worſe than that which at preſent exiſted.

Mr. Windham conſidered this as a mere profeſſional ſpeech, and exhorted the learned gentleman to recollect that, in the preſent inſtance, he was both advocate and client. Before deprecating ſo warmly, however, the union of oppoſite ſentiments, which he ſeemed to apprehend, he would requeſt the learned gentleman to look to a member not more than four or five benches from him (Mr. Tierney), whoſe ſentiments and his had not been always congenial, and who had been, for many years, the friend and companion of the admirers of French principles; who had been the champion of reform, and thoſe other queſtions which were ſo obnoxious to the learned gentleman.

Mr. Tierney thus called upon, vindicated his own conduct, and decried the coalition of three large bodies, who, although they agreed in nothing elſe, united their efforts to get rid of the preſent miniſters. The leaders of the combined parties had many partizans undoubtedly; but he was perfectly confident, that if they ſucceeded, there would be a general feeling of regret in the public mind, whenever the preſent adminiſtration ſhould retire. The feelings of the public were, he was certain, with the preſent miniſters. Where were the petitions againſt them? From what city, county, or borough? Some gentlemen in oppoſition had a pretty good notion of the mode of procuring them; but they did not appear. Perhaps he might hear of them by and by. There might be ſome meetings in Palace Yard for that purpoſe, and very probably in the Borough of Southwark too; but, at preſent, gentlemen knew, that to procure any thing of importance in this way was impracticable. He was perfectly ſatisfied with the conduct of miniſters, and ſhould always look back to his connexion with them with ſatisfaction.

Mr. Fox was heard in reply, and at a late hour, his motion was loſt, by a majority of 52; the numbers being 204 and 256.

On the next night but one, Mr. Pitt oppoſed the motion for the Speaker to leave the chair, that the houſe might go into a committee, on the bill for ſuſpending the operation of the army of reſerve act. In a long ſpeech, he renewed and enforced many of his former arguments againſt the conduct of government in military matters; and in the courſe of a long debate, was ſupported by his uſual friends, and by Mr. Fox and his party. The miniſters, however, had ſtill a majority of 37, the numbers being 240 to 203.

25th.

But,

But, although the victory over the united oppoſition on the queſtion of naval defence, the majorities in both houſes on the volunteer conſolidation bill, and the ſtill greater majorities in theſe debates, ſeemed to prove that miniſters might continue with ſucceſs to reſiſt the efforts which were making againſt them; they were, in fact, convinced of the propriety of retreating from office. Their principles did not permit them to weaken the energies of government, by drawing out the intire ſtrength of their party on every queſtion, nor could Mr. Addington, however irritated ſo intirely forget his long friendſhip for Mr. Pitt, as to wage undiſcriminating hoſtility againſt him, as united with thoſe whoſe principles he had ever oppoſed. He had it in his power to have detached from the exiſting oppoſition ſome portion of its ſtrength, but he would not ſacrifice to that object any great principle of his foreign or domeſtic policy, and he would not by accumulating occaſions of repeated inconſiſtency, render the government which ſhould ſucceed him inefficient, through popular diſtruſt, or weak from the burthen of pledges, which it might be inconvenient or impoſſible to redeem. To retire and leave the frame of government unſhattered, and its wheels unclogged, was the part which wiſdom and dignity alike ſuggeſted; but to diſcern that the time was arrived at which ſuch a meaſure was indiſpenſable, was not ſo eaſy as that all ſhould agree in opinion on the ſubject. Hence, ſome variances among the miniſters were occaſionally obſerved; one ſpoke of their retreat as ſpeedily approaching, while another announced with confidence their ability and their reſolution to retain their ſtation. At length, however, their reſignation was finally reſolved on, and on a propoſition to delay a motion of Mr. Fox, relative to the employment of Hanoverian troops in the Britiſh ſervice, Mr. Roſe announced to the houſe, that Mr. Pitt had received his Majeſty's commands to lay before him a plan of a new adminiſtration. 8th May.

When on the eve of quitting office, Mr. Addington fulfilled his duty as Chancellor of the Exchequer, by providing the ſupplies for the current year. In his ſpeech, introducing what is called the budget, he recapitulated the financial principles on which he had acted, which were, in ſubſtance, to prevent the accumulation of the national debt, and at the ſame time enable the country to maintain its exertions, however long the conteſt might continue, which it had been compelled to enter into in ſupport of its honour and independence. He recapitulated the ſyſtem of the preceding year, and gave a general view of the amount of the debt and the reſources of the country. Having made theſe preliminary obſervations, he proceeded to ſtate the Supply and Ways and Means of the preſent year. 30th April.

Supply.

Navy (exclusive of £325,000 ordnance sea service)		£11,715,000
Army (England) - -	15,256,000	
(Ireland) - -	3,887,000	
		19,143,000
Ordnance (England) - -	3,693,000	
(Ireland) - -	369,000	
		4,062,000
Vote of credit, including £300,000 for Ireland -		2,500,000
Miscellaneous (England) including £40,000 for services not yet voted - -	617,000	
Ditto (Ireland) including £50,000, to be voted for civil contingencies - -	266,000	
		883,000
Irish permanent grants - - - -		400,000
Joint charge for England and Ireland - -		£38,703,000
Add England separate charges.		
Toulonese ships - - -	265,000	
Deficiency of malt duty - -	115,000	
American awards - - -	412,000	
Exchequer bills, V. C. 1803 - -	1,500,000	
		2,292,000
Total supplies - -		£40,995,000
Deduct on account of Ireland.		
2-17ths of the above sum of £.38,703,000	4,553,294	
2-17ths of £.1,346,043 for civil list, and other charges on the consolidated fund, not relating to the public debt -	158,358	
		4,711,652
Leaving, to be provided on account of Great Britain		36,283,348

To these particulars was to be added the amount of exchequer bills outstanding, exclusive of £3,000,000 in the possession of the bank, to pay for the renewal of the charter, in 1806.

Exchequer bills on aids, 1804, to be replaced by a like amount on aids, 1805:

Per act 43 Geo. III. cap. 36, part of £4,000,000	3,000,000
Per act 43 Geo. III. cap. 147, bank - -	1,500,000
Ditto - - 93, - -	5,000,000
	£9,500,000

Mr.

Mr. Addington then recapitulated the Ways and Means, under the various heads of new taxes, ſurplus of conſolidated fund, and loan. The new taxes he introduced in theſe terms: It will be recollected by the committee, that in the ways and means of laſt year, a duty of £20 per tun was propoſed to be laid on wine; but, in conſequence of repreſentations, it was deemed proper to reduce it to £12. The duty, however, continued to be charged to the individual in proportion to the original propoſition. The effect of the original propoſition would be only to charge a duty of 4d. a bottle, and that duty has, in point of fact, been charged on the conſumer, though only £10 a tun has been laid on by parliament. I now propoſe to charge the original duty of £20 per tun, which would yield an addition of £200,000. I alſo propoſe an addition of 12¾ per cent. on all imports, excluſive of tea, wine, and cotton wool; and, as an additional duty on ſweets is neceſſary, being the material from which Britiſh wines are manufactured; but it is thought better to charge that duty on the raw material. I would alſo propoſe a double duty on raiſins, as countervailing the wine duty. The addition from the whole of theſe ſources will be £800,000, making, with the £200,000 already ſtated, an addition of £1,000,000 to the war taxes, which will raiſe their amount from £14,440,000 to £15,440,000 on the 5th of April, 1805. That cannot be calculated for every year. It is neceſſary to deduct from it the difference between the probable annual produce of the property tax, and the £7,000,000, which I aſſume it will produce, on the 5th of April, 1805. The amount of the loan was fourteen millions and a half. The miniſter alſo noticed the arrangements already made for conſolidating ſome of the leading branches of the public revenue in the exciſe, cuſtoms, and aſſeſſed taxes; but it was found impoſſible, at that time, to apply them to the article of ſtamps. From this ſource, therefore, he hoped that, without any conſiderable preſſure being felt, a proviſion might be made to obtain a ſum ſufficiently large to anſwer the new demands on the public purſe. He propoſed then, to impoſe additional duties upon ſtamps already chargeable on legal proceedings, and on the transfer of property. Great inconvenience had already been felt from the variety of ſtamps already in uſe; their number was ſtated to exceed 300, and owing to this multiplicity, the mode of applying them was not well underſtood. It was propoſed, then, to reduce and claſs them into about thirty, whilſt, by giving facility to proceedings in the Courts of Juſtice, he hoped to be able, in a great meaſure, to countervail any preſſure that might be produced by an addition of taxes. Having explained this part of the ſubject, the miniſter recapitulated the amount of the Supplies which had been voted:

Navy, exclusive of 325,000*l.* ordnance sea service -		£11,715,000
Army (Great Britain) - -	15,256,000	
(Ireland) - -	3,887,000	
		19,143,000
Ordnance (Great Britain) - -	£3,693,000	
(Ireland) - -	369,000	
		4,062,000
Vote of credit, including 800,000*l.* for Ireland -		2,500,000
Miscellaneous (England) including 40,000*l.* for services not yet voted - -	617,000	
Ditto (Ireland) including 50,000*l.* to be voted for civil contingencies - -	266,000	
		883,000
Irish permanent grants - - - -		400,000
Joint charge for Great Britain and Ireland -		38,703,000
Add separate charges for England.		
Toulonese ships - - -	265,000	
Deficiency of malt duty, 1802 -	115,000	
American awards - - -	412,000	
Exchequer bills, 1803 - -	1,500,000	
		2,292,000
Total supplies - -		40,995,000
Deduct on account of Ireland - -		4,711,652
Leaving, on account of Great Britain -		£36,283,348

Ways and Means.	£.
Malt duty - - - - -	750,000
Duty on pensions, offices, &c. - -	2,000,000
Surplus of Ways and Means, 1803 - -	1,370,000
War taxes - - - -	15,440,000
Surplus consolidated fund to 5th April, 1805 -	5,000,000
Lottery - - - -	250,000
Loan - - - -	10,000,000
Making in all - -	£36,510,000

These taxes were all adopted by parliament; the stamp duty occasioned the greatest portion of discussion, but the simplification of that complex system seemed to compensate for the increase in amount.

The measures taken for the augmentation of the military force occasioned an additional expence, which the minister had stated and provided for, in a motion for an increase of the sum allotted as the army estimates, comprising the following items: 27th April.

Recruiting

	Great Britain. £.	s.	d.	Ireland. £.	s.	d.
Recruiting and contingencies for Ireland - -				98,635	12	2
General and ſtaff officers for ditto				61,037	3	9
Full pay to ſupernumerary officers - -	32,530	0	7	934	6	5
Officers - -	158,214	7	0	8,844	14	3
Allowance to innkeepers, &c.	347,000	0	0	108,464	9	3
Half-pay and military allowances	150,000	0	0	44,801	0	11
Ditto, American forces -	50,000	0	0			
Ditto, Scotch brigade -	1,000	0	0			
Out-penſioners of Chelſea and Kilmainham Hoſpitals -	169,826	12	2	29,377	10	1
In-penſioners of ditto -	29,981	1	5	15,863	12	0
Widows' penſions -	21,801	11	5	6,000	0	0
Barrack department - -	2,183,930	9	0	461,887	6	10
Hoſpital expences - -				23,538	9	3
Volunteer Corps, further ſum for 1803 - -	500,000	0	0			
Ditto, for 1804 - -	570,000	0	0			
Foreign Corps (12,559) -	559,413	2	5	22,849	17	6
Royal Military College -	11,280	1	2			
Royal Military Aſylum -	32,600	0	0			
Garriſon Companies in the Weſt Indies and America (311)	8,884	19	2			
Augmentation of the forces	130,000	0	0	70,000	0	0

The reſult of this ſtatement was compriſed in the following particulars:

	£.
In Great Britain - - - -	1,400,000
In Ireland - - - -	600,000
Printing of Journals, Votes, Bills, Reports, &c. -	16,623
Printing 1750 copies 57 vols. of the Journals -	2,500
Reprinting of Journals, Indexes, &c. - -	10,000
Publiſhing Records - - -	1,767
Alien Offices - - - -	8,589
Proſecutions relating to Coin, 1803 - -	1,609
Ditto 1804 - -	1,700
Repairs of Military Roads in North Britain -	5,000
Works done at the two Houſes of Parliament, and at the houſe of the Speaker - - -	12,345
Public Record Office - - -	741
Repairs at the King's Bench Priſon - -	3,010
Lazaret at Chetney Hill - - -	30,000
Board of Agriculture - - -	3,000

	£.
Civil Eſtabliſhment of Upper Canada - -	8,050
Nova Scotia - -	7,165
New Brunſwick - -	4,650
Prince Edward's Iſland -	2,300
Cape Breton - -	2,040
Newfoundland - -	1,715
Bahama Iſlands - -	4,100
Bermuda Iſlands - -	580
Dominica - -	600
New South Wales - -	10,049

27th April. That the ſubject of finance may be at once diſpoſed of, it may here be mentioned, that Mr. Corry propoſed the loan for Ireland. As the permanent charges upon the Iriſh eſtabliſhment, he ſaid, had, for ſome years paſt, exceeded the appropriated funds, it had been thought proper to obtain by loan 1,250,000l. to be raiſed in Ireland, to make up the deficiency. This loan was to be funded in the 5 per cents.; the intereſt to be paid in Ireland, to commence from the 25th of March laſt, and diſcount to be allowed, according to the cuſtom of Great Britain, on anticipated payments, at the rate of 5 per cent. For every 100l. the ſubſcriber was to have 112l. 7s. 3d. in ſtock. The capital to be created amounted to no more than 1,404,000l. The intereſt on the 100l. money was at the rate of 5l. 12s. 4d. per annum. A ſinking fund was created of one per cent. to reduce the capital, which gave the whole charge of intereſt and ſinking fund of 84,271l. ſo that the contract was 89l. for 100l. ſtock.

20th June. At an advanced period of the ſeſſion, Mr. Foſter, Mr. Corry's ſucceſſor, brought in the budget for making good this loan, and traced the accumulation of public debt in Ireland. In 1793, he ſaid, the national debt of Ireland amounted to 2,400,000l.; in 1800, the year before the Union, it amounted to 25,000,000l.; laſt year to 43,000,000l. and 9,500,000l. had been added to it in the courſe of the preſent year, which made it nearly 53,000,000l. If England was to increaſe her debt in proportion to that ſum, according to the ſettled rates of duties in each country, the ſum of that increaſe would amount to 64,000,000l. But it was evident that England did not increaſe her debt this year to any ſuch amount. If the due proportion, therefore, was not kept up, and if Ireland continued to accumulate a much larger debt than ſhe ſhould do, according to the rate of debt accumulated in England, it was plain that the former country was going upon a ſyſtem wholly ruinous, and one which it required the whole energy of perſons connected with Ireland to put a ſtop to. Ireland was in as bad a ſtate, with regard to her revenues, as her debt. It was alſo an effect of the increaſe of the debt, that the ordinary revenues to pay the intereſt

intereſt of it were on the decline. In the year 1800, the amount of the ordinary revenue was 2,800,000l. when the debt was but 25,000,000l.; laſt year the revenue was 2,784,000l. 16,000l. leſs than the year before the Union, and the debt of Ireland was at preſent 53,000,000l. But aſſuming the net produce of the ordinary revenue at 2,800,000l. the amount of intereſt and charges to be defrayed thereout was 2,500,000l. ſo that ſcarcely 300,000l. would remain, to be applied to the joint charge of the Empire, the proportion of which, that had fallen upon Ireland in the preſent year, had amounted to 4,000,000l. But the proſpect was even worſe, for it appeared that the revenue had decreaſed ſince January in the proportion of from 2 to 300,000l.; and if it were to continue to diminiſh in the ſame ratio to the end of the year, there would remain nothing for the joint charge, and Ireland would be, in that reſpect, as a blank ſheet of paper. The firſt means of aſſiſting the revenue would depend on the exertions of the gentlemen of Ireland to prevent private diſtilleries; the effect of which would be to augment the revenue, ſo that, whoever might be the future Chancellor of the Exchequer, ſhould not be under a neceſſity of reſorting to a direct tax on their properties. The incidents, over and above ſalaries and penſions, in 1800, amounted to 106,000l., and the laſt year to 129,000l. The revenue had been collected in 1800 for 10l. per cent. laſt year, the expence of collection was 13l. per cent.; the abuſes in the collection, therefore, deſerved attention. Another point that called for ſerious conſideration was, the amount of the balances in the hands of the collectors. Here, on the immenſe revenue of England, there had been a balance only of 30,000l. in the hands of the collectors laſt year, whereas the balances in Ireland were nearly 600,000l. In 1803, they were 460,000l.; in 1804, 505,000l. and this in the hands of collectors now in office. What was in arrear from collectors retired or deceaſed, amounted to 120,000l., all to be ſued for by law, and of doubtful recovery. The balance in the hands of the ſtamp collectors was 80,000l.; the whole amount of the duties on ſtamps was only 182,000l. though the Stamp Office was in Dublin, and the money was paid there. The balance in the hands of the Poſtmaſters-General was, in 1803, 16,000l.; this year, 22,900l.; though the whole Poſt Office revenue was only 25,000l. The taxes he meant to recommend were, firſt an additional duty on wine. The duty on French wines he propoſed to raiſe per tun to 97l.; on Port 65l. on Maderia 70l. on Rheniſh 60l. all others 60l.; being an addition of 22l. on French wine, 20l. on Port, 16l. 7s. on Madeira, 22l. 9s. 4d. on Rheniſh, and of 24l. per tun on all other wines; this, on the average of ſeven years, would produce 109,000l. The next object was malt, the duty on which he propoſed to raiſe from 7s. 7d. per barrel to 9s. being a riſe of 1s. 5d. which would produce 63,750l. He propoſed to double the exiſting duties on tea, which would make the whole on black teas 51l. per cent. and on the finer ſorts 84l. 14s. and would produce 180,000l. The

duty on tobacco was to be further raiſed from 1s. 1½d. per lb. to 1s. 5d. which, on an average of three years, would produce 112,000l. The duty on home-made ſpirits, now 3s. 9½d. per gallon, was to be raiſed to 4s. which would yield 41,000l. The duty on raw and refined ſugar was to be equaliſed, as in this country, the effect of which would be to yield an additional revenue on the former of 35,000l. on the latter 3,300l. All affidavits ſworn before magiſtrates were ſubject to a ſtamp duty, except thoſe relating to grand jury preſentments for roads, and for charities; he ſaw no reaſon for the exception, and therefore propoſed they ſhould alſo be ſubject to the ſtamp duty. Permits alſo for exciſeable goods were to bear a ſtamp, to vary between 2d. and 1s. in proportion to the value of the article. The duty of 6l. per cent. on retail imports was to be revived, which would yield 8,000l. The next and laſt duty he had to propoſe, would not only aſſiſt the revenue, but have other beneficial effects, in familiariſing the Iriſh people to the Engliſh currency, preparatory to ſome meaſure for aſſimilating the currency of both countries. The duty was to ariſe from making the whole of the revenues of Ireland payable in Engliſh currency, which would yield 290,000l. making, with the whole of the other additional duties, 853,000. He had ſome propoſitions to ſubmit at a future opportunity to the houſe, for the regulation of the exciſe in Ireland, which would produce 400,000l. The whole then, to be added to the revenue by actual duty and regulation, would amount to 1,253,000l. Theſe propoſitions were, after ſome debate, agreed to by the houſe.

A propoſed augmentation of the Iriſh militia, a proviſion for the families of ſubalterns and privates, and an offer made by ſome regiments to ſerve in Great Britain during the war, which was recommended to parliament by a meſſage from his Majeſty, were provided for in ſeveral bills, which were debated with great eagerneſs, and occaſioned ſeveral diviſions, but finally paſſed, before the diſſolution of Mr. Addington's adminiſtration.

CHAP. IX.

View of the State of Parties on the Removal of Mr. Addington from power; general expectation of a Coalition between Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox; Examination of the reaſonableneſs of this expectation; great diſappointment on the intelligence that Mr. Pitt alone had received his Majeſty's commands to form an Adminiſtration; rumours concerning the cauſe of this Event; Mr. Pitt courts the union of Lord Grenville and his Friends with him; but is refuſed; Lord Grenville's Letter; Embarraſſment of Mr. Pitt; he forms a Cabinet by retaining a Majority of the late Miniſtry; new Miniſtry; Obſervations; Situation of Mr. Addington on his Retreat; Situation of Mr. Pitt; its Difficulties; firſt Attack on him in Parliament on the Subject of National Defence; he brings forward the Additional Force Act;

Act; the Outline diſcloſed in his Speech; oppoſed by Mr. Windham; Diſcuſſions and Diviſions during the Progreſs of the Bill; the Diviſions not flattering to Miniſters; they are unexpectedly in a Minority; but recover a Majority in the courſe of the evening; Obſervations in Parliament on the State of Parties; by Mr. Sheridan; Anſwer of Mr. Pitt; Speech of Mr. Windham on the third reading; the Bill paſſes the lower Houſe; and the upper Houſe, after ſome oppoſition; ſimilar Bills paſs for Scotland and Ireland; a Bill paſſes for the Employment of Foreign Troops; Motion by Mr. Whitbread on a Letter written by the Lord Advocate of Scotland reſpecting the conduct of one Mr. Moriſon, in relation to a Volunteer; Anſwer of the Lord Advocate; Mr. Whitbread's Motion rejected; other Meaſures for Defence of the Country; the Board of Ordnance empowered to purchaſe Lands; additional Eſtimate for the Navy; Vote of Credit.

WHEN it became certain that the miniſters intended to retire before the united parties in oppoſition, many entertained an expectation that the country would derive from the event the benefit of a new ſtate of politics; that the two great leaders who had for ſo many years divided public opinion, and whoſe rival pretenſions had kept men of the greateſt rank and ability in perpetual conflict, would, in the preſent great emergency, combine their mighty talents and energies for the welfare of the ſtate, and by acting in union, prevent or cruſh in their birth all attempts which might be made by minor pretenders in the art of popular oppoſition, to diſtract the public mind from the great objects of national concern. That ſuch a coalition or co-operation would have been ſolidly beneficial, or even long practicable, it is very reaſonable to doubt, but the experiment was ſo promiſing, and had been ſo ſtrenuouſly recommended by the adherents both of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox, that a large portion of the public ſeemed to entertain great hopes from it, and to view its approach with a confidence which precluded the operations of common juſtice in conſidering the merits of the adminiſtration about to be removed. It is true, that neither Mr. Pitt nor Mr. Fox had diſtinctly ſtated in parliament, or in any other manner, that they had formed or ſanctioned any ſyſtem of co-operation; but when the animoſity which had prevailed between them in debate for more than twenty years was contraſted with the mildneſs and forbearance with which differences of opinion had been expreſſed during the preſent ſeſſion; when the public witneſſed the care with which each party avoided dilating on thoſe topics which were calculated to call forth violent declarations from the other; when they ſaw Mr. Pitt vindicating the propriety of motions made by Mr. Fox, and Mr. Fox ſupporting amendments moved by Mr. Pitt, and both influencing, acting, ſpeaking, and dividing together, it was not too much to preſume that their union was intended to be of longer duration than the mere day of oppoſition. If Mr. Fox's principles were not ſo alarming as to prevent Lord Grenville and Mr. Windham from avowing an indiſſoluble connexion with him, and if, after that, Mr. Pitt

Pitt and all his adherents continued to treat Lord Grenville and Mr. Windham not only as exalted characters in the ſtate, but as their beſt and warmeſt friends, and if Mr. Pitt withdrew his ſupport from government to join the oppoſition conducted by theſe two parties, it was natural to conclude that thoſe friends and adherents of his who had united with Mr. Fox had found means to render their conduct a precedent for his; that he had with them conſigned to oblivion much of the paſt, and with them viewed the future through the medium of hope. No one could believe that Lord Grenville, Mr. Windham, and their party, joined Mr. Fox with the view of excluding Mr. Pitt from government, and ſtill leſs could it be ſuppoſed that the old adherents of Mr. Fox toiled to remove Mr. Addington, of whoſe meaſures they had in part approved, to replace Mr. Pitt, whom they had never, until the preſent occaſion, in any degree ſupported. A co-operation in oppoſition between theſe two leaders muſt evidently be underſtood by a great majority of mankind to imply an intended junction in adminiſtration, if their oppoſition ſhould ſucceed; they knew that ſuch a conſtruction was put on their conduct; their partizans, in print, avowed it, and all parties in parliament, except the two leaders, ſpoke of it without diſguiſe, and attacked or defended it, as ſuited their feelings or their party views; and, by continuing to act together, without diſclaiming the imputed alliance, they ſo far ſanctioned it as to expoſe either of them to conſiderable cenſure, who ſhould diſappoint the expectations, and fruſtrate the hopes ſo anxiouſly formed and ſo confidently expreſſed.

Under theſe circumſtances, it was far from a moment of triumph in parliament, when Mr. Roſe announced that Mr. Pitt, alone, had received his Majeſty's commands to lay before him the plan of a new government. The ſenſation occaſioned by the event was, a few days afterward, thus expreſſed by the Marquis of Stafford in the Houſe of Lords. "I am informed," he ſaid, "a new adminiſtration is about to be formed; an adminiſtration, I am afraid, not formed upon that broad and extenſive baſis which will include all the talent and ability of the country; but, it will include a right hon. member of another houſe, a right hon. friend of mine, in whoſe talents and abilities I place the higheſt confidence, and whoſe great merits are well known to your Lordſhips. He has of late directed his attention, in a particular manner, to the defence of this country, againſt the gigantic efforts of the enemy. He, my Lords, may be truly called "a giant refreſhed." 11th May.

The general expectation from the late debates was, at leaſt, that the whole cabinet would be diſplaced, and unleſs that were in his power, that Mr. Pitt would never accept office; but it was ſoon known that even this was not to be expected. To account for events which occaſioned a great and general ſurpriſe, it was ſtated by the friends of Mr. Pitt, and in no ſlight or moderate terms commented on by his opponents, that when the late miniſtry formed their reſolution to reſign, Lord Eldon, by command of his Majeſty, waited on Mr. Pitt, and made him a tender of

of the high ſituation he had ſo long held, but on condition that he ſhould not urge the diſcuſſion of the Catholic queſtion; and it was alſo ſaid, that a determination was expreſſed not to admit Mr. Fox into the cabinet. After ſeveral diſcuſſions on theſe points with the Lord Chancellor, Mr. Pitt, it is ſaid, had an interview with the King, who left to him the formation of a miniſtry, ſubject only to theſe reſtrictions, and without any objection to Lord Grenville, Mr. Windham, or any of thoſe who formed the party called the new oppoſition. Thus empowered, Mr. Pitt loſt no time in ſeeking a communication with Lord Grenville and his friends, not doubting that they would readily accept office on the ſame terms that he had deemed ſatisfactory; but here he met, perhaps for the firſt time in his life, a ſerious and mortifying repulſe. A letter was publiſhed, and never diſavowed, as having been written to him by Lord Grenville on the occaſion, in which his Lordſhip, without circumlocution, informed him that all the perſons with whom he had communicated on the ſubject, agreed with him in the decided opinion, that he ought not to engage in the adminiſtration which Mr. Pitt was employed in forming. His Lordſhip declared, that this determination did not proceed from any deſire to withhold his ſervices, and thoſe of his friends, nor from any fear of reſponſibility in the offices they might undertake, but from their ſtrong ſenſe of the impropriety of their becoming parties to a ſyſtem of government which was to be formed, at ſuch a moment as the preſent, on a principle of excluſion. "It is unneceſſary," his Lordſhip proceeded, "to dwell on the miſchiefs which have already reſulted from placing the great offices of government in weak and incapable hands. We ſee no hope of any effectual remedy for theſe miſchiefs, but by uniting in the public ſervice as large a portion as poſſible of the weight, talents, and character, to be found in public men of all deſcriptions, and without any exceptions. An opportunity now offers," he added, "ſuch as this country has ſeldom ſeen, for giving to its government, in a moment of peculiar difficulty, the full benefit of the ſervices of all thoſe who, by the public voice and ſentiment, are judged moſt capable of contributing to its proſperity and ſafety. The wiſhes of the public on this ſubject are completely in union with its intereſts; and the advantages which, not this country alone, but all Europe, and the whole civilized world, might derive from the eſtabliſhment of ſuch an adminiſtration, at ſuch a criſis, would probably have exceeded the moſt ſanguine expectations."

Whether the public wiſhes, or the political advantages to be expected from ſuch a comprehenſive union as the writer meditated, are rightly deſcribed or not, is not here to be diſcuſſed. The peremptory refuſal conveyed in the letter muſt have been extremely embarraſſing to Mr. Pitt. He foreſaw an oppoſition to whatever adminiſtration he ſhould now form, more difficult to encounter than any he had yet been doomed to contend with. He could not treat this united oppoſition as he had that which had acted in hoſtility to his former adminiſtration, as deficient

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in patriotiſm, and actuated by views hoſtile to the real intereſts of the country; the co-operation of Lord Spenſer, Lord Grenville, Mr. Windham, and their principal friends, as well as Mr. Pitt's own temporary junction with Mr. Fox, would deprive him of that reſource; nor could he diſplay towards this oppoſition the lofty diſdain he had ſhewn toward the laſt adminiſtration, and ſtigmatize their imbecility and want of vigour, for he had acted with, and courted the ſupport of a great portion of their body. Yet it was neceſſary to create a new government, and excluſive of the late adminiſtration and the united oppoſition, Mr. Pitt found that he had not perſonal friends ſufficient to form a cabinet.

In this emergency, he was obliged to court the aſſiſtance of thoſe whom he had of late been in the habit of reviling, and, in making up a cabinet of eleven perſons, to aſſign ſix of the ſeats to members of the late adminiſtration. The Duke of Portland continued Lord Preſident, Lord Eldon Chancellor, the Earl of Weſtmorland Lord Privy Seal, the Earl of Chatham Maſter of the Ordnance, and Lord Caſtlereagh Preſident of the Board of Controul for India Affairs. Lord Hawkeſbury continued in the cabinet, although he changed his office of Secretary of State from the Foreign to the Home Department. Mr. Pitt was firſt Lord of the Treaſury and Chancellor of the Exchequer, Lord Melville firſt Lord of the Admiralty, Lord Harrowby Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Earl Camden for War and Colonies, and Lord Mulgrave Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaſter, with a ſeat in the cabinet. The perſons diſplaced were Mr. Addington, Earl St. Vincent, Lord Hobart, and Mr. Yorke.

In the departments of office which do not give ſeats in the cabinet, the following changes were effected. Mr. William Dundas was appointed Secretary at War inſtead of Mr. Bragge; Mr. Canning (who, it was ſaid, for ſome time, had reſolved to attach himſelf to the party of Lord Grenville), received the place of Treaſurer of the Navy, vacated by Mr, Tierney; Mr. Roſe and Lord Charles Somerſet were made Joint Paymaſters of the Forces, inſtead of Mr. Steele and Mr. Hiley Addington; Lord Charles Spencer retained his ſituation as one of the Poſtmaſters General, but the other part of the appointment was taken from Lord Auckland, and conferred on the Duke of Montroſe; Mr. Huſkiſſon and Mr. Sturges Bourne were made Secretaries of Treaſury, inſtead of Mr. Vanſittart and Mr. Sargent; the Attorney and Solicitor General remained in their places, and in the government of Ireland no change was effected.

It is impoſſible to contemplate the miniſtry, thus formed, and preſſed into office by the means already related, without regretting the influence which prevailed with Mr. Pitt about a twelvemonth before, when he was induced to refuſe to place himſelf, without a ſtruggle, and without the ſuſpicion of an inconſiſtent or diſgraceful aſſociation, at the head of a cabinet which he might have formed of all the materials which compoſed this, and in which no individual would have had to regret the ties of friendſhip

friendſhip looſened, or to complain of an inſult or unkindneſs endured; while no member of oppoſition would have had to boaſt that he had ſpurned power, offered by the hand of Mr. Pitt. Any predilections which might be entertained for the new adminiſtration, were conſiderably damped by the evident ſtrength of the certain oppoſition with which it was to be encountered, and by the probability that Mr. Addington and his party would aſſiſt againſt Mr. Pitt, as he had againſt them. The ex-miniſter, however, had diſcloſed no ſuch intention, nor did the perſons who knew him believe that he entertained it. His poſition was, in fact, moſt enviable. The parties by whom he had been removed, far from glorying could hardly rejoice in their ſucceſs. The oppoſition certainly had no reaſon to do either, and the new members of the cabinet, by co-operating with ſo many of his coadjutors pronounced a deciſive judgment on the correctneſs of his principles, and the purity of his conduct. Mr. Addington retired from office ſeeking no indemnity, and making no apology for any act of his government; no man was ſo hardy as to ſay that he meditated an accuſation, or that he forbore to make one out of lenity; the people, who never had a complaint againſt his rule, could not cordially rejoice at his removal, and his Sovereign atteſted his opinion of his virtues, by unequivocal expreſſions of approbation, regard, and confidence; and, in teſtimony of thoſe ſentiments, preſented him with a portion of land and a houſe in Richmond Park.

May 18. A few days neceſſarily elapſed after the change of the miniſtry, before Mr. Pitt could be re-elected, and for ſome days after he had reſumed his ſeat, none but ordinary buſineſs was tranſacted. Party ſeemed to be ſuſpended, and the planning and arrangement of ſuch a ſyſtem as the altered poſition of affairs required, appeared to occupy the attention of members in both houſes. Public opinion, however, was not at reſt, and the preſs was buſily employed both in reprobation and in vindication of the new ſtate of things, and while ſeveral writers who had always before been attached to Mr. Pitt, became his violent opponents, there were not, in his ſituation, ſufficient topics of exultation, to animate any vigorous writer in his cauſe. His conqueſt was of power, which at any time he might have had without a ſtruggle; his triumph was over the friends and adherents, who had, on no occaſion, thwarted or deſerted him; he had miſſed his aim of eſtabliſhing ſuch an adminiſtration as he wiſhed to preſide in; and he had the mortification now to rank among his political adverſaries thoſe men, without whom he had declared his reſolution not to accept office. That the oppoſition would be formidable, both from number, character, and talent, he had no room to doubt, yet he had no reaſon for alarm, nor was he, perhaps, capable of feeling it. He knew the mighty reſources of his own mind, relied with confidence on his own readineſs to repel all attacks in parliament, and on his own popularity in the country; and, although he could not be blind to the difficulties with which his ſituation was beſet, he prepared to meet them with firmneſs, truſting that he ſhould diſperſe,

perſe, or ſurmount them by perſeverance.

31ſt. He was not long permitted to remain in doubt as to the ſubject or the mode of intended attack. A motion on the defence of the country having been propoſed by Mr. Pitt, and for ſome time poſtponed, Mr. Ker ſaid, he could not refrain from making ſome obſervations. Above a month ago, the right honourable gentleman told the houſe, that not one moment ſhould be loſt in bringing it forward, and yet it ſeemed it was ſtill unprepared, nor was the houſe aſſured when it would be ready. The late adminiſtration, which he rejoiced in the recollection of having ſupported, were often charged with tardineſs and heſitation, and particularly by that right honourable gentleman, who, in this inſtance, was guilty of the faults which he had imputed to his predeceſſors—delay, indeciſion, and want of energy and promptitude.

5th June. On the day he had fixed, Mr. Pitt moved for leave to bring in the bill he had framed for augmenting the military ſtrength of the country, and which was afterward known by the name of the additional force act. In a ſpeech of great length and ability, he unfolded his plan, which was to maintain a permanent additional force. He felt peculiar ſatisfaction in being enabled to ſtate, that the principle of the meaſure ſeemed to be pretty unanimouſly agreed on. Not only thoſe gentlemen who had hitherto appeared to have turned their attention moſt to the military defence of the country, but gentlemen on every ſide of the houſe, had expreſſed very plainly, that it was their clear and decided opinion, that it was now important and neceſſary to deviſe thoſe means which might be moſt effectual for increaſing, not only our internal ſtrength and ſecurity, but alſo for conſiderably augmenting our regular army. The objects of his plan were three; 1ſt, To do away thoſe obſtacles which impeded the recruiting for the regular army, and which, in a great meaſure, owed their birth to that competition which prevailed among thoſe who recruited for that ſervice, and thoſe who recruited for a more limited deſcription of ſervice, from which competition the bounties were ſo high. In the ſecond place, he propoſed to create a new additional force, that might be a permanent foundation for a regular increaſe of the army. And the third object was, to adopt a mode for creating a force which, whilſt it would produce the deſired effect of furniſhing recruits for the regular army, would alſo ſo far partake of the benefits of a regular army, as to render our troops of the line a more diſpoſeable force for military ſervices out of the kingdom, which they could not be, whilſt chained down, as at preſent, for our home defence. What he had further to ſuggeſt might be comprehended under three heads: Firſt, as to the amount of the force to be raiſed; ſecondly, the deſcription of that force, including its limitation of ſervice; and thirdly, the mode by which it was propoſed to be raiſed and maintained. With reſpect to the amount of the force, his object was only to propoſe ſome new regulations, with the view of rendering more productive thoſe which the legiſlature had already made. His firſt propoſal was, that,

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in addition to all the force already raiſed by the act of reſerve, meaſures ſhould be taken to enforce the completion, and make good the deficiencies in the amount of the quota enjoined to be raiſed under that act. The amount of this deficiency might probably be between 8 and 9,000 men. His next propoſition was founded on a deſire of reducing the militia to its ancient eſtabliſhment of 40,000 men for England, and 8,000 for Scotland, excluſively of the ſupplementary militia; not that he meant to propoſe any immediate reduction, but only to interfere ſo far as that force was not complete. What remained due, ſhould be raiſed forthwith, and carried to the additional force now propoſed to be created. There were about 7000 men wanting to complete the eſtabliſhment of the militia of England to the number of 60,000. He propoſed that this deficiency ſhould be raiſed and transferred to the army of reſerve. He alſo propoſed, with regard to the vacancies in the militia, that inſtead of their being ſupplied, no means ſhould be taken to fill up theſe deficiencies till the ſcale ſhould be reduced to the number of 40,000. So far, then, his plan went to the extent of 9,000 men remaining to be raiſed for the army of reſerve, and 7000 for the militia. Suppoſing then, that the militia and the army of reſerve would be completed in their numbers by this bill, he wiſhed to render the force now to be raiſed available, ſo as to ſet the regular army at liberty, and to render it a diſpoſeable force, and fit to act in a manner ſuitable to the ſtation which this country ought to maintain amongſt the powers of Europe. He would, therefore, propoſe, that in proportion as any of this force ſhould inliſt into the regular army, whatever might be the number of vacancies thus occaſioned, they ſhould be diſtributed, in order to their being filled up amongſt the ſeveral counties; and by the ſame quotas which were already fixed, according to the population of the reſpective counties; but with this proviſo, that the number thus to be raiſed ſhould, in no caſe, exceed one-ſixth part of the force ſo to be created. This, he calculated, would produce a ſupply of recruits for the regular army of not leſs than 12,000 men.

After making ſome calculations on this ſubject, he came to the other point he had referred to in recommendation of this plan, that of its removing the exiſting obſtacles to the regular mode of recruiting. Theſe obſtacles aroſe from the competition between the ſeveral ſpecies of force, and from the high bounties given to raiſe men for the army of reſerve. To prevent theſe effects, he wiſhed to propoſe a mode of ballot leſs burthenſome than that actually in force, by impoſing a moderate fine, and excluding thoſe on whom the ballot ſhould fall from every temptation to offer extraordinary bounties. But the perſon balloted ſhould either ſerve or fine. If he declined to ſerve, the ballot ſhould go on; but if no ſuch perſon willing to ſerve, nor ſubſtitute, could be found by the individual, then the pariſh ſhould be bound to provide, but guarding, at the ſame time, that no higher bounty ſhould be offered than that which was already fixed by law. He propoſed that the call to be made on each county for the ſupply of this force, ſhould be in pro-

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portion to its population, and according to the regulations already framed in the acts for raiſing the militia and the army of reſerve; and that the deputy-lieutenants ſhould arrange the numbers to be raiſed in each diviſion. But were individuals unwilling to ſerve perſonally, then the pariſhes ſhould be obliged to raiſe the ſpecified number. The means of recruiting were to be referred to the pariſh-officers, to thoſe who might be ſuppoſed to have acquaintance, and a degree of influence in their reſpective pariſhes; and in the event of individuals being fined, ſuch pariſh ſhould incur no pecuniary burthen whatever, and he wiſhed this fine not to be conſidered in the nature of a tax, as it was called for only as the price of ſervice. Therefore, if perſons, in their reſpective pariſhes, could be induced, throughout every part of the kingdom, to influence their neighbours to come forward, it ought to lie with the State to find the means of paying the men thus to be brought forward, and the receiver-general of the land-tax ſhould be empowered to advance the money. This plan, Mr. Pitt obſerved, afforded a conſiderable proſpect of increaſing the army, and at the ſame time of diminiſhing the hardſhips which the country had already ſuffered from the preſent method of recruiting. At all events, the trial ought, at leaſt, to be made, becauſe it could be done without hazard to any other ſyſtem on which the country muſt excluſively rely, if this plan were not adopted. With his uſual eloquence and ability, he detailed and deſcanted on the advantages to be expected from this plan, unfolded the details of its execution, and anticipated ſome of the objections which might be made. He concluded a long and brilliant ſpeech by moving for leave to bring in the bill.

Mr. Windham oppoſed the motion, with no leſs vivacity than he had ſhewn in attacking the plans of the late miniſter, to which, however, he allowed that it was ſuperior. He agreed in the propriety of reducing the number of the militia, and in rejecting the principle of ſubſtitution. He was alſo happy to underſtand from his right honourable friend, at the cloſe of his ſpeech, that it was his intention to bring forward a motion for a change in the condition of ſervice in our regular army, by which he conceived him to mean, that men ſhould be inliſted for a certain term of years, in lieu of the preſent cuſtom. With this obſervation Mr. Windham's approbation ended; he complained that, in the whole of the propoſed proceeding for raiſing men, there was introduced an injudicious mixture of the voluntary and the compulſory, of which the latter appeared to be much too ſtrong; it was ſtrong to a degree not warranted by the immediate exigency of the times, nor conſiſtent with the free ſpirit of the Britiſh conſtitution. "In the preſent inſtance," he obſerved, "it happens that both the compulſory part, as there is all reaſon to think, is unneceſſary, the voluntary being ſufficient without it; and that the voluntary will not be able to do its work, if the other is perſiſted in." He had alſo the ſtrongeſt objections to this new-fangled ſcheme of dividing our public force into two parts; of crippling that part which was diſpoſeable, and

and increaſing that which was not, in the ill-grounded hope of providing, through the latter, an augmentation for the former. This was the modern, indirect, circuitous, and fallacious mode of recruiting the army. "It appears now," he proceeded, "that the propriety of abandoning the balloting ſyſtem is admitted, and, in lieu of a ballot, my honourable friend propoſes to raiſe men in another way; he means to commit the recruiting to pariſh officers. I will not ſay that this is not an improvement, compared to the mode purſued of late, which, beſides being ſo grievouſly oppreſſive to individuals, interfered ſo materially with the ſupply of the regular army by high bounties, &c.; but yet I would not be underſtood to believe that the plan before the houſe will not operate conſiderably in the ſame way. For, although the amount of bounty to be paid by the pariſh-officers is limited in form, we can have no ſecurity that that bounty will not be generally exceeded. Some pariſhes may, from pride, even exceed the fine in the allowance of bounty, rather than not bring forward their quota. A great deal has been ſaid now, and upon former occaſions, about the hopes to be formed from individual exertion; but this appears to me to be altogether imaginary. Nothing can be conceived more helpleſs than an unfortunate countryman, who, in the midſt of his day's work, or at his return home tired in the evening, is told that a ballot has taken place, and that he is one of the unlucky number upon whom the lot has fallen. If he does not happen to be inſured, by being a member of an aſſociation-club, he is as much ſtruck down by the news, as he would by a ſtroke of the apoplexy. His firſt reſource is, probably, to vent his complaints among his neighbours: but finding that this is but of little avail, and being told by ſome one of a ſubſtitute that has been heard of in a pariſh not far diſtant, he ſets out on his miſſion, roaming about, like David Simple, looking for a true friend. In this way he wanders on, from houſe to houſe, and from village to village, ſpending his money, loſing his time, tiring his horſe (or his neighbour's horſe, as the caſe may be), filling the alehouſes with his complaints, but helping to empty them of their beer, till good fortune or good advice directs him to one of thoſe obnoxious, but, in theſe caſes, neceſſary perſonages, called a crimp. There, at laſt, his labour ends; and, by the help of ſome forty or fifty guineas, he is able to procure a recruit for the ſervice, and an exemption for himſelf; at leaſt, until the recruit ſhall happen to run away. The ſame thing, with circumſtances in a like degree a little varying, muſt happen in the caſe of the pariſh-officers. What means upon earth have the pariſh-officers to get men, but thoſe which they ought not to have? This meaſure, therefore, which, among its other profeſſions, profeſſes to aboliſh crimping, will go, if I am not miſtaken, to extend and eſtabliſh that ſyſtem." Mr. Windham purſued his argument to a great length, ſometimes inveſtigating the plan ſeriouſly, and at others illuſtrating his notions by humourous and happy alluſions. Much of his objection applied to the raiſing of men for one ſervice, and ſuppoſing that would diſpoſe

them to enter into another. "A notion ſeems to prevail," he ſaid, "that a ſoldier is a thing that cannot be produced by one continued act. That there muſt be a ſecond operation. We create this army of men for limited ſervice, as a kind of falſe ſtomach, in which the aliment is to be lodged for a time, till it can be removed to its proper receptacle, and there finally elaborated for the uſe and ſuſtenance of the ſtate. Of the whole of this plan the houſe has heard enough before. Experiments have already been made on many parts of it, and certainly not with ſuch ſucceſs as to encourage a perſeverance in the ſyſtem. But nothing will deter us. There is a perfect paſſion for legiſlating upon this ſubject, and for effecting every thing by the moſt complicated and circuitous means. My honourable friend ſeems to be actuated by the ſame ſort of feeling as that of the lover in the Apprentice, who, when he is to eſcape with his miſtreſs, will not ſuffer her to go out by the ſtreet door, though he is told it is open, but inſiſts upon her deſcending from the window, by the means of his ladder of ropes. It is in vain that the maid proteſts that the door is open, and that her miſtreſs has nothing to do but walk down the great ſtairs. Oh no! ſays he, but what then becomes of my rope-ladder? Such is, in truth, the language of the preſent moment. In all this multiplication of plans, I repeat, that very little is to be found congenial with the true military ſyſtem of the country. Every thing that has yet been brought forward on the ſubject has proved to be extravagant, and calculated to produce the oppoſite of good towards the ſubſtantial defence of the country; and of the ſame nature, I am perſuaded, will the plan be which the houſe has juſt heard."

The introduction of the bill was not directly oppoſed, but ſeveral members gave opinions againſt the outline ſketched by Mr. Pitt. Among theſe were Mr. Addington, Sir William Geary, and Mr. Fox; it was defended by Lord Caſtlereagh; and Mr. Pitt, in his reply, happily contraſted the ſentiments expreſſed by ſome of the ſpeakers.

In all its ſubſequent ſtages, the bill was warmly and ably debated. On the motion for a ſecond reading, the diſcuſſion continued till three o'clock in the morning, and many members expreſſed themſelves very ſtrongly on the late changes in the cabinet. The houſe divided on the queſtion, and the miniſter found, that in a large attendance of members, he poſſeſſed a majority of no more than 40, the numbers being, for the ſecond reading 221, againſt it 181. 8th.

On the motion for the Speaker to leave the chair, that the houſe might go into a committee on the bill, another long and animated debate took place, in the courſe of which Colonel Craufurd, at great length, ſtated his reaſons for diſapproving the bill, which he cenſured both as to its military proviſions and its political effects. 11th.

Some amendments having been made in the committee, they were, according to parliamentary uſage, reported to the houſe, and a motion that they ſhould be read a ſecond time being made, a diviſion was ſuddenly called for, and the queſtion of a ſecond reading was 14th. 15th.

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loſt by a majority of ſix, the numbers being 69 againſt 63. In this embarraſſing circumſtance, a new diſcuſſion was ſtarted; Mr. Roſe affirmed, that Mr. Fox, and at leaſt ſix of his friends, had entered the houſe after the queſtion had been put from the chair, and thus gained a majority by ſurprize. Mr. Fox anſwered that he was unconſcious of, and far from being a party to, any unfair advantage being taken; but he candidly owned that he had been ſometime out of the houſe; and, in the confuſion the houſe was in, when the queſtion was called for, by the number of members, who, on ſuch occaſions, uſually were called away from the refreſhments they might be taking, he could not take upon him to ſay poſitively, whether he was, or was not in the houſe at the moment it was put from the chair. A converſation enſued, during which, according to the cuſtom of parliament in ſuch caſes, the members delivered their opinions ſitting and with their hats on, and the Speaker terminated this part of the diſcuſſion by deciding, that every member who came in before a diviſion, had a right to vote.

Mr. Grey then moved that the ſecond reading of the amendments ſhould be poſtponed for ſix months, when, after a debate, in which great irritability was diſplayed, and frequent interruptions, calls to order, and explanations took place, an amendment for reading them at the next ſitting of the houſe was carried by a majority of 29 only, the numbers being 214, to 185. This ſtruggle was not of great importance in itſelf, but it was calculated to animate oppoſition, by obliging the miniſters to make great efforts to collect even this ſmall majority; the debate having for that purpoſe, been protracted by his own friends, who ſpoke one after another, when no member of the oppoſing party delivered an opinion, to give time for the arrival of their partizans.

When the queſtion for ingroſſing the bill was put, the debate was renewed with increaſed vehemence. Mr. Elliott, General Maitland, Serjeant Beſt, Earl Temple, Mr. Bragge Bathurſt, Lord Henry Petty, and Mr. Addington, delivered their opinions at great length. 18th.

Mr. Sheridan, beſides the obſervations called for by the bill, made ſome remarks on the ſtate of parties, and on the relative poſitions of the miniſtry and their opponents. In ſo doing, he profeſſed to follow Mr. Canning, who, he ſaid, had not confined himſelf to the bill under conſideration, but had thought proper to introduce matter not ſtrictly relevant, but yet of infinitely more importance than the bill itſelf; namely, an alluſion to the degree of confidence to which the preſent adminiſtration was entitled. "My right honourable friend," he proceeded, "ſtated, that he was not diſpoſed to adulation toward Mr. Pitt, and for whom, no doubt, he entertains the moſt ſincere reſpect and regard. I hope he will do me the juſtice to think, that I am equally incapable of adulation toward my honourable friend Mr. Fox. I certainly am no flatterer, although in point of attachment to my honourable friend, I will not yield to that which my right honourable friend on the oppoſite ſide can, or does profeſs to feel for his right honourable friend beſide him; with this difference,

however, on my part, that my attachment is of a much longer ſtanding; that it is the firſt, the ſtrongeſt, and the only political attachment of my life. But my right honourable friend diſclaims adulation, and, indeed, he ſeems to me to have had no occaſion to do ſo, for he certainly did not at all deal in it; on the contrary, he has taken occaſion to pronounce upon the conduct of his right honourable friend one of the bittereſt ſatires that could well be imagined. My right honourable friend expreſſes his ſurprize, that we, who oppoſe this bill, can contrive to co-operate, and that we can avoid quarrelling when we get together in the lobby; but is it not equally, if not more, a matter of ſurprize, that he can avoid quarrelling with ſome of his friends near him, to whom he has been ſo very lately in decided oppoſition, and particularly with the noble Lord (Caſtlereagh), who appears now to have determined which of the two "ſtrings he ſhould put to his bow." If my right honourable friend will look at thoſe about him, he will find that the compliments and the cenſure which he meant for the right honourable gentleman on the lower bench (Mr. Addington), were applicable alſo to ſome of his preſent connections. Whatever praiſe or condemnation applies to the one, applies equally to the other, with this difference, that the compliment called forth by the retirement of the one from office, when the voice of parliament and the country called for it, is not deſerved by the other, who ſtill remains in power. Some part of the adminiſtration of that right honourable gentleman I moſt cordially approved, and his intentions in every inſtance I reſpected, becauſe I firmly believed them to be pure and honourable. I thought I ſaw in many prominent features of his adminiſtration, a regard for the rights and feelings of the community, and an attachment to the conſtitution of the country; and it gave me great pain to find, that in my ſupport of that right honourable gentleman, I was compelled on ſeveral occaſions to differ from my deareſt friends. But I now ſay of that right honourable gentleman's miniſterial career, that his entering into office was a ſacrifice; his going out a triumph. But did my right honourable friend, I would aſk him, mean it as a compliment to the right honourable gentleman that immediately upon his retirement from office, he ſtarted into an open, manly, and ſyſtematic oppoſition, or did he mean it as an indiſcreet ſarcaſm upon the conduct of his right honourable friend? When the right honourable gentleman went out of office, he gave no inſidious promiſes of ſupport. He did not take his ſeat immediately behind his ſucceſſor, profeſſing and pretending to protect him, by all the aids of his talents and his influence, and deſert him when his aid was moſt wanted. He did not, when direct accuſations, and threatened impeachments, and every other mode of determined oppoſition was employed againſt him, he did not come down to the houſe, and offer him the ſhabby ſhelter of the previous queſtion, which to have agreed to, would have conferred eternal diſgrace on thoſe who compoſed the leading part of the late adminiſtration. No, ſays my right honourable friend,

friend, that was not his conduct. He went at once into a fair, a manly, and open oppoſition. Why then, ſir, what muſt we think of thoſe who having experienced all this, have nevertheleſs become the ſupporters of the preſent arrangement, as it is called; who have not adopted this "fair, manly, open" ſyſtem of oppoſition, which he affects to compliment; but have acted in a way directly contrary to what he has affected to panegyrize? Nothing, he ſays, in the right honourable gentleman's miniſterial capacity, was ſo becoming of him, as his leaving his ſituation. When that right honourable gentleman found himſelf oppoſed by ſo formidable a minority in this houſe, he retired from the helm, for which he has my right honourable friend's unqualified eulogium. Why then, Sir, I am to expect, if he deſerves ſuch approbation for that conduct, in having taken the broad hint that was given him, that my right honourable friend will loſe no time in adviſing the right honourable gentleman oppoſite, (Mr. Pitt) to purſue a ſimilar line of conduct, and entitle himſelf equally to his high approbation. But what will he ſay of the ſix members of the laſt adminiſtration, who, inſtead of adopting the ſame noble plan of action, which would have given them a claim to his praiſe, have thought it more adviſeable to keep their places and ſtay in? If the one line of acting be ſo open, fair, and manly, ſurely the other muſt be, in my right honourable friend's opinion, equally mean, ſhabby, and unbecoming: but yet, without any explanation or juſtification of himſelf, he ſeems perfectly content to take an official ſituation, and act under them. But there is yet one conſolation remaining. His praiſes are, beyond all doubt, ſincere, and I hope he will, in a juſt regard to the conſiſtency of his ſentiments, give a ſimilar hint to his right honourable friend, and ſhow to him alſo the prudence, and indeed the neceſſity of retiring. The laſt miniſter did retire when he found he had no greater a majority than thirty-ſeven, ſurely then, if it were neceſſary, or at leaſt prudent for him to give up in ſuch circumſtances, it muſt appear adviſeable for his right honourable friend to yield in his turn, when he can only count upon a majority of twenty-eight. I hope, therefore, that my right honourable friend will induce him to follow that noble, patriotic, and gallant example, and not dream of going on with a ſmall, miſerable, and pitiful majority, ſuch as no miniſter can think an honour to him. Let him not perſiſt in keeping his place, when he finds, and muſt deeply feel, that he has loſt the confidence of the great intereſts of the country, and of the members of this houſe. My right honourable friend has told the houſe, that he, as much as any man in the kingdom, wiſhed for the formation of an adminiſtration, on a broad and comprehenſive ſcale. No man in the country, he ſays, was more diſappointed than himſelf, in the failure of thoſe hopes and wiſhes which he entertained upon that important ſubject. Sir, I believe him. I think he is ſincere in that declaration, and every view that I can take of public matters, tends to confirm me in that opinion; for when he conſiders what his right honourable friend was, and what

he now is, I am readily perſuaded, that he muſt be inclined to entertain ſuch wiſhes and hopes. He ſays, his right honourable friend has taken a ſituation in which there is much difficulty and danger. I believe that both he and his right honourable friend know, and feel it; and I believe more, that his right honourable friend has no idea that this adminiſtration can, or that it ought to laſt; for they muſt be aware, that it is an arrangement which has excited diſcontent and complaint through every part of the country. My right hon. friend in the courſe of the juſtification which he has attempted for his conduct in co-operating with his right honourable friend, has dwelt a good deal upon the happy event of the removal of what he termed the late inefficient miniſters; but my right honourable friend ſeemed to forget that that removal was far from being complete. To be ſure, ſome of thoſe, with whom my right honourable friend profeſſed to have been diſſatisfied, have been removed. He was diſſatisfied with the conduct of the department for foreign affairs, and therefore out goes my Lord Hawkeſbury: and here, Sir, with grief and vexation I perceive, that that noble lord has put the ſeal to his own condemnation; that being charged with miſmanagement and incapacity, he conſents to be degraded in order to make room for another noble Lord (Harrowby), who certainly has yet to prove his ability, and who has at leaſt no experience to recommend him. But this alone was not ſufficient to ſatisfy my right honourable friend, and to reconcile him to the adminiſtration. He diſliked the conduct of the admiralty, and therefore that ſilly, incapable perſon, Earl St. Vincent, is removed; and his place is filled by that moſt tried and experienced ſeaman, Lord Melville. The military department did not pleaſe him, and therefore that moſt military perſonage, Lord Camden, who, ſo far from being formerly conſidered a man eminently qualified for military affairs, was removed from the government of Ireland, in troubleſome times, to make way for Marquis Cornwallis, is now diſcovered to be the fitteſt perſon to preſide over the war department, in the preſent important ſituation of the country. But, after all, there is another change, and that is one made in what my right honourable friend conſiders the great ſituation which regulates and directs all the reſt; this change is made in favour of the right honourable gentleman oppoſite (Mr. Pitt); and to that, as a matter of change, I have nothing to ſay. It muſt, however, be remembered by all, for it is not a very old affair, that the laſt adminiſtration was compoſed of ten members; now of theſe ten, ſix actually remain." Mr. Sheridan purſued this ſubject for ſome time longer, with his uſual force and eloquence, and in concluſion, mentioned the report that the excluſion of Mr. Fox proceeded from the king. "Of the perſonage to whom this report refers," he ſaid, "I cannot ſpeak from any particular knowledge; but of him who is next in rank and conſequence, I can ſay, that that illuſtrious perſonage, whoſe name I know my duty too well to mention, who ſtood forward at the commencement of the war, diſplaying a noble example of his wiſh to promote unanimity, to rally all parties round the ſtandard of the country,

country, entertains no political prejudice againſt any public man; though, God knows, he has had much to forgive. Far, however, from indulging reſentment, I am ſure that he would be forward to accept of the ſervices of any political character who could contribute in this great criſis to the ſafety of the empire."

In anſwering this part of Mr. Sheridan's ſpeech, Mr. Pitt diſplayed the acknowledged force of his reaſoning, and the reſolute manlineſs of his character. "Of the mode of oppoſition which this meaſure has experienced," he ſaid, "I have a right to complain. There has been a diſpoſition to draw into argument foreign topics, which divert the attention from the real ſubject, and in ſuch hands as thoſe of the honourable gentleman who ſpoke laſt, may be productive of entertainment, and relieve the tedioufneſs of debate by the brilliant diſplay of wit which we have juſt witneſſed. As to the argument, that the adminiſtration is not worthy of confidence, I am at a loſs to conjecture upon what ground it reſts. This, its firſt meaſure, ſurely cannot be the cauſe, for it looks to an object upon which all perſons, of all parties and all deſcriptions, are agreed. There muſt then be ſomething awkward or unfortunate in the manner of bringing it forward, if it be the cauſe of this loſs of confidence. I confeſs this is a very delicate ſubject, and I know not well how to deliver myſelf upon it. But whatever opinion ſome people may entertain of the advantages of an adminiſtration formed on a broad baſis, I am ſatisfied that the principle, that it is the prerogative of his majeſty to chooſe his miniſters, will not be denied. I am the more convinced of this, when I remember that ſome weeks ago, the honourable gentleman oppoſite (Mr. Fox) ſtated in this houſe when it was thrown out as a matter of ſpeculation, who were to be the new miniſters, if the late miniſtry were obliged to retire, that it was not within the province of the houſe to take any notice of ſuch a circumſtance, and if it would have been unconſtitutional to agitate ſuch a topic before the removal of that miniſtry, it is equally unconſtitutional to deny the king's prerogative as to ſelection in every inſtance; and is it reconcileable with any ideas of conſtitutional principle and of public duty, that when a miniſtry has been changed, their ſucceſſors ſhould be obſtructed in their very firſt operations, by any combination founded upon any circumſtances connected with the recent exerciſe of his majeſty's prerogative? It has been ſaid, indeed, that I ſhould take the hint to reſign, which the proceedings of the houſe, on this queſtion, have given; and the honourable gentleman thus admits the object of the extraordinary zeal with which this bill has been conteſted; but I can aſſure him that the hint is not broad enough for me to take it. I am ſanguine enough to believe that the bill will paſs with an increaſed majority. I am ſanguine enough to hope, the oppoſition to the bill being now avowed, it will make its way through the houſe with an increaſed concurrence; if not, I ſhall lament the failure of a meaſure which I ſincerely believe to be calculated to promote the public advantage. It is now obvious what are the motives for that

zeal and perſeverance that have animated the late conteſts, and have combined in one cry troops, who upon no other occaſion could ever be made to ſpeak the ſame language, I truſt, at leaſt, that the honourable gentlemen on the other ſide will not feel themſelves under the neceſſity of queſtioning as to every individual object, the right of the king to chooſe his miniſters. I have been at iſſue upon this point in former times, and I am now ready to maintain it as neceſſary to our free and as yet monarchial conſtitution. As to my ſufficiency, or the ſufficiency of thoſe in office with me, it is not neceſſary to ſay a great deal upon that ſubject; but I am ſurpriſed at the language that has fallen from a noble Lord (Temple). I think it a little ſingular that my acting in concert with a part of the late adminiſtration ſhould be made a bar to the confidence of him and his friends. Does my noble relative think, that on this accouut, I have juſtly forfeited the confidence of him and his friends; I do remember the time when, in the moment of his bittereſt oppoſition to the right honourable gentleman (Mr. Addington), the noble lord and his friends were ſo partial to me, that they declared, that my admiſſion to a ſhare of the executive power would, in a conſiderable degree, remove their apprehenſions of the public danger. I hope that ſince that time I have not, by concurring very frequently and acting very cordially with my noble relative and his friends, forfeited the good opinion they were then ſo partial to expreſs of me. I confeſs my ſurpriſe too, that after ſuch public declarations concerning me, they ſo ſoon find themſelves compelled to withhold their ſervices from the public, on account of the excluſion of an honourable gentleman (Mr. Fox), with whom they have been ſo little accuſtomed to think or act in uniſon. Much has been ſaid of the inefficiency of the members of the preſent cabinet. But is it to be ſaid, that the preſent miniſters are unequal to the duties of the ſtations they fill? With reſpect to the members of the preſent miniſtry, and who were members of the laſt, being liable to the charge of inconſiſtency, I cannot ſee that there is the leaſt foundation for it. The preſent bill is better than that which it ſuperſedes, and aiming at the ſame end by juſter means, is fairly entitled to the ſupport of thoſe who ſupported the former bill. It is ſaid, however, though not quite correctly, that the members of the laſt adminiſtration are a majority of the preſent. But what, if it were, would be the inference? There is no reaſon why thoſe who ſat in the former cabinet ſhould not ſit in this. I hope the preſent cabinet is not one in which there will always be a neceſſity of counting noſes, and of coming to a vote upon every meaſure. When differences of opinion exiſt, there is room for mutual conceſſion and accommodation, where men agree in a general object. If this were not the caſe, how could any adminiſtration go on? far more an adminiſtration formed on the broad baſis which ſome gentlemen conſider ſo deſirable? Were I to take the "broad hint" which has been given me; had that ſort of adminiſtration been formed, the failure of which has been repreſented as having

having ſtruck ſuch deſpair throughout the country, how could any meaſure have been carried in the cabinet among men who have had long and important differences, unleſs mutual accommodation and conceſſion had taken place? It is ſaid, however, that there has not been a ſufficient change in the miniſtry. But, ſurely, the right honourable gentleman below (Mr. Addington), muſt at leaſt be ſatisfied that the change is ſufficient, and that the preſent is really a new adminiſtration. And, notwithſtanding all that has been ſaid of it, I hold it to be ſubſtantial enough to anſwer the purpoſes for which it was formed. Many objections have been urged againſt it by the honourable gentleman who ſpoke laſt, who has indulged himſelf in that vein of pleaſantry and humour, for which he has moſt deſervedly acquired ſo much celebrity, in comparing ſome of the members of the preſent adminiſtration with thoſe whom they have ſucceeded in office, and has indulged himſelf particularly in contraſting Lord Melville with Earl St. Vincent. I ſhould unqueſtionably think myſelf extremely wrong, were I to ſay that Lord Melville was as good a ſailor, or underſtood how to work or fight a ſhip of war as well as Earl St. Vincent; but yet I can have no heſitation to ſay, that, in my opinion, there is every reaſon to ſuppoſe Lord Melville will make a better Firſt Lord of the Admiralty; for experience has often forcibly ſhewn us, that it is by no means neceſſary that a firſt Lord of the Admiralty ſhould be a naval character, and, though it may not be fit to ſpeak of myſelf, it ſurely will not be conſidered that it is no change that the office of Firſt Lord of the Treaſury, reckoned that which has a leading influence in the executive government, is now held by me. Few will doubt that a very real change has taken place. With reſpect to any differences of opinion which I may have had with the late adminiſtration, it will not be pretended that they were of ſuch a nature as to prevent us from acting in the moſt cordial and ſatisfactory manner upon general affairs. For thoſe my right honourable and noble friends, I have uniformly entertained the utmoſt private friendſhip and eſteem. With them I have thought and acted almoſt without interruption on every public queſtion ſince our acquaintance commenced. Neither is there the ſlighteſt ground to imagine that another noble friend of mine (Lord Hawkeſbury), whom I have always loved and eſteemed, is degraded by taking the home, inſtead of the foreign department; though I confeſs there were ſome parts of the foreign ſyſtem which I did not approve, and of which it is not now neceſſary to ſay more. Thoſe who know the fact, know how far that change was from any motive that could infer degradation. Indeed, Sir, I cannot ſee with what view ſuch a thing could be mentioned, unleſs it was for the purpoſe of ſowing jealouſies and diſſentions among his majeſty's preſent miniſters, and, as ſuch, it deſerves my ſevereſt animadverſion. If the preſent bill ſhould be loſt, I ſhall be ſorry for it, becauſe the houſe and the country will thereby loſe a good meaſure: but the honourable gentlemen oppoſite will be much miſtaken, if they think they will thereby be any thing the nearer getting

getting rid of me. It is well known, and has ever been allowed to be one of the firſt and moſt eſtabliſhed privileges and prerogatives of the crown, that his majeſty has a right to chooſe and nominate his own miniſters; and with that conviction on my mind, I ſhall not be deterred from bringing forward ſuch meaſures as may be neceſſary in aid and ſupport of the preſent bill, which I have no doubt will meet the approbation of a conſiderable majority, notwithſtanding all the oppoſition it has met with from the honourable gentlemen on the oppoſite ſide of the houſe."

At half-paſt four o'clock in the morning, Mr. Fox concluded the debate with a ſpeech of great ability, and on a diviſion, the majoriry for the miniſter was found to be forty-two; the numbers were 265 to 223.

19th. The motion for a third reading produced a debate, but no diviſion; Mr. T. Grenville delivered his opinion againſt the bill, and Mr. Windham, in a ſpeech of exquiſite wit and great eloquence, finally expreſſed his diſapprobation of the meaſure. He declared that comparing the plan now propoſed, with the ſentiments delivered by Mr. Pitt while in oppoſition, the bill was a ſurprize on the houſe, and on the country. Till within a few days, (almoſt a few hours) he ſaid, of the motion being made, not an idea was entertained that the plan about to be propoſed, was any other than that which had been opened by the honourable gentleman ſome months before. It was not till the moment of performance, and when the curtain was actually drawn up, that the manager ſtept forward (without an apology) and ſignified that the whole was changed, and that inſtead of the piece which had been announced, we were to have, not, as an honourable and learned friend of his had ſaid the other night, the good old play of *The Recruiting Officer*, but a ſtrange fantaſtical piece, produced for the occaſion, and got up in a hurry, called *The Regimental Veſtry*, or, *The Recruiting Churchwardens*. It was difficult to conceive what the progreſs of the counſels could have been, that gave riſe to ſo happy an idea. It could never have been formed at once, or in any ordinary circumſtances, but muſt have been the reſult of a conſultation, ſuch as that deſcribed in Foote's farce of The Minor. 'A great day coming on; the greateſt day this ſeaſon; all the world to be there: old oppoſition, new oppoſition, a vaſt attendance from the country. Nothing in the meanwhile ſettled. Ballot found to be impoſſible, and no expedient thought of by which its place could be ſupplied.' In this ſituation ſomebody ſeems to have conceived the idea of a ſort of proceeding which ſhould be neither compulſory nor not compulſory; ſhould not be a *quota*, yet ſhould be connected with diſtricts and pariſhes; ſhould be a ſyſtem of recruiting, yet be carried on by perſons not named by government, though poſſeſſing a certain degree of authority, and known in the country. 'I'll be hanged,' ſays ſome one, 'if you don't mean recruiting by pariſh officers.' The right honourable gentleman ſeems to have jumped at the hint, and pariſh officers it has been. The right honourable gentleman has vapoured

vapoured a great deal, and aſked triumphantly, what *they* had to offer by whom the preſent meaſure was objected to? To this it might be ſufficient to anſwer, that they who objected to a meaſure were not therefore bound to be provided with a better in its room. It was enough if they could reaſonably preſume that a better might be provided. But he was willing to go further, and having frequently ſtated what his own ideas were, to compare thoſe ideas with what was now adopted. Your ideas, ſaid the honourable gentleman, are merely negative: they are nothing at all. They would do well to aſk, before they preſſed that topic, were their own plan ſtripped of its negative merits, how much of it would remain? The negative merits of the plan, the houſe would recollect, were all that the honourable gentleman inſiſted upon. The plan was good, becauſe it aboliſhed the ballot, becauſe it reduced the militia, becauſe it removed competition, becauſe it limited the bounties. So it certainly was: and ſo equally, and on the very ſame accounts, was the plan oppoſed to them. All the ideas above enumerated, the honourable gentlemen would recollect, were ours as well as theirs; and, what was not leſs to the purpoſe, were ours long before they were theirs, and when in truth they were made a matter of reproach to thoſe who held them. There was nothing on thoſe points, therefore, in which one plan differed from the other. The great advantage which we had was, that with us all was negative, and that in addition to the reſt, we got rid of the honourable gentleman's ſcheme of fining pariſhes, and recruiting by pariſh officers. It was curious, therefore, to hear the right honourable gentlemen calling upon us to know what were our ideas, and what we had to propoſe in the room of what we objected to. We were in the ſituation of a man, who, having been ſtripped of all he had, is aſked by the robber were his money was. Where is my money? he would ſay: why, in your pocket. Where were our ideas, why, in the honourable gentleman's bill. He muſt not be underſtood to mean, however, that in claiming theſe ideas for himſelf and his honourable friends, he would be willing to take them, ſuch as they had now become in the hands of thoſe who had lately poſſeſſion of them. The honourable gentleman had made them his own by the manner in which he had treated them. He muſt ſay with the Roman epigrammatiſt,

Quam recitas meus eſt, ô Fidentine, libellus.
Sed malè cum recitas incipit eſſe tuus.

The bill was introduced to the upper houſe by Earl Camden, and an oppoſition immediately commenced by Earl Fitzwilliam, the Duke of Clarence, Earl Spenſer, Lord Grenville, and ſeveral other peers; but the diviſion was far more flattering to miniſters than thoſe in the houſe of commons, their meaſure being ſanctioned by 154, while only 69 divided againſt it. The further progreſs of the bill produced ſome debates, but they were neither important nor ſtriking. 25th.

Before the end of the ſeſſion a bill was paſſed for amending this act, but it related only to the purchaſe July 16.

of

of lands for the erection of fortifications or military works.

Bills were brought in for raiſing an additional force in Scotland and in Ireland, on a plan conformable, as nearly as circumſtances would allow, to that adopted in England; they paſſed without any remarkable diſcuſſion.

June 25th. In addition to the other means of defence, a bill was brought in to enable his majeſty to raiſe foreign corps, and indemnifying thoſe who had taken foreigners into his majeſty's ſervice. This meaſure did not paſs without ſome animadverſion. At an early period of the ſeſſion, Mr. Fox had given notice of a motion relative to the employment of Hanoverian troops; but on the change of adminiſtration being announced, he had withdrawn it. As the troops now employed were not all Hanoverians, Mr. Francis, and Mr. Moore endeavoured, but without effect, to excite the attention of parliament on the ſubject; the former received an anſwer from the Secretary at War; the ſpeech of the latter was heard without a comment.

July 3d & 4th.

June 6—22. A matter connected with the Volunteer ſervice, furniſhed the ſubject of a motion to Mr. Whitbread. That gentleman having been informed of a letter written nearly ſix months before, by the Lord Advocate of Scotland, to George Forbes, Eſquire, Sheriff Subſtitute of Bamffſhire, thought proper, at a late period of the ſeſſion, and when the Lord Advocate had quitted London to fulfil his duties in Scotland, to draw the attention of parliament to this caſe. It appeared that a gentleman of the name of Moriſon, had diſcharged his ſervant, whoſe name was Garrow, for having attended as a private in a corps of volunteers, at an inſpection, by the Marquis of Huntly, contrary to the orders of his maſter. This conduct being viewed with conſiderable indignation by the loyal inhabitants of the county of Bamff, a caſe was laid before the Lord Advocate, for an opinion whether by law Moriſon could, on ſuch a ground, juſtify his refuſal to fulfil his original contract with his ſervant, who had offered to make a proportionate deduction from his wages. In anſwer, beſide an opinion on the matter referred, the Lord Advocate wrote a letter, which was entered on the public records of the court of Bamff. In this letter, the Lord Advocate declared, that the circumſtances were ſuch that he muſt decline taking a fee for his opinion, but after obſerving that the preciſe caſe was not provided for by the volunteer acts, he pronounced the conduct of Moriſon moſt atrocious, and added that, "every poſſible means ought to be taken to ſtigmatize him, and to puniſh him by the ſcorn and contempt of all the reſpectable men in the county, who ought to enter into a reſolution to have no communication or dealings with him whatever. And further," he ſaid, "as I conſider that Moriſon's conduct can only have ariſen from a ſecret ſpirit of diſaffection and diſloyalty, it is my orders to you, as Sheriff Subſtitute of the county, that on the firſt Frenchman landing in Scotland, you do immediately apprehend and ſecure Moriſon as a ſuſpected perſon; and you will not liberate him without a com-

a communication with me; and you may inform him of theſe my orders. And further, that I ſhall do all I can to prevent him from receiving any compenſation for any part of his property which may be either deſtroyed by the enemy, or by the king's troops, to prevent it from falling into the enemy's hands."

On this letter Mr. Whitbread grounded his accuſation, and after ſtating the facts, he called on the lawyers of England, and on the lawyers of Scotland, to deliver their opinions on the ſubject, and not to ſuffer ſo foul a ſtigma on the law of the country as this, to paſs without the ſevereſt cenſure. The right honourable gentleman, while in the exerciſe of this moſt illegal and oppreſſive conduct had not a ſingle motive of reaſonable juſtification. He had no proof of miſbehaviour on the part of Moriſon, in the particular tranſaction under conſideration; and it ſurely was but fair to believe that Moriſon was a man of diſloyal principles, at a moment when all ranks of the community partook of a general feeling of ardour and patriotiſm in the defence of the liberties and independence of their common country. What right, then, had the right honourable gentleman to preſume that Moriſon was a man of nefarious or dangerous principles? From the internal evidence of the letter, it appeared that the right honourable gentleman was determined to repreſent Moriſon as a dangerous individual, but not a tittle of evidence exiſted, to ſhow that Moriſon was a man at all of diſcontented principles; not one overt act manifeſted ſuch a diſpoſition to have exiſted on his mind. He vindicated the conduct of Moriſon, in the whole tranſaction, and cenſured that of the lord advocate as highly oppreſſive, and groſsly illegal. Againſt Moriſon, no information was lodged. There was no preſumption of his guilt. There was no pretence for threatening him with the privation of his liberty. There was no warrant or writ pretended to be executed. The whole buſineſs was conducted in a way fatal to the very exiſtence of perſonal liberty. Nor was there any fair pretext for ſeverity to Moriſon on any ſuppoſed ground of danger. If invaſion did not take place, but was expected, it would have been eaſy to have ſeized him, if really of a ſuſpicious character, independent of the inſtructions contained in the letter. If, on the other hand, invaſion did take place, Moriſon could do no harm, as he was ſurrounded by thouſands of men diſtinguiſhed for their loyalty and public ſpirit.

The lord advocate, in his defence, firſt noticed the hardſhip to which he was ſubjected, by the motion being brought forward ſo late in the ſeſſion, when he was already on his journey toward Edinburgh, in the diſcharge of his public duty, but recalled to London to anſwer this accuſation. He then vindicated himſelf by referring to the defenceleſs ſtate of Scotland at the time of the tranſaction, and the conſequent alarms and anxiety which prevailed. There were only, in all Scotland, two weak battalions of the Army of Reſerve, without cloathing, and without arms, and one ſolitary regiment of dragoons; and at that very moment, the noble lord, at the head of the troops in Scotland,

had

had received orders to detach ſome part of the force to Ireland, and two of the beſt appointed and moſt ſteady regiments of militia were actually under marching orders, for a diſtrict in Northumberland. There remained then only thirteen battalions of militia; the ſupplementary militia were then hardly in the ranks, and of the volunteers a great proportion were alſo deſtitute of arms, and in every point of view unprepared for ſervice on the eaſt coaſt of Scotland. With regard to the north of Scotland, its whole ſafety depended upon the voluntary exertions of the people. Under ſuch circumſtances, he appealed to the candour of the houſe to judge what his feelings muſt have been, when called on to offer an opinion reſpecting the conduct of an individual, whoſe proceedings went to the direct diſcouragement of the exertions of the volunteers, on whom the ſafety of the north of Scotland depended. Was he to be ſeverely condemned for not having guided himſelf wholly by the cold formal terms of law? Unqueſtionably it was the duty of every man to diſcourage any attempt to damp the ardour of the volunteers, and though he had no idea of dragooning men into volunteers, he certainly did feel, that the conduct of Moriſon, under all the circumſtances of the caſe, was highly to be reprobated. Having made ſome more obſervations on this ſtate of affairs, he proceeded to explain the nature of the office which it was his duty to hold, and which might tend to enable the houſe more fairly and impartially to judge of the queſtion at iſſue. He ſhewed how diſtinct, how different it was from that of the Attorney General, or any other law officer in England; that it extended to many judicial departments, and that it was often in the courſe of his duty to give advice to government not only on civil, but on military matters. Scotland, he obſerved, was ſtill in every reſpect, except legiſlature, a ſeparate kingdom from England. Its laws, its cuſtoms, and its manners had undergone no change. In the application of general acts, much local explanation was required, and therefore the Lord Advocate of Scotland muſt frequently act upon his reſponſibility. Of this mode of acting he gave ſeveral inſtances, both in the acts of his predeceſſor and himſelf. It was not as public proſecutor that he wrote the letter in queſtion; it was not his object to have Mr. Moriſon apprehended as a ſuſpected perſon, but he felt it a duty incumbent on him from the ſituation he held, ariſing from the official information which he had received. His opinion and his letter were indeed, as Mr. Whitbread had ſtated, different, for they were founded on very different information, and were given under very different circumſtances. The one was an opinion delivered by him to a client; the other was a letter written in conſequence of communication made to him in his official capacity, by a perſon holding an official ſituation in the county in which the tranſaction occurred. The memorial or ſtatement, on which his opinion was formed, was not laid before him by the Sheriff Subſtitute, but by the private agent of Garrow. It ſtated the fact of the ſervice, of Garrow's diſmiſſal, and concluded with the queſtion, "Is he entitled to payment for his ſervice,

vice, during the period of his ſervice?" The letter, on the other hand, was written in conſequence of a communication made to him officially by Mr. Forbes, Sheriff Subſtitute of the county, whoſe buſineſs it was to impart ſuch occurrences in the county as he might deem of any public importance, or as likely to aid or impede the public ſervice. He then, at great length, and with much ability, vindicated the expreſſions in his letter which had been cenſured, and anſwered many of the arguments advanced by Mr. Whitbread.

When he had withdrawn, according to the rule of parliament on ſuch occaſions, Mr. Whitbread moved a reſolution, that the conduct of the Right Honourable Charles Hope, His Majeſty's Advocate for Scotland, in writing the ſaid letter, had been oppreſſive, illegal, and contrary to his official duty.

The Attorney General moved the order of the day; an animated debate enſued, in which Mr. Grey, Mr. Windham, Lord Henry Petty, and Mr. Fox took a part againſt the Lord Advocate. He was defended by Mr. Dallas, Mr. Kinnaird, the Secretary at War and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and on a diviſion, the Attorney General's motion was carried; the numbers for it being 159, againſt 82, leaving a majority of 77.

Some meaſures beſides thoſe already noticed were reſorted to for completing the military preparations. Powers were given to the board of ordnance to make permanent purchaſes of lands for the public ſervice; an additional eſtimate amounting to £310,000 was laid before parliament for the expences of the navy; and to meet theſe, and other incidental charges, the two houſes in conſequence of a meſſage from his Majeſty paſſed a vote of credit for two millions and a half. 7th July.

CHAP. X.

Affairs of India. Motion by Mr. Creevey reſpecting the War in Ceylon; ſome papers granted; others refuted. Motion by Mr. Francis reſpecting the Mahratta War: anſwer of Lord Caſtlereagh; the Motion withdrawn. Motion by the Earl of Carliſle reſpecting the communication of the commencement of Hoſtilities between Great Britain and France; objections of Lord Hawkeſbury; Reply of the Earl of Carliſle; his Motion carried on a Diviſion. Motion of thanks to the Marquis of Welleſley carried unanimouſly in the Houſe of Lords; a ſimilar Motion ſtrenuouſly oppoſed in the Houſe of Commons; but carried without a Diviſion. India Budget.

THE affairs of India occupied their uſual portion of the attention of Parliament. 14th March. Before the change of the miniſtry, Mr. Creevey made a motion reſpecting the expedition in Ceylon. He narrated in terms of ſevere reprehenſion the riſe and progreſs of this diſaſtrous conteſt, and obſerved that the Britiſh Governor had not fallen into error for want of any light which

which experience could afford. The Dutch had made this particular experiment of ſubduing the Candians, over and over again; they had twice, with as little loſs as ourſelves, ſeized the capital and expelled the king; but on every occaſion their army was finally deſtroyed by the ſame cauſes which had deſtroyed ours. It was ſingular, that, on one occaſion, the preciſe calamity which had befallen our garriſon at Candia befel the Dutch. Their gariſon was compelled to capitulate, and, on their march, and within two days journey of Columbo, the troops, to the amount of 400 men, were all murdered. The effect of theſe experiments upon the Dutch was, to convince them, that all attempts upon the interior of Candia were not only fruitleſs, but fatal to themſelves; and, accordingly, for the laſt twenty years of their ſettlement in that iſland, ſuch projects were never repeated. The preſent governor of Ceylon was in poſſeſſion of theſe facts, and of this experience, before he doomed our ſoldiers to ſuch inevitable deſtruction; they were recorded in a valuable and intereſting account of Ceylon, written by an officer of the army we firſt ſent there, and the materials for which hiſtory were collected under the immediate eye of the governor. Having ſtated the diſaſters of this war, and the many evils that muſt reſult from it, among the greateſt of which he reckoned the introduction of diſaffection, and a ſpirit of reſiſtance into the Indian army. Mr. Creevey concluded by moving for 1. Copies of all papers, letters and diſpatches, from the governor of Ceylon to the government of Candia in that iſland, and from the Candian government to his Majeſty's Governor, reſpecting the cauſe or origin of the war in Ceylon: 2. Copies of all correſpondence, between the Governor of Ceylon, and officers commanding his majeſty's troops in that iſland during the war: 3. Copies of all treaties entered into between the Governor and the Candians: and 4. all the returns of his majeſty's forces in Ceylon, from the firſt of January, 1803, to the preſent time.

Without entering into the general topics deſcanted on by Mr. Creevey, or vindicating the war in Ceylon in all its particulars, Lord Caſtlereagh modified the firſt reſolution, and, in its altered form, it paſſed without a diviſion; the other papers, after a ſhort but ſpirited debate, were refuſed; the numbers on a diviſion being 70 to 47.

On the ſame day, Mr. Francis made a motion for a great number of papers relative to the Mahratta war. As an introduction to his ſpeech, Mr. Francis directed the Clerk of the houſe to read the 34th ſection of the Statute 24th Geo. III. Seſs. 2. chap. 25, which recites, that to purſue ſchemes of conqueſt and extenſion of dominion are meaſures repugnant to the wiſh, the honour, and policy of this nation; and enacts, that it ſhall not be lawful for the Governor General to engage in wars, without the expreſs command of the Court of Directors, and except where hoſtilities have been commenced, or preparations to that effect, actually made againſt the Britiſh nation in India, or its allies. This regulation, the principles on which it

it was founded, and the dangers which muſt always flow from a diſobedience of it, formed, Mr. Francis obſerved, a rational ground of parliamentary ſuſpicion and inquiry, whenever the government of India ſhould appear to be engaged in meaſures which the law prohibited. The buſineſs and duty of the day did not call upon him to accuſe any man, or to affirm that any thing deſerving the cenſure of parliament had been done. His object was to inquire, and then, according to the reſult of the inquiry, to deſiſt or to proceed. A Britiſh governor commencing a war in India, was *prima facie*, doing that which the law prohibited; his own act of itſelf put him on his defence; he was bound to juſtify on the caſe; and until he had ſo juſtified his conduct, the preſumptions were againſt him. All the authorities of this country had united, with one voice to condemn and forbid the carrying on war in India for any purpoſe but defence, or on any ground but neceſſity; but the practice in India had been almoſt uniformly, or with very ſhort exceptions, directly oppoſed to the prohibitions. Since the prohibitory Act paſſed in 1783, had the houſe heard of any thing from India but war and conqueſt? many victories, and great acquiſitions, with only now and then a ſhort interval of repoſe, to take breath and begin again. There was another ground of preſumption againſt the neceſſity and juſtice of theſe wars, which ſeemed very ſtrong and concluſive, it was that they were almoſt all ſuppoſed to originate in acts of provocation and aggreſſion, committed by the weak againſt the ſtrong. The ſtrength of any ſingle Indian State, at any time, and, now perhaps, of all of them put together, was not to be compared to the military power and reſources of the Engliſh, and conſidering the great diſparity of force, it would require very clear evidence to make it credible, that whereas the diſpoſition of the Britiſh power in India, is always, if poſſible, to preſerve the peace, and to be ſatisfied with what they poſſeſs; this excellent diſpoſition was never ſuffered to prevail, becauſe the Indian princes were ſo reſtleſs and unruly, that we could not, in common juſtice to ourſelves refrain from invading them. Mr. Francis then treated at conſiderable length on the force of the Mahrattas, particularly in cavalry, and the means they poſſeſſed, although they could not make a ſtand againſt us in the field, of ravaging the provinces under our command, and thus reducing us to great ſtreights and diſtreſs. He next obſerved on the delay in communicating to the government at home the proceedings in India, which he ſaid was alſo contrary to the letter and ſpirit of the act of parliament. Theſe circumſtances demand inquiry, and therefore he hoped miniſters would grant a large number of papers which he moved for.

Lord Caſtlereagh agreed with the mover as to the propriety of inquiries, but denied that ſuch an inquiry as was demanded could with ſafety be made, under preſent circumſtances. Independently of the diſadvantages that might ariſe from ſuch an inveſtigation, during a war not yet terminated, on which he was not diſpoſed to lay very great ſtreſs, he had ſtronger

and very oſtenſible reaſons for objecting to the motion. The government were not in poſſeſſion of the circumſtances that preceded the rupture; and, therefore, any inveſtigation of the kind propoſed by the preſent motion, muſt neceſſarily terminate unſatisfactorily, and to the obvious prejudice of the noble lord to whom the government of India was entruſted. It was right to wait, therefore, till the neceſſary communications ſhould be received by government. Such a communication was ſoon to be expected. That it ſhould have been made ſooner was impoſſible, from the date at which the war took place.

Theſe reaſons were not ſatisfactory to Mr. Johnſtone, who inſiſted, that according to the act of parliament, the Governor General, ought, as ſoon as the army began its march, to have made a full communication to government, but Mr. Francis conſidering Lord Caſtlereagh's ſpeech as an engagement to inform the houſe when the diſpatches ſhould arrive, withdrew his motion.

19th April, In the Houſe of Lords, the affairs of India were in a certain degree brought under diſcuſſion, in conſequence of ſome reports derived from French papers, of the ſucceſsful exploits of Admiral Linois againſt our ſhipping in that part of the world. The Earl of Carliſle moved that there ſhould be laid before the houſe an account of the inſtructions ſent to the officer commanding the naval force in the Eaſt-Indies, previous to his majeſty's meſſage to parliament on the preſent rupture, with the date of their arrival in India; and alſo the date of inſtructions ſent previous to the actual rupture, with the time of their arrival.

This motion was oppoſed by Lord Hawkeſbury, on the ground that as the papers required, related to proceedings growing out of the diſcretionary exerciſe of the executive power; and although it was competent to parliament to call for papers of this kind, it was not a parliamentary cuſtom to make a motion to that effect, without aſſigning the reaſon which ſhould induce the houſe to interpoſe its authority in that particular caſe. The motion of the noble Earl came diſtinctly under this laſt diviſion; and he muſt oppoſe it becauſe he had heard no reaſon urged to prove its neceſſity or uſe.

The Earl of Carliſle, in anſwer to this objection, ſtated, that the matter was of no ſmall moment; there were very diſagreeable rumours abroad, the public opinion did not coincide with his lordſhip's ſtatement, and the houſe had a right to know the facts from documents, and could not be juſtified in a matter of this conſequence, in taking the mere aſſertion of one of his majeſty's miniſters. There was a report, on authority, perhaps as good as his lordſhip's, that Admiral Rainier did not receive his inſtructions from Government till ſeventeen days after the rupture was announced in India, by private letters from England; and that the French Admiral, Linois, had, in the interval, while the Engliſh admiral was near him, cut his cables in the night, and withdrawn his ſquadron in ſafety; having, no doubt, received his inſtructions from his government. He was informed, that when the diſpatches

were ſent by Government to India, they were ſent by a frigate, which, ſo far from going directly, and with the utmoſt expedition, convoyed a fleet, and touched at Liſbon. He did not know how far this was true or not; he did not know what might be the exact foundation of the public opinion on this ſubject; it was his duty, and that of the houſe, to aſcertain the truth, and to enquire if there had been any culpable neglect.

Lord Hawkeſbury and Lord Hobart offered freſh reaſons againſt granting the papers, particularly inſiſting that public rumour was not a ſufficient parliamentary ground for demanding them. They were anſwered by Earl Spencer and the Earl of Caernarvon, and on a diviſion, the motion was carried by a majority of 1; the numbers being contents 31; non contents 30.

2d May. The war againſt the Mahrattas was not at all diſcuſſed in the upper houſe, until Lord Hobart moved a vote of thanks to Marquis Welleſley, and to the other civil and military officers in India, and to our forces there, for their great zeal and courage manifeſted in our late ſucceſſes in that quarter. In ſupporting this motion, all parties concurred, or rather vied with each other; Lord Grenville reiterated and extended the eulogy pronounced by Lord Hobart, and his applauſes were re-echoed by Lord Melville, Lord Hawkeſbury, and Earl Camden.

2d May. The ſame unanimity did not prevail in the Houſe of Commons, where the thanks were ably moved by Lord Caſtlereagh, in a ſpeech in which he vindicated all the proceedings of the Governor General.

Mr. Francis, Mr. Fox, Mr. Johnſtone, Mr. Grey, and ſome other members oppoſed the motion. The eminent gallantry and ſkill with which all the military operations againſt the Mahrattas had been conducted were allowed; but whether ſo many valuable lives had been wiſely or unprofitably loſt; or in a quarrel which ought, or ought not to be avowed by parliament, or whether, ſuch great exertions had been made with a ſufficient conſideration of the policy, the juſtice, and the neceſſity of the war, were queſtions which it was not adviſeable, nor in any ſhape neceſſary, to be brought this day into debate. The noble lord's motion forced them to a diſcuſſion without neceſſity, and in effect would oblige them to decide without knowledge. The merits of the war itſelf, ought to have been left untouched and entire for future deliberation. By this motion that queſtion was prejudged; or at leaſt, the uſe and effect of that deliberation were precluded. It would be impoſſible for parliament to go with a free and unbiaſſed mind to examine the wiſdom or the juſtice of a war, to the author and director of which they had already returned their thanks in ſuch exalted terms, firſt for the plan, and then for the ſucceſs of it. It was a new principle to vote the approbation of the houſe to any but thoſe actually engaged in the exploits, which it from time to time had thought proper to diſtinguiſh by that honour. It was, however, ſtated, that Marquis Welleſley had ſet the army in motion. He might have given commands to

that effect, but if ſuch connection with an army were to be admitted as a claim to parliamentary thanks, the commander in chief of this country would have a right to be included in any vote for any achievement performed by the Britiſh army; and, upon the ſame principle, the Admiralty ſhould have participated of the thanks voted to Lord Howe and Lord St. Vincent, for their glorious victories in the courſe of the laſt war. The two queſtions ſhould be kept diſtinct; and the execution ſhould not be blended with the arrangement. It was, indeed, contended, that all had been done in the character of Captain General; but was it a matter of doubt the title of Captain General was in this inſtance, entirely of a civil ſignification, and the perſon who filled it, however reſpectable in other points of view, was a perſon of a perfectly civil education, without any military experience whatſoever; a perſon who could not be truſted with the command of the army? The vote, it was alſo contended, would be premature. It was to be feared the Mahrattas would prove more dangerous enemies now that they were diſperſed, than when, by a mode of warfare unuſual to them, they were united in large bodies, and ventured on pitched battles: this apprehenſion was increaſed by the fact of there having been no intelligence from General Welleſley for twenty days before the laſt diſpatches left Bombay. Perhaps the diſperſed armies, by cutting off his ſupplies in the hilly country into which he had entered, had compelled him to raiſe the ſiege which he had undertaken, and to retire with loſs. No miſchief could ariſe from delay, while much would proceed from haſte. It ſometimes happened from too great precipitancy, that a perſon received a vote of thanks, whom it was afterwards thought neceſſary to remove from his command. The caſe of Copenhagen muſt be freſh in every one's memory, and the expedition to Holland was alſo an inſtance of the raſhneſs of voting the thanks of the houſe too haſtily.

Theſe obſervations were anſwered by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Hobhouſe, and Sir Theophilus Metcalfe. Sufficient grounds, they ſaid, were laid to juſtify the vote propoſed to the noble marquis. This motion, in fact, was ſuſtained by the ſame principles upon which all ſimilar votes of thanks reſted. The houſe was fully apprized of the ſplendid exploits alluded to, and it was propoſed to thank the noble Marquis, not in his civil, but in his military capacity; not as Governor General of India, but as Captain General of the forces. The queſtion before the houſe was only directed to the military operations of the war; and though they might lament the evils of war, yet ſeeing that neither the juſtice nor the policy of this conteſt was involved in what was ſubmitted to the houſe, parliament could not be juſtified in withholding a vote of thanks from the perſons who had achieved ſo much for the honour and glory of their country. The houſe had done the ſame, or more, in the vote of thanks to our officers and troops in Egypt; they had received the thanks of the houſe for the manner in which they effected their landing, and they were

were afterwards thanked by the ſame Houſe of Commons, at the end of the campaign. There was a moſt ſtrong mark of genius in the conception of ſuch extenſive plans as thoſe executed in India, and in the direction of every part of the operations in ſuch a manner as to be moſt completely in uniſon, notwithſtanding their vaſt diſtance from each other.

The oppoſing members did not divide the houſe, but ſuffered the thanks to be recorded as unanimous.

July 10th. At a late period of the ſeſſion, Lord Caſtlereagh laid before Parliament the general view of the finances of India, called the India Budget. The houſe having reſolved itſelf into a committee, his lordhip called their attention to the accounts before them, hoping they would keep in mind the circumſtances under which the affairs alluded to, occurred. The account relating to the year ending the 5th of April, 1803, was the actual account of that year, according to the general cuſtom obſerved in the manner of ſtating theſe matters to the houſe every year. The houſe would have to conſider, in looking to theſe accounts, that war had commenced laſt year in Europe, which had affected the ſales of the Eaſt-India Company; that a war of no leſs conſiderable effect had exiſted in India, earlier in fact, but much earlier in preparation. The account of the preparation in the event of anticipated hoſtilities, which had been ſent out in March, muſt have affected the ſale of goods which arrived about the month of July; the account of actual hoſtilities, reſolved on in May, muſt have reached India in September. The variation created by the preparation for war had kept the public mind afloat for ten months, and the ſlowneſs of intelligence relating to actual hoſtilities, had kept them afloat from April to October. The preparations for the Mahratta war, had originated in October 1802. The principal particulars of expence under this head, occurred at Bombay and Madras. It was true, hoſtilities had not been commenced till Auguſt, 1803, but the expence of preparation had been conſiderable. He would not enter into the general policy of the grounds of this war, nor of the advantages of its concluſion. He would proceed ſimply to the ſtatement of the accounts. The ſtatement was generally divided into three claſſes: 1ſt. revenues and charges; 2d. commercial inveſtments; and 3d. debts and aſſets, abroad and at home. And firſt for the year of actual account, ending April 1803. The firſt view was the average expenditure of three years, compared with the actual produce of the laſt year; and whether from that, the probable revenue of the next year would be adequate to the probable expenditure. His lordſhip then read the ſtatement, which was as follows:

GENERAL VIEW.

Bengal.

Revenues.—No. 1, average 1800-1 to 1802-3 -	£7-388,804
More than average laſt drawn - - -	627,205
No. 3, eſtimated for 1802-3 - -	7,612,384
Actual amount - - - -	8,330,087
More than eſtimate - - - -	767,703
Charges.—No. 3, eſtimated for 1802-3 - -	4,535,066
Actual amount - - - -	4,775,512
More than eſtimate - - - -	240,446
Deduct exceſs of charge from exceſs of revenue, the net revenue is more than eſtimated - -	527,257
And the net revenue for 1802-3 is - -	3,604,575

Eſtimates, 1803-4.

Revenues—No. 1 - - - -	8,064,981
Charges—No. 2 - - - -	5,066,940
Net revenue - - -	2,998,041
Revenue eſtimated leſs than actual, 1802-3 -	315,106
Charges ditto, more than ditto - -	291,428
Net revenue eſtimated for 1803-4, leſs than preceding year - - - -	606,534

Madras.

Revenues.—The objection to drawing an average on the groſs receipts of three years ſtill prevailing, as it would not give a correct view of the annual reſources of the Preſidency, or be a proper mode of compariſon with former years, on account of the large addition acquired by treaty in particular years, the ſame principle is reſorted to as formerly, *viz.* by ſtating the average of the receipts on the more ancient revenues of the Company, wholly excluding the ſubſidiary or other reſources derived either from treaty or conqueſt. On this principle, the average on three years, 1800-1 to 1802-3, by the ſtatement No. 4, amounts to - - - -	1,174,533

Which

	£.
Which is more than the average on the three years, 1799-1800 to 1801-2, by - - -	37,936
Revenues.—No. 6, eſtimated for 1802-3 - -	4,670,369
Actual amount - - - -	4,724,904
More than eſtimate - - -	54,535
Charges.—No. 6, eſtimated for 1802-3 - -	4,555,676
Actual amount - - - -	4,925,560
More than eſtimate - - - -	379,830
Deduct exceſs of revenue from exceſs of charge, the net charge is more than eſtimated - -	325,295
And the net charge of the year 1802-3 is -	210,602

Eſtimates, 1803-4.

Revenues—No. 4 - - - -	4,888,895
Charges—No. 5 - - - - -	5,088,157
Net charge - - -	129,262
Revenue, eſtimated more than actual, 1802-3 -	163,991
Charges, ditto - - - -	82,651
Net charge eſtimated for 1803-4, leſs than preceding year - - - -	81,340

Bombay.

Revenues.—No. 7, excluding, as laſt year, the revenues of the ceded counties, likewiſe the Guicowar ſubſidy; the average receipts on the three years 1800-1 to 1802-3, amount to - - - -	309,042
Which exceeds the average on the three years, 1799-1800 to 1801-2, by - - -	57,586
No. 9, eſtimated for 1802-3 - -	410,280
Actual amount - - - -	359,546
Leſs than eſtimate - -	50,734

	£.
Charges.—No. 9, eſtimated for 1802-3 - -	907,406
Actual amount - - - -	1,329,306
More than eſtimate - -	321,900
Add deficiency of revenue to exceſs of charge, the net charge is more than eſtimated - -	372,634
And the net charge of the year 1802-3 is -	869,760

Eſtimates, 1803-4.

Revenues—No. 7 - - - -	518,575
Charges—No. 8 - - - -	1,478,881
Net charge - - -	960,306
Revenue, eſtimated more than actual, 1802-3 -	159,029
Charges, ditto - - - -	249,575
Net charge, eſtimated for 1803-4, more than preceding year - - - -	90,546

Bencoolen and other Settlements.

No. 10.—Revenues of Fort Marlbro', on average, three years, 1798-9 to 1800-1 - - -	8,806
Charges, ditto ditto - - - -	102,030
Net charge - - -	93,224
Supplies from Bengal to Fort Marlbro', eſtimated for 1802-3 - - - - -	116,000
No. 18.—Actual amount - - -	196,848
More than eſtimated - -	80,848
No. 11.—Supplies eſtimated for 1803-4 - -	212,628

GENERAL VIEW.

Reſult of the Year 1802-3 *collectively.*

Revenues.—Bengal, by No.	3	-	8,380,087	
Madras	6	-	4,935,506	
Bombay	9	-	1,229,306	
Total revenues		-		13,464,537

Charges.

			£.	
Charges. — Bengal	No. 3	-	4,775,512	
Madras	6	-	4,935,506	
Bombay	9	-	359,306	
Total charges		-		10,940,324
Net revenue of the three Preſidencies		-	-	12,524,213
Deduct ſupplies to Bencoolen, &c. No. 18			-	196,843
Remaining net revenue		-	-	2,327,365
Deduct intereſt, &c. paid on the debts,				
At Bengal, No. 18		-	972,234	
Madras 19		-	295,054	
Bombay 20		-	190,089	
			1,457,377	
Deduct intereſt on ſecurities purchaſed by ſinking fund, in ſmall part eſtimated			95,924	
Net intereſt	-	-	-	1,361,453
The remainder		-	-	965,912
is the ſurplus from the territorial, &c. revenues, after defraying the charges and intereſt.				
Add, amount of ſales of imports, by No. 15			-	537,940
The total	-	-	-	1,503,852
is the ſum applicable to commercial purpoſes.				

Amount advanced for the purchaſe of Inveſtments, Payment of Commercial Charges, and in aid of China:

At Bengal,	No. 18	-	1,353,036	
Madras	19	-	590,221	
Bombay	20	-	156,655	
Marlbro'	22	-	16,219	
Total advances for inveſtments			-	2,117,031
Cargoes invoiced to Europe in 1802-3, with charges, by No. 22		-	-	1,742,353

GENERAL VIEW.

Reſult of the Eſtimates for the Years 1803-4 *collectively.*

Revenues.—Bengal,	No. 4	-	8,064,981	
Madras	4	-	4,888,895	
Bombay	7	-	518,575	
Total revenues		-		13,472,451

Charges.

	£.	£.
Charges. —Bengal, No. 2 -	5,066,940	
Madras 5 -	5,018,157	
Bombay 8 -	1,478,881	
Total charges - -		11,563,978
Net eſtimated revenue of the three Preſidencies -		1,908,473
Deduct ſupplies to Bencoolen, &c. No. 11 -		212,628
Remainder - - -		1,695,845
Deduct further intereſt on the debts, by No. 16 - - -	1,574,011	
Deduct intereſt on ſecurities purchaſed by ſinking fund - -	126,360	
Net intereſt - - -		1,147,651
The ſum then remaining -		248,194
is the ſurplus revenue, after defraying the charges and intereſt.		
Add, amount eſtimated to be received on the ſales of import, No. 15 - - - -		535,952
The total - - -		784,146
is the ſum eſtimated to be applicable, in the year 1803-4, to the purpoſes of commerce.		

Debts in India.

Amount ſtated laſt year - -	19,965,739	
Deduct, in the hands of the commiſſioners of ſinking fund - -	1,311,358	
Net amount of debts laſt year -		18,654,381
Amounts this year, by No. 16 -	21,881,571	
Deduct ſinking fund, as above -	2,012,348	
Net amount of debts this year - - -		19,869,223
Increaſe - - - - -		1,214,842
Debts transferred in the year, by No. 17 -		4,484

Debts bearing Intereſt.

Amount laſt year - -	16,994,833	
Deduct, in the hands of the commiſſioners of ſinking fund - -	1,136,352	

Net

		£.
Net amount of debts bearing intereſt laſt year	-	15,858,481
Amount this year, by No. 16 -	18,712,933	
Deduct ſinking fund, as above -	1,686,917	
Net amount of debts bearing intereſt this year	-	17,026,016
Increaſe of debts bearing intereſt	- -	1,167,535
Amount of intereſt payable by accounts of laſt year - - -	1,481,070	
Deduct, on ſecurities in hands of commiſſioners of ſinking fund -	86,900	
Net amount of intereſt payable laſt year	- -	1,394,170
Amount this year, by No. 16 -	1,574,011	
Deduct ſinking fund, as above -	126,360	
Net amount of intereſt payable this year	-	1,447,651
Increaſe of intereſt payable - - -		53,481

Aſſets in India,

Conſiſting of caſh, goods, ſtores, &c. laſt year - - -	13,372,741	
Deduct, balance and ſecurities in hands of commiſſioners of ſinking fund -	1,311,358	
Net amount of aſſets laſt year	- -	12,061,383
Conſiſting, as above, by account No. 21, this year - - -	14,630,971	
Deduct ſinking fund, as above -	2,012,348	
Net amount of aſſets this year -	- -	12,618,623
Increaſe of aſſets - - - -		557,241
Deducting increaſe of aſſets from increaſe of debts, the ſtate of the Company's affairs in India appears worſe in this view, by - - - -		657,601

Home Accounts.

No. 25.—Aggregate amount of ſales	- -	8,425,263
Leſs than laſt year -	1,202,863	

The

	£.	
The amount of ſales of Company's goods, leſs by -	170,459	
Ditto, private goods, ditto	970,119	
Ditto, neutral property, ditto	62,285	
Difference, as above -	1,202,863	
The ſales of the Company's goods were eſtimated at		6,805,5
The actual amount was - - -		5,877,5
Being leſs than eſtimated, by - -		927,9
The receipts on the ſales of the Company's goods, eſtimated at - - - -		6,085,5
No. 23. Actually amounted to - -		5,482,3
Being leſs than eſtimated, by - -		603,1
Charges and Profits on private trade, eſtimated at -		150,0
Actually amounted to - - - -		176,5
Exceeded the eſtimate, by - -		26,5

GENERAL RESULT.

The balance of Caſh, eſtimated to be in favour of the Company on 1ſt March, 1804, amounted to -	89,3
The balance, by the actual accounts, is in favour -	172,4
Being better than eſtimated - -	83,0

Principally in conſequence of the diſburſement for India and China, and on ſome other accounts, being leſs than eſtimated, which, with the protraction of the payment of the debt to the Bank, exceeded the greater expenditure on freight, bonds, &c. added to the deficient receipt on the ſales of goods.

Eſtimate, 1803-4.

No. 23. Receipt for ſale of Company's goods -	6,598,4

GENERAL RESULT.

The receipt from the ſale of goods being calculated at a larger amount than laſt year, and the expectation ſtated of a re-iſſue of bonds, paid in the ſupply for India and China, being taken on a ſmaller ſcale, and the liquidation of the debt to the Bank not being reckoned upon, the balance, on the 1ſt of March, 1805, is eſtimated to be in favour, in the ſum of -	157,6

Debts at Home.

On 1st March, 1803 - - - -		£.4,773,886
On 1st March, 1804, No. 23 - - -		4,788,865
Increaſe - -		14,979

Aſſets at Home.

On 1st March, 1803 - - - -		17,440,593
On 1st March, 1804 - - - -		19,168,736
Increaſe - -		1,728,143
Deducting the increaſe of debts from the increaſe of aſſets, the improvement in the Home concern in the year is - - - - -		1,713,164

China and St. Helena.

Balance at China laſt year, in favour -	91,434	
Balance at China, by the preſent accounts, No. 24, againſt -	260,900	
Decreaſe at China -	352,324	
Balance at St. Helena, on 30th Sept. 1801, in favour - 78,848		
Ditto at ditto, on 30th Sept. 1802, in favour, No. 24 105,194		
Increaſe at St. Helena	26,346	
Net decreaſe at China and St. Helena - -		325,988

GENERAL COMPARISON OF DEBTS AND ASSETS.

Increaſe of debts in India - - -		1,214,842
Increaſe of debts at home - - -		14,979
Total increaſe of debts - -		1,229,821
Increaſe of aſſets in India - -	557,240	
Increaſe of aſſets at home - -	1,728,143	
	2,285,383	
Deduct, net decreaſe of balance at China and St. Helena - - -	325,988	
Net increaſe of aſſets - -		1,959,396

The

	£.
The net improvement of the year, in this view, appears to be - - - - -	729,575
From this ſum ſhould be deducted the amount of cargoes arrived in India previous to the 30th April, 1803, and included in the quick ſtocks there, which formed part of the cargoes afloat outward, in the aſſets at home - - - - -	417,000
The remainder is - -	312,575
Which may be conſidered as ſtill liable to further adjuſtments, when the final arrangement of the claims of the Company upon Government, as ſtated in the Home aſſets, ſhall be completed.	

This ſtatement being concluded, the Noble Lord called the attention of the committee to the eſtimates which he had brought forward for 1802-3. He had then expreſſed his ſanguine conviction, not only that the public would receive a participation of 500,000l. but that the Company, in addition to this contribution to the public, would be able to eſtabliſh a ſinking fund for the extinction of their debt, to the amount of two millions a year. He allowed that theſe expectations had not yet been realiſed, but attributed the temporary failure to merely accidental circumſtances; to the war in India, and to the renewal of hoſtilities between Great Britain and France. The Noble Lord alſo explained the difficulties which obſtructed the repayment of the Company's debts, and endeavoured to ſhew theſe difficulties principally aroſe from the advances made toward the ſupport of government. It were much better, he obſerved, if theſe means were provided from Europe, for the rate of intereſt in India rendered them far more enormous. Indeed, if the whole of the accounts were fairly looked to, and alſo the circumſtances under which they ſtood, he ventured to hope that a far more favourable proſpect would be opened both to the Company and the public than generally ſeemed to be expected.

Theſe ſtatements met with ſome oppoſition from Lord Archibald Hamilton, Mr. Johnſtone, and Lord Henry Petty, to whoſe obſervations Lord Caſtlereagh gave ſatisfactory replies. Mr. Francis alſo made a long ſeries of reflections on the affairs and conduct of the Eaſt India Company, to which an anſwer was given by Mr. Charles Grant, who concluded with aſſerting, from his own knowledge, that the Company's affairs, were, on the whole, much better now than in 1793; and that, by the help of a ſinking fund, which had been wiſely eſtabliſhed abroad, he hoped to ſee them ere long relieved from all their incumbrances.

The reſolutions propoſed by Lord Caſtlereagh were agreed to without a diviſion.

CHAP.

CHAP. XI.

Miſcellaneous Tranſactions in Parliament. Mr. Dent's Motion reſpecting the Loyalty Loan; ſupported by Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox; but reſiſted by Mr. Addington, and rejected. Arrangement propoſed by Mr. Pitt after the Change of Miniſtry; oppoſed by Mr. Dent, but carried. Motion of Mr. Pitt on the Arrears of the Civil Liſt; agreed to without a Diviſion. Finance Reſolutions moved by Mr. Johnſtone and Mr. Pitt. Bill for regulating Prize-Agents; debated and abandoned. Bill againſt counterfeiting Bank Dollars; oppoſed in both Houſes, but paſſes. Meaſures for Relief and Regulation of the Clergy; Relief afforded to Curates; Act for regulating the Age at which Perſons can take Deacon's and Prieſt's Orders. Bill for affording an additional Allowance to the Clergy in the City of London; oppoſed by the Duke of Norfolk; Obſervations of the Biſhop of London; the Lord Chancellor; the Debate adjourned; able Speech of the Biſhop of St. Aſaph; the Bill paſſes. Regulations concerning Commerce; in the Corn-Laws; a Bill brought in; Reſolutions moved by Lord Stanhope; rejected. Regulations in the Cotton Trade. Money advanced to the Sierra Leone Company. Motion on the Slave Trade; Speech of Mr. Wilberforce; Bill for aboliſhing the Trade paſſes the Houſe of Commons; but loſt in the Houſe of Lords. Petitions in both Houſes reſpecting the Conduct of Judge Fox; Debates on them; two other Petitions preſented; Charges framed by the Marquis of Abercorn; further Proceedings ordered to take place in the next Seſſion. Election Petitions. Ayleſbury Caſe; Bill for altering the right of voting in that Borough; oppoſed but paſſed. Proceedings on the Middleſex Election; Report of the Committee; implicates the Sheriffs in a Charge of encouraging Perjury; a new Writ ordered, but further Proceedings on the Report poſtponed until the next Seſſion. Prorogation. King's Speech.

THE miſcellaneous tranſactions of this active ſeſſion are intitled to conſiderable notice.

24th April. Before the change of the miniſtry, Mr. Dent made a motion that the act for, what was called the Loyalty Loan, ſhould be referred to a committee of the whole houſe, for the purpoſe of taking into conſideration the intereſts of the holders. He entered into a minute hiſtory of all the particulars in any ſort connected with the negotiation of that loan, the paſſing the act which legalized the tranſaction, and every ſubſequent event, by which he thought the faith of government in the leaſt implicated, or the intereſts of the holders affected. The loan was propoſed on Thurſday the 1ſt of December, and by ten o'clock on Monday, the 5th, names were put down for the whole amount of 18 millions. On the 23d of the ſame month, when the bill received the royal aſſent, the ſum of one million and a half was actually paid down, on the faith of the agreement which had been made by the then Chancellor of the Exchequer. Several meetings were afterward held,

held, and different opinions were known to have been given as to the legal interpretation of the preciſe terms of the act. On the whole, he argued that, if the ſubſcribers did actually expect to have a right to demand re-payment in two years after the ratification of the definitive treaty of peace, it could not be deemed conſiſtent with the honour or good faith of the nation, to permit individuals to ſuffer by any embarraſſment or doubtfulneſs in the formation of an act of parliament.

The motion was ſupported both by Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox, but as it was brought forward on the very eve of a meeting which Mr. Addington had appointed with the parties who were to negotiate for a new loan, it was conſidered as a mere party manœuvre, and as, not only the law adviſers of the crown, but Mr. Piggott, who was known to be attached to the oppoſition party, had given decided opinions on the act of parliament, miniſters determined to act according to thoſe legal opinions, and poſtpone the payment or funding of that portion of debt. Mr. Pitt endeavoured to ſhew that after the bargain had been concluded between government and the ſubſcribers to the loan, parliament had varied the terms, without the conſent of the other contracting party, and Mr. Fox argued the matter with ſuch warmth, as to draw on himſelf the animadverſions of Mr. Tierney, but on a diviſion, Mr. Dent's motion was negatived by a majority of 24; the numbers being 100 to 76.

10th July. By the part he took on this occaſion, Mr. Pitt entailed on himſelf the neceſſity of making ſome arrangement for the ſatisfaction of theſe public creditors, when he came into office. Accordingly, in a committee of the whole houſe, he entered into a detailed review of the tranſaction, declaring that, in his opinion, the houſe was pledged, on principles of good faith, to adhere to the original reſolution of the committee of Ways and Means. He therefore propoſed that all thoſe concerned in this loan, who ſhould apply before a time to be limited, ſhould have the equivalent of their money in capital ſtock, with an addition of one quarter's intereſt. The value of the ſtock to be computed by the average of the lateſt ten days for transferring it. In order to guard againſt artificial means that might be employed for lowering the price of ſtock previous to the payment, it would be requiſite that an option ſhould be left to the commiſſioners of the Treaſury, whether the ſtock ſhould be given in the 5 per cents. or in the 3 per cent. conſols or reduced. It ought alſo to be underſtood, that it was in caſe the 5 per cent. ſtock was accepted, that the addition of one quarter's intereſt was to be given. In caſe the 3 per cents. ſhould be choſen, as much ſtock would be given as would be merely equivalent to £100 for every £100 lent. Thoſe who did not chuſe to agree to this arrangement, were at liberty to claim their money, and meaſures would be taken early in the next ſeſſion, for the payment of that money, with the difference of the intereſt, from the 10th of October till the time of payment.

This propoſal was not quite ſatisfactory to Mr. Dent, who doubted whether the loan-holders would avail themſelves of it; the reſolutions

tions were, however, voted without a diviſion; but Mr. Addington, who had not been preſent at this debate, took the opportunity,

11th. when the report of the committee was brought up, to re-aſſert his former opinions, that the holders of ſtock in that loan were not intitled to payment before April 1805; a majority of the houſe had ſo determined on a former night; and relying, as he did, upon the firſt law authorities in the land, he was ſtill of the ſame opinion.

2d July. The ſtate of the civil liſt had been mentioned to parliament during the laſt ſeſſion by the late Chancellor of the Exchequer, and was now again introduced to the attention of the Houſe by Mr. Pitt. The report made by a committee on this ſubject, ſhewed, he ſaid, that a conſiderable exceeding had taken place in ſeveral articles in the year 1802, beyond the eſtimates of 1787. This exceeding, it appeared, had taken place only in articles of three deſcriptions: firſt, in the 3d claſs, which comprehended the ſalaries and eſtabliſhments of foreign miniſters; next, in the 4th claſs, comprehending the expences of the houſehold; and laſtly, in that claſs of expenditure, ranked under the head of occaſional payments. Many of the items of increaſe under this head, aroſe from the additional expences of foreign ſervice, from objects of internal police, from the augmented expences of both houſes of parliament, from ſecret foreign ſervices, and the additional expence in meſſengers, in conſequence of the renewal of hoſtilities. When parliament had diſcharged theſe arrears in 1802, an opinion had been clearly expreſſed that a further proviſion ought to be made; it had not been done; two years and a half had ſince elapſed, and the debt which he had then to propoſe to make a proviſion for, amounted to £590,000. With reſpect to the future ſtate of the civil liſt, all the committees that had reported on the ſubject, had agreed, that there were many changes that ought to be transferred to the eſtimates annually voted by the houſe, moſt of them new in their nature, or carried to an extent not foreſeen in the former eſtimates. Many of thoſe aroſe from the war, from the internal circumſtances and ſituation of the country, from increaſed law expences, from the additional expence of ſtationary for Parliament, from the arrangement for the improvement of both houſes, and from the multiplication of private bills, none of which ought properly to be charged on the civil liſt. Theſe charges came all under the head of occaſional payments, but it was not his intention to propoſe to transfer them all to be annually voted, but ſuch a proportion of them as would amount to the ſum of £135,000, on the ſcale on which they were eſtimated for the preſent year, and which would be ſubject to ſome diminution on the return of peace. For reaſons which he aſſigned, he did not think it proper to relieve the civil liſt from this payment at preſent, he mentioned it only by way of explanation, of what he meant to ſubmit to the houſe on a future day. The other propoſal that he had to make was a grant of a poſitive addition to the civil liſt. The expences chargeable on this revenue, under

certain heads, which he enumerated, amounted in 1802 to £218,000, and he was convinced, that a positive addition of £60,000 to meet the increaſe in the different articles, would appear moderate, eſpecially when it was conſidered that theſe were articles that moſt intimately contributed to the comforts of every branch of the royal family. After ſeveral other intereſting explanations, Mr. Pitt obſerved that the eſtimated charges on the civil liſt amounted to £975,000; the revenue of the civil liſt, did not quite amount to £900,000; it appeared, however, that certain fees which had been added to the civil liſt, raiſed it to £921,000; which left a deficit of £64,000. The right honourable gentleman, therefore propoſed to vote a poſitive addition of £60,000 to the civil liſt, and truſted that the grounds he had ſtated would be ſo ſatisfactory to the committee, that they would feel no repugnance to adopt his propoſition. He concluded by moving, that the ſum of £591,842 3s. 10d½. be granted to his majeſty, for defraying the arrears of the civil liſt.

In the diſcuſſion which enſued, ſeveral very ſatisfactory explanations were given reſpecting the amount, and application of the civil liſt. Mr. Addington ſaid, that on comparing the ſums granted in aid of the civil liſt, with the produce of the hereditary revenue given up by the king, if there could be a matter of account between the ſovereign and his people, the people were gainers. The application now made was an appeal to more than the generoſity of Parliament, and he was ſure the houſe would have no difficulty in acceding to it.

Sir Francis Burdett made a long ſpeech in his uſual manner, complaining of the national debt, the taxes, and the general ſyſtem of expenditure; but the houſe agreed to the propoſed reſolutions without a diviſion.

On the general ſubject of finance, a ſtring of reſolutions, too long for inſertion in this place, was moved by Mr. Johnſtone, who profeſſed to have taken up the ſame ground as Mr. Tierney had formerly done. 14th July.

Two days afterward, the Chancellor of the Exchequer produced a longer, more detailed, and, in its reſult, more ſatisfactory ſet of reſolutions; for while Mr. Johnſtone attempted to prove that the difference between the receipt and the expenditure left an annual deficiency of £1,771,585, Mr. Pitt convinced the houſe, that the deficiency, on the moſt extravagant calculation, did not amount to £200,000, and gave good reaſons for believing that there would in fact be a ſurplus. Mr. Johnſtone's reſolutions were all negatived, and thoſe of Mr. Pitt adopted by the houſe. 16th.

In conſequence of one of the reports from the commiſſioners appointed to inquire into the abuſes in the navy, * a bill had been brought into Parliament for the better regulation of the buſineſs of Prize Agents. This bill, although conſiderably patronized by Mr. Addington's adminiſtration, was much diſliked by that of his ſucceſſor. On the motion for a ſecond reading, Mr. Pitt made ſeveral objections 7th June.

* See Annual Regiſter, 1803. p. 172.

to

to its regulations, and Mr. Robert Ward, who held ſome office under Mr. Pitt, ſaid, Mr. Addington would find himſelf miſtaken in ſuppoſing that no member could object to the principle of this bill. For his own part he thought it very objectionable. It propſoed to introduce a new code quite different from that which had exiſted ſince the reign of Queen Anne, and to erect a new office under the direction of the Board of Admiralty, with ſalaries of £6,000 a year. Every man in the navy, below the rank of Captain, was alſo to be deprived of the right of nominating his own agent; and that controul over the proceeds of prize money while an appeal was pending, which ſeamen now had in conſequence of a late act, was to be done away. On further examination, however, the meaſure was found not to be ſufficiently matured for preſent enactment, and the friends of the bill put a period to its exiſtence, by the uſual motion for a reading that day three months. 27th.

In conſequence of the complaints made in the early part of the ſeſſion of the deficiency of ſilver coinage both in England and Ireland, the Bank in each country iſſued ſilver tokens for the immediate purpoſes of circulation. Thoſe of England were Spaniſh dollars, ſtruck by a machine, made by Mr. Bolton of Birmingham, ſo as completely to extinguiſh the ſovereign and arms of Spain, and to ſubſtitute a handſome likeneſs of the King of Great Britain, and on the reverſe a figure of Britannia, with appropriate embelliſhments. Theſe were to paſs for five ſhillings each; thoſe of the Bank of Ireland which paſſed for five ſhillings were conſiderably ſmaller, and there were half crowns and tenpenny pieces of proportionate magnitude. But as theſe tokens might eaſily be counterfeited in either country, and the offenders could not be reached by the laws againſt coiners, it was found neceſſary to bring in a bill declaring the offence of counterfeiting theſe tokens to be felony, puniſhable in the ſame manner, as other felonies.

This bill met with conſiderable oppoſition. Mr. Prinſep objected to its introduction, on the ground that no coin ſhould be allowed to be in circulation but what had been coined at his majeſty's mint, In a ſubſequent ſtage of the bill, Mr. Francis, Lord Folkſtone, and Mr. Windham made ſimilar objections, and cenſured, as a groſs fraud and an inſult to the royal prerogative, the ſtamping of the king's head on the tokens of the bank. In the Upper Houſe, Lord Grenville treated the matter in ſimilar terms, and was indignant at the ſcheme by which a profit of ten per cent was to be given to the bank by making Parliament ſanction and enforce the circulation of a coinage for five ſhillings, which was worth only four ſhillings and ſix-pence, or perhaps leſs. The bill paſſed without a diviſion. 19th June. 2d July. 3d.

Some portion of the attention of Parliament was beſtowed on the ſtate of the clergy, for the improvement of which two meaſures were adopted, and one act paſſed for their regulation. By a vote of the Houſe of Commons a ſum not exceeding £8000 was iſſued to form a fund, for compenſation to

thoſe ſalaried curates who had been deprived of their ſubſiſtence by the act of the laſt ſeſſion, for enforcing reſidence. An act paſſed for the obſervance of the eccleſiaſtical regulation ſtated in the rubrick, but not eſtabliſhed by any legiſlative proviſion, that none ſhould receive deacons' orders until he ſhould have attained his twenty-third year, nor prieſts' orders, until he ſhould have attained his twenty-fourth year complete, and declaring all ordinations contrary to this ſtatute merely void, and all benefices held in conſequence of ſuch ordinations in future to be vacant.

April.

A bill brought in for making further proviſion for the clergy within the city of London, occaſioned in the upper houſe ſome animated debates. On the motion for a third reading, the Duke of Norfolk, allowing the object of the bill to be deſirable, objected to the mode in which it was propoſed to effect that object, as wholly inconſiſtent with the principles upon which that houſe had hitherto legiſlated in whatever affected the rights of private property. He would call upon their lordſhips to ſay whether they could, in honour and conſcience, paſs the bill, except the previous conſent of every perſon upon whom it would operate as a tax had been obtained. The clergy of London, from the time of the reformation to the reign of Charles II, was maintained by a certain poundage upon the rental of houſes. After the great fire, by a ſtatute of Charles II, that poundage was commuted for a ſum certain, and, at that proportion, it had continued until that moment. He would freely admit, that ſalary was by no means adequate to the proper maintenance of the clergy, and, much as he was inclined to concur in any meaſure that ſhould enable them to ſupport their due rank, yet he could not bring himſelf to conſent to this bill. He moved therefore that the third reading ſhould be poſtponed until that day three months.

19th July.

The Biſhop of London, after a juſt eulogy on the worth and merits of the clergy in his city, maintained, that their incomes were not ſufficient to ſupport them with that decency that became their ſituation: there were fifty livings, the higheſt of which was £200; others were of £150, and many only of £100 per annum. An act had paſſed to enforce the reſidence of the clergy. Many of the London clergy had no houſe on their livings: others had houſes not habitable, fit only for green grocers and coblers. It was his duty to enforce reſidence within the city. From the population and the value of houſes, a clergyman could not get a houſe for leſs than £180 or £150 per annum. How was this to be done with their incomes? It was all that moſt of them had. He could not enforce reſidence. It would be ruin to the clergy of London, while their incomes remained as at preſent.

The Lord Chancellor was not willing that the Bill ſhould be read a third time now, nor poſtponed for three months. He would propoſe, that it be deferred a few days only, that he might ſatisfy his mind, if poſſible, that the object of the bill, and the rights of

private

private property, were reconcileable in the mode taken by the bill. He had traced the hiſtory of the revenues of the London clergy. They were, at firſt, in the ſhape of offerings on ſaint's days; and were, on the average, about two ſhillings and nine-pence in the pound, on rateable houſes. That was commuted for the preſent fixed income. In following this hiſtory, he had found that the legiſlature had dealt by the clergy of London on principles peculiar to that part of its legiſlation. One clauſe in the bill, however, he was ſurpriſed at. How it could gain admiſſion he could not conceive. It was that which exempts the additional revenue of the London clergy from all parochial and parliamentary taxes. He never knew ſo abſurd a propoſition ſubmitted to parliament.

23d. On the day fixed by adjournment, the Biſhop of St. Aſaph, in a warm and eloquent ſpeech, of great length, entered into all the details and obſervations which the ſubject required. He began by obſerving that the bill was for the relief of *certain* incumbents; theſe certain incumbents, to whoſe relief this bill applied, was a great majority of the beneficed clergy of the city of London. It had been aſſerted, that the incumbents to be relieved by this bill, were a minority only of the London clergy. It had been ſaid, that the pariſhes, to which what is called the Fire Act applies, and to which of conſequence, this act which was an amendment of the fire act, would apply, were in number only 48; while the pariſhes within the city, not affected by the fire act, nor by this bill, were 51. This was a moſt outrageous falſehood. The pariſhes which fell under the fire act, and under this bill, were not fewer than 86; though the livings were no more than 51; for after the Fire of London, it was thought proper to rebuild only 51 of the 86 churches deſtroyed by that calamity, and by uniting, to reduce 69 of the benefices to 34. And thus the 86 pariſhes made only 51 livings. Still they were 86 pariſhes. But the pariſhes which eſcaped the fire and were not affected by the fire act, were 19 and no more. The incumbents, therefore, for whoſe relief this bill was introduced, were a very great majority of the London clergy. My Lords, he proceeded, your lordſhips have heard much, I believe, of the opulence of thoſe nineteen livings, in which the rights of the clergy were not curtailed by the fire act. Your lordſhips have heard, that the revenues of thoſe nineteen livings are immenſe, enormous, far beyond the proportion of the wants of any private clergyman, too much for clergymen to be permitted to enjoy! My Lords, this is another falſehood. One of thoſe livings is ſaid to produce £700 per annum, another £800. I ſpeak of reputed values, which are generally beyond the truth. But the average of the nineteen is no more than £290 per annum. The learned prelate then entered into an inveſtigation of the means by which the maintenance of the clergy in general was aſſured. It was derived principally from two ſources; tythes and oblations. Of tythes predial or mixed, London, like every other city, was utterly unproductive. Of perſonal tythes

they might hear much indeed in the old canoniſts, and ſomething in the ſtatute book, but the claim never was generally enforced; and no where leſs than in the city of London. The oblations therefore had been, in all times, the principal maintenance of the London clergy. It was true there were acts of parliament purporting to be for regulating the payment of tythes in London. But the word was inaccurately uſed, as a general name for the legal dues of the clergy, of whatever deſcription; or tythes, if any there were, were meant to be included under the general proviſions of thoſe acts. His lordſhip then traced with great preciſion, the riſe, progreſs and quantum of the oblations in the city of London, from the times of Roger Niger, who was biſhop early in the thirteenth century, down to the preſent, and in like manner noticed what had been done by Parliament on the ſame ſubject, particularly after the great fire, when the Stat. 32 Char. II. commonly called, the Fire Act was framed. The proviſion made for the clergy, he obſerved, might be adequate at that time, but the miſchief conſiſted in making the annual income certain; for certain annual income is unimproveable income. If the income was only a competence then, it evidently muſt be downright beggary now. And in the ſame proportion, and at the ſame pace, at which their pariſhioners had been growing rich, the clergy, with this unimproveable income, had been growing poor. If the clergyman, by his income, was upon a level with the merchant at the time of the reſtoration, he was now, with the ſame income, hardly upon a level with the junior clerk in the merchant's counting houſe. If he was to be raiſed to his true level, his income muſt be enlarged. To prove that the addition now propoſed was rather to be cenſured for its ſcantineſs than reprobated for its extravagance, he ſaid, it had been obſerved by a right reverend prelate the other day, that of the 51 livings which are the object of the fire act, ſix only amounted to £200 per annum. Theſe ſix will be raiſed by the preſent bill to £333 6s. 8d. Another indeed would be advanced to the amazing ſum of £366 13s. 4d! This was the great prize, which turns up from a late union of two pariſhes, which by the old act, produced by their ſeparate incomes put together, £220. But of the 51 livings, the far greater part would ſtill be under £300 per annum for the maintenance of an incumbent of a London living in the preſent times. Having treated this ſubject with great force, and animadverted on the arguments which could be produced againſt the bill in any of its parts, the reverend prelate noticed the argument drawn by the Duke of Norfolk from the want of the aſſent of every individual to be affected by the meaſure in theſe terms. "Far be it from me to ſay, that upon a meaſure of the greateſt public importance, if an individual has an apprehenſion of injury in his private property, he has not a right to petition your lordſhips. That it is not your lordſhips duty, if he ſets forth his caſe, to hear him at the bar upon his petition, and to take meaſures to prevent injury to private property, if injury is likely to ariſe.

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For although the intereſts of individuals may be, without injuſtice, in ſome degree deteriorated for the ſake of a public end, which cannot otherwiſe be attained; yet injury is not to be done to private rights, even for the ſake of public good, unleſs the conſideration of the public good involve conſiderations of juſtice, which may juſtify what otherwiſe might be unjuſt. But, my lords, in the caſe of the preſent bill, has any individual diſcovered any apprehenſion of detriment to his property? Have we had any petitions againſt the meaſure? My lords, this thing has not been done in a corner. There has been no concealment. The introduction of the bill into Parliament was a matter of the greateſt public notoriety. The draft of the bill was communicated to the court of common council. The court referred it to the conſideration of a committee, and that committee to a ſub-committee; which, I am told, is the uſual way, in which ſuch buſineſs is conducted in the city. The principal committee report to the court of common council, that the ſub-committee had reported to them, 'that having taken the ſaid bill into their conſideration, and having held ſeveral conferences with the committee of clergymen thereon (who agreed to ſome alterations upon their ſuggeſtion) they, after duly conſidering every circumſtance in favour of the ſaid incumbents, as alſo of their reſpective pariſhioners, were of opinion, that the ſaid bill as it now ſtands, will not be an unreaſonable charge on the inhabitants of this city; and, therefore, may with propriety, be acceded to by the corporation!' And we (viz. the principal committee) agreeing in opinion with the ſaid ſub-committee, humbly ſubmit the ſame, &c. But my lords, this is not all. A public meeting of the inhabitants of the city of London was called, not by any authority, but by thoſe who, delighting in public meetings, volunteered their ſervices. One meeting at leaſt was held, and came to ſome wiſe reſolutions, in reference to this application of the clergy to parliament; which, by order of the meeting, were to be communicated to the lord mayor, the aldermen, deputies, and common council of the ſeveral wards, and the churchwardens of the ſeveral pariſhes, to be by them communicated to the inhabitants at large; with the very evident, though not avowed, deſign of exciting an oppoſition to this bill. But, my lords, what did all this advertiſing and meeting, and reſolving, and communicating produce? Nothing at all, my lords. It certainly tended to turn the attention of the inhabitants of the whole city to the bill. But no petition was produced; not a mouth was opened, till in the very laſt ſtage of the bill, and when the preſent ſeſſion of parliament was ſuppoſed to be within a few days, or rather a few hours of its cloſe, a paper was preſented purporting to be a petition of the city of London againſt this bill. My lords, if a petition againſt any private bill had come, in ſuch a ſtage of the bill, and at ſuch a period of the ſeſſion, before a committee above ſtairs; I know, what the impreſſion would have been upon the mind of a noble friend of mine, who deſerves highly of the country for the vigilance with

which he watches the iniquity of private bills; I know, what the impreſſion would have been upon my noble friend's mind, and upon my own. The mode of oppoſition would have prepoſſeſſed us ſtrongly in favour of the bill ſo oppoſed. We ſhould have ſaid, 'This ſmells too ſtrong of trick.' A petition againſt a bill that has been the whole ſeſſion pending! In this ſtage of the bill! and in theſe expiring moments of the ſeſſion! The opponents feel they have nothing to ſay againſt the bill, and they would kill it by ſtratagem. I am too little acquainted with city politics, to pretend to gueſs in what way this ſame petition againſt the bill before your lordſhips might be procured; after the bill had received its ſecond reading, after the report of the committee above ſtairs upon the bill, when it was before a committee of the whole houſe, previous to its third reading. When firſt I heard of this famous petition, I thought it might be a ſtep taken only for the good of the Common Serjeant, that this bill might not be carried through without his deriving ſome emolument. I mean no diſreſpect to that learned gentleman; far from it. When he appeared at your lordſhip's bar, he felt, I ſuppoſe that he had little to ſay in ſupport of the petition, and he had the good ſenſe to ſay very little."

The Lord Chancellor ſtill retained ſome doubts; but the Earl of Roſslyn, and the Biſhop of London ſtrenuouſly ſupporting the opinion of the Biſhop of St. Aſaph, the bill paſſed without a diviſion, although the Duke of Norfolk and the Duke of Clarence ſtill objected to it on the ground of precedent.

Some regulations concerning commerce alſo engaged a conſiderable ſhare of the attention of parliament. Mr. Addington, while he was Chancellor of the Exchequer, had obtained the appointment of a ſelect committee, to inquire into certain petitions ſo far as they related to the act paſſed in 1791, for regulating the exportation and importation of corn. It was not his intention, he ſaid, to call in queſtion the policy of thoſe laws, nor to enter into any diſcuſſion how far they were wiſe and good at the time when they were enacted; but he ſhould propoſe to make it a ſubject of inquiry whether the principle of the act paſſed in 1791, for regulating the import and export of corn, had been carried completely into effect; and whether thoſe prices that had been then fixed upon as the criterion for allowing importation and exportation, were adequate to the preſent circumſtances of the country; whether they were equal to the preſent rate of money, the price of labour, and all the neceſſaries of life. During the conflict of parties previous to the diſſolution of Mr. Addington's adminiſtration this matter was not further noticed, but before the cloſe of the ſeſſion, the report was taken into conſideration by a committee of the whole houſe, and after a debate, in which many circumſtances connected with the commercial and agricultural intereſts of the country were ably and fairly diſcuſſed, the report was agreed to.

13th April.

20th June.

A bill, formed on the baſis of this report was brought into the Houſe of Lords. Some petitions were preſented againſt it, and Earl Stanhope

Stanhope ſhowed himſelf its determined opponent in all its ſtages. On the motion for a ſecond reading, his lordſhip detailed his objections at conſiderable length, and was, in ſome degree ſupported by the Biſhop of St. Aſaph; he was anſwered by Lord Hawkeſbury, and when a diviſion was taken on his motion for the rejection of the bill, he divided alone, againſt 21 peers.

16th July.

The oppoſition to this bill in the Houſe of Commons proceeded principally from the members for the city of London, who acted in obedience to the directions of their conſtituents. Alderman Combe endeavoured to procure the rejection of the bill for the preſent ſeſſion at leaſt by moving its next reading ſhould be poſtponed ſix months, but although this meaſure failed, ſome alterations were made, which rendered it neceſſary to return it to the Lords.

24th July.

On its return to the Upper houſe, it was again oppoſed by the Earl of Stanhope, who detailed his general views on the ſubject by ſubmitting to conſideration three reſolutions. They were, 1ſt. That public granaries ſhould be eſtabliſhed to receive, in years of plenty, corn and grain grown in this country, in order to keep down the prices in years of ſcarcity, and effectually to ſecure to this nation, in all ſeaſons, a ſufficient ſupply, and likewiſe in order to provide for the farmers at all times a certain market for their corn and grain, and to diminiſh fluctuation in the price of the neceſſaries of life. 2d. That all impediments, created by any law or laws, to the free warehouſing of corn or grain, ought to be removed, aboliſhed, and repealed; and 3d. That in order to encourage the growth of corn and grain in Great Britain and Ireland, and, at the ſame time, to decreaſe the price for the benefit of the people at large, and for the increaſe of our manufactures and commerce, farmers ſhould be for ever diſcharged from the payment of all direct taxes, pariſh and county rates, ceſſes, dues, tythes, and parliamentary impoſitions whatever; ſave only and except thoſe rates of the nature of a penalty which might be raiſed on any hundred as ſuch. Theſe reſolutions were ſeverally ſupported by arguments applicable to each. They drew down ſome ſevere animadverſions from ſeveral noble lords, and were ſuperſeded by a motion of adjournment. The bill paſſed the next day.

27th July.

The ſtate of the cotton trade was alſo referred to a committee, and on the application of the manufacturers, an act paſſed for ſettling differences between them and the journeymen. A ſimilar attempt was made in behalf of the woollen manufacturers, and on the application of the journeymen, the caſe of the calicoe printers was referred to a committee. Both theſe efforts failed; and in the latter inſtance the committee having adjourned *ſine die*, without making any report, Mr. Sheridan mentioned the matter to the houſe, as one deſerving their vigilant and jealous attention. The province of a committee, he ſaid, was merely to lay before the houſe a brief of the caſe, and the evidence, with their opinion

nion annexed, but it did not belong to them to assume to be the ultimate judge.

In the course of the session, in consequence of a petition from the Sierra-Leone Company, a sum of £28,000 was granted for the support of that settlement. In a debate on the subject, the formation of the colony was viewed in two lights; as a commercial speculation, which it was owned, had completely failed; and as a mean to abolish the Slave trade, by introducing civilization into Africa, which was by many considered as its most commendable purpose.

The slave trade itself was also the subject of considerable discussion, on various occasions in the course of the session. Mr. Wilberforce introduced the subject, and began by moving for copies of correspondence, and for certain accounts. Having obtained these, he moved that the house should resolve itself into a committee, to consider of the propriety of introducing a bill for the abolition of the Slave trade within a time to be limited. In support of this motion, he made a long speech, in which he recapitulated the measures already adopted by parliament on the subject; and enlarged on the evils resulting to Africa from the continuance of this traffic. So pernicious had been our connection with the unfortunate Africans, that the general progress of civilization had been reversed, and, contrary to former experience, the interior of the country had become the most refined, while those on the coast, who had had the greatest correspondence with us, had become the most profligate, the most ignorant, and the most corrupt. Not only, indeed, is this the case; but even where any sparks of civilization had appeared, our traders had taken care to extinguish them. In the interior of Africa, agriculture and several of the arts are known. They were so far civilized as to assemble in large towns, which was always a concomitant of refinement. They could work in iron, and had several other manufactures, according to the accounts of the best informed travellers. But on the coast, there were neither arts nor commerce, nor any vestige of civilization; but, on the contrary, wretchedness, ignorance, and superstition of the lowest and most degrading kind. Even their superstition, in order to be consistent in our wickedness, we attempted to encourage, and notwithstanding our professions of christianity, endeavoured to confirm and even increase their absurd ideas of witchcraft, and their other prejudices, which were found subservient to the purposes of our avarice. If there were any corruptions of christianity, we scrupled not to communicate them; but, whatever could enlighten or improve, we carefully withheld. These evils were not extended over a small tract of country, or they might perhaps be less to be regretted; but they were extended over a coast of not less than between three and four thousand miles, and to a distance of seven hundred miles up into the interior. It was impossible to reflect on the wretched state of such a vast population without pity and indignation; and of what baseness might we

Feb. 30th May.

we not accuſe ourſelves, when it was conſidered that we are in a great meaſure the cauſe of many of their evils. After ſome obſervations on the mode of carrying the ſlaves to the Weſt Indies and the treatment of them after their arrival, Mr. Wilberforce noticed ſome of the arguments which, on former occaſions had been uſed againſt him. And firſt, he animadverted with great ſeverity on the aſſertion made by ſome writers, and particularly by Mr. Long, in his Hiſtory of Jamaica, that the negro was incapable of civilization, little ſuperior to the general race of brutes, and that for a negro woman an oran-outang would be no diſgraceful huſband. Mr. Wilberforce was willing to allow that they were very deficient indeed in the arts of life, and in many reſpects inſenſible to the finer feelings of our nature. He would allow that ſome advocates engaged in the ſame cauſe, had hurt the intereſts of his clients, by repreſenting them as ſuperior to other men in the acuteneſs of their feelings, and in the alevation of their natural ſentiments. At the ſame time, he could, by no means, think they were deſtitute of thoſe qualities. And as to their being mere brutes, the ſame opinion had been expreſſed concerning the original inhabitants of the continent of America by thoſe who were anxious to rob and butcher them, but ſo long ago as the year 1537, the pope by a bull ordained that it had pleaſed him to acknowledge the Americans to be true men. He went through the writings of many of the travellers in Africa, to ſhew that the ſlave trade was the cauſe of all the miſeries of that continent, for that wars were entered into by the natives for the mere purpoſe of obtaining ſlaves; all puniſhments were commuted into ſlavery, and many innocent perſons were condemned for the ſake of the profit. Mr. Wilberforce then examined another argument of his opponents; that the Africans were ſo wretched, and ſo poor, that their ſituation could not be altered for the worſe. On this head he introduced the accuſtomed topics of ſeparating men from their families, their connections and their native land, and contended that their condition at home comprized many comforts. Another argument, the honourable gentleman ſaid, had been derived from Providence, and even from ſcripture itſelf. He could not help regarding ſuch an argument as in the higheſt degree profane; and thoſe who offered it, he was perſuaded, could have little claim to religion. As to the injury to accrue to the Weſt India colonies from the abolition of the trade, he obſerved that the agents for the iſlands had already ſhewn themſelves miſtaken in the predictions they hazarded when reſtrictions were in queſtion, and it was not too much for Parliament to ſuppoſe that they were ſo ſtill, in thoſe they promulgated reſpecting the entire abolition. He proceeded to argue at great length, the probability that the people of colour would, if properly treated, not only keep up, but increaſe their numbers. But there was another conſideration which could not fail to have great weight with the houſe: that was, that the continuance of the trade was a conſtant and alarming drawback to the population of the country.

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As far back as the American war, the colonial aſſembly of Jamaica had repreſented to government the neceſſity of having an additional number of troops for the protection of the external ſafety as well as the internal tranquillity of the iſland. Under the preſent circumſtances of the Weſt Indies, it was evident that through neceſſity freſh demands for Britiſh troops muſt be preferred. New bodies of Britiſh ſubjects muſt be ſent out to inhoſpitable climates, which had been the grave of ſo many unfortunate Europeans. Theſe levies, too, were to be ſent to protect and uphold the very injuſtice which had been ſo ſolemnly condemned, and to give that ſecurity which the importation of freſh ſhip loads of ſlaves had rendered precarious. In this part of his argument, Mr. Wilberforce adverted to the ſtate of St. Domingo, which was almoſt in ſight of Jamaica, and Gaudaloupe, which was in the centre of our Leeward iſlands. It had been contended, that the agitation of the queſtion, at the preſent moment, was tickliſh, and might, in the Weſt Indies, be productive of very ſerious conſequences. It was a proper anſwer to this objection to ſtate, that whatever danger might be ſuppoſed to exiſt, aroſe, not from the queſtion of abolition, but of emancipation. After the queſtion of abolition was diſpoſed of, any ſubſequent meaſures muſt be left to the colonial aſſemblies themſelves, and with them it would reſt how far the condition of the negroes was capable of greater improvement.

Several members oppoſed the motion of Mr. Wilberforce, and ſupported one for the order of the day, which was made upon it; among theſe were Mr. Fuller, General Tarleton, Mr. Manning, Mr. Devaynes, and Mr. Addington. In ſupport of the original motion a great many members were heard, and in the number, both Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox; they prevailed on a diviſion, the numbers being 124 to 49, giving a majority of 75.

In conſequence of this vote, a bill was brought into Parliament for aboliſhing the Slave Trade. Some petitions were preſented againſt it, and ſome debates aroſe during its progreſs; an ineffectual attempt was made to refer to a committee the conſideration of a compenſation to be made to thoſe who ſhould be ſufferers by the abolition; counſel were heard at the bar in ſupport of the petitions, but all efforts againſt the meaſure were unavailing; and on a motion for a third reading, the affirmative was carried by a majority of 36; ayes 69, noes 33. The lateſt period at which ſhips were to be allowed to clear out from an Engliſh port for this traffic was to be the 1ſt of October, 1804. 28th June.

In the Houſe of Lords, the Duke of Clarence preſented petitions from two quarters againſt the bill; and on the motion for a ſecond reading Lord Hawkeſbury, on the ground that the late period of the ſeſſion would prevent the attainment of complete juſtice, moved to poſtpone the ſecond reading till that day three months; a motion which was ſeconded by the Duke of Norfolk and carried without a diviſion, although oppoſed by Lord Grenville, the Biſhop of St. 2d July. 3d.

St. Aſaph, and ſome other peers. In ſupporting this motion, the Earl of Weſtmoreland, as a peer of the realm, took pride in the conſideration that the people at large, the merchants intereſted in the ſlave trade, and the coloniſts, would ſee that, though not repreſented in that houſe, yet their intereſts were as much attended to as if they were.

Some matters which related to the concerns and conduct of individuals rather than the general intereſts of the ſtate, alſo occupied a portion of the attention of Parliament. Among the moſt conſpicuous of theſe were petitions which were preſented to both houſes, imputing to Luke Fox, Eſquire, one of the Judges of His Majeſty's Court of Common Pleas in Ireland,

31ſt May. groſs miſconduct in the exerciſe of his high office. The Marquis of Abercorn introduced the firſt petition to the

1ſt June. Houſe of Lords, and Sir James Stewart, preſented it to the Houſe of Commons. It purported to proceed from John Hart, of Ballymagard, in the liberties of the city of Londonderry, who was deſcribed as a very reſpectable magiſtrate in that part of Ireland. It ſtated that the petitioner attended the late ſummer aſſizes at Donegal, as one of the grand jury, when Mr. Juſtice Fox preſided in the Crown court, and a perſon, named Anderſon Dobſon, was put on his trial, for a miſdemeanor, in having procured a magiſtrate to ſign an affidavit, without having actually adminiſtered the oath to the perſon ſtated to have made it. That the petitioner was called upon, by Anderſon Dobſon, to bear teſtimony to his being a man of a fair and honeſt character, which teſtimony he gave; and the evidence being cloſed, Mr. Juſtice Fox, in charging the jury, ſaid, "But, "who, gentlemen, will give a "character of this Mr. Hart, de-"graded and diſgraced as he is "by this tranſaction, which will "entail eternal infamy and diſ-"grace on his poſterity?" though the petitioner had not, in any manner, been concerned in the tranſaction which cauſed the trial; nor was any evidence then, or at any time, given to warrant even a ſuſpicion he could be guilty of ſuch an offence. The petitioner then proceeded to ſtate that the jury not agreeing in their verdict, the judge ſent for them twice into court, and the ſecond time informed them, that unleſs they could agree in ten minutes, he ſhould adjourn the court till ſix o'clock in the morning of the next day but one, being Monday, and that at near eight o'clock in the evening, he did ſo adjourn, and went to dinner with the grand jury; but, before he got to the head of the dinner room, and dinner not having been ſerved, he was followed by the ſub-ſheriff, who informed him, that the jury had agreed; to which Mr. Juſtice Fox replied, "they may cool their "conſciences till ſix o'clock on "Monday morning;" and the jury, being under the neceſſity of remaining incloſed till the Monday following, and having again returned to their former opinions in conſequence of their confinement, they were on that day conveyed to the verge of the county, and diſcharged by the ſaid judge. The petitioner then ſtated ſome

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acts of the judge, with respect to himself, tending to shew that, at his instance and procurement, he had been illegally detained a prisoner, put to the bar like a felon, dismissed upon bail, and arrested on an unfounded charge; the judge all the while abusing and threatening him, and particularly declaring in public, that he would return next circuit for the purpose of trying the petitioner himself, and desired that his lodgings should be kept for him, for that purpose. But at the Spring circuit the grand jury threw out the bill preferred against the petitioner, and as he had no means of redress by appeal to any court of law, or of vindicating his character from the imputations most unjustly thrown upon him, he submitted the consideration of his case to the house, as involving a subject of equal importance to the public and the individual, and in which parliament alone was competent to give redress.

This petition was ordered to lie on the table of each House, the Marquis of Abercorn particularly expressing his expectation that government would make it the foundation of some proceeding. This not being done, Lord Carlton presented a petition to the House of Lords from the learned judge, complaining that he had no notice of the proceeding but from the public prints, and requesting that he might be allowed a copy of the petition. He was also informed, he said, that the Noble Lord who presented the petition had given notice that he intended to follow the petition up by some motion; he wished to be prepared for his defence, and whenever that period should arrive, he was satisfied he should establish his innocence in the clearest point of view. He trusted that period was not far distant, especially as the duties of his judicial station would require his presence in Ireland.

21st June.

The Judge's petition being complied with, the Marquis of Abercorn took an opportunity of vindicating himself against any imputation of improper motives in the proceeding, as he had never seen Judge Fox in his life. He had, however, received many petitions against him, generally conceived in terms so unparliamentary, that they must be sent back to be altered in that respect. The persons complaining were many, and lay at a great distance. All this would necessarily consume time; and he understood that the Judge was not prepared to meet all the charges against him; and, on his part, wished for delay. He would accede to every wish of that kind, consistently with the ends of justice; and did not, for the reasons he had assigned, think the business could be brought to an issue during this session.

27th.

Another petition against the learned Judge was presented to the House of Commons from twelve individuals who had formed a petit jury at the last summer assizes held at Enniskillen, for the county of Fermanagh, to try three persons of the names of John Fletcher, Hugh Keys, and James Sharpe, for the murder of one Nicholas Morris. It stated, that the petitioners knowing the bad character of the witnesses for the crown, and considering that they were probably influenced by the

28th.

expectation

expectation of rewards which would have amounted to nearly £800, and further conſidering the evidence not ſufficient to warrant a conviction, had brought in a verdict of Not Guilty. They then ſtated, that when they delivered their verdict, the Judge expreſſed much diſſatisfaction; and that, on the next morning, when the court was full, he called on the Clerk of the Crown to furniſh him with a liſt of the names of the petitioners, which having received, he cauſed the whole of the grand inqueſt of the county, then ſworn, and ſitting in their room of public buſineſs, to be called into the Court-houſe, when, in the face of the whole county, he ſtigmatized the petitioners as men not worthy to be believed on their oaths, and as unfit ever again to act in the capacity of jurors, and cautioned the grand jury and others never thereafter to hold communion or intercourſe with them; that he ordered the Clerk of the Crown to deliver in a liſt of their names to every ſucceeding judge, as men unfit to be jurors, that they might prevent their ſerving as ſuch thereafter; and that he ordered the high and under ſheriff to deliver a liſt of the names to the ſucceeding ſheriff, with a direction to hand them down from ſheriff to ſheriff, as branded with the infamy of a verdict, which was for ever to render them unworthy of credit, and ordered that their names ſhould be publicly poſted up as ſuch in the grand jury room.

2d July. A third petition was preſented from Gerard Irvine, Eſq. of Rochfield, in the county of Fermanagh, the late high ſheriff of that county, complaining of ſome very rude behaviour ſhewn to him by Judge Fox, on no other occaſion than a diſappointment he felt at not being met by the gentlemen of the county, nor by the ſheriff himſelf, till he had proceeded two miles beyond the frontier. Beſide treating him perſonally with great rudeneſs and violence, the Judge, in his charge to the grand jury, delivered in the face of the county, uſed the moſt groſs and degrading language to the petitioner, who was then acting as high ſheriff, for not having come to meet him on his entering the bounds of the county, and charged him in the groſſeſt manner, with farming out to hire his bailiwick, and concluded by impoſing on him a fine of £500, merely for not meeting him at the bounds of the county.

Similar petitions were laid on the table of the upper houſe, and the Marquis of Abercorn preſented his charges againſt Judge Fox, which compriſed not only the matters alledged in theſe petitions, but others of ſtill more weight and importance. The articles of complaint were under four principal heads; the firſt ſtated, that Mr. Juſtice Fox had urged upon the grand jury of the county of Fermanagh, that it was their duty to addreſs his Majeſty to remove the Lord Lieutenant and government of Ireland, with the intent to excite diſcontent againſt his Majeſty's government. The ſecond ſtated, that Mr. Juſtice Fox had endeavoured to induce the commanding officer of a corps of volunteer yeomanry to procure an addreſs from the corps to the ſame effect, and that this was done with the ſame evil deſign. 5th July.

The

The third ſtated all the complaints which appeared in the petitions of the high ſheriff of the county, and of the petty jurors; and the complaint of Mr. Hart. The laſt ſtated, that Mr. Juſtice Fox had groſsly and wantonly inſulted the Marquis of Abercorn, repreſenting him as withdrawing himſelf from his duty, as a governor of a county, from ſulky and ſelfiſh motives; and this article concluded with ſtating, that Mr. Juſtice Fox afterward publicly acknowledged that he had done ſo, to vex and annoy the ſaid Marquis. The articles were ordered to lie on the table; and further proceedings on them were expected in the enſuing ſeſſion of parliament.

Several of the petitions on election caſes excited a great portion of public intereſt, and occaſioned animated debates in the Houſe of Commons, beſides the time they occupied and the labour they occaſioned in the committees to which they were referred. Among theſe were the caſes of Waterford, Liſkeard, and Ilcheſter; but thoſe of of Ayleſbury and Middleſex, deſerve for their peculiarity a more detailed notice.

On the production of the report of the committee on the Ayleſbury election, it was moved that the Attorney-General ſhould be directed to proſecute Mr. Bent, the candidate who had been petitioned againſt, for bribery, but on a full inveſtigation, it was decided, that there was not ſufficient ground for ſo ſevere a proceeding; he had not corrupted the voters, but a certain number of them, being already corrupt, had invited him to come down as a candidate, and had obtained from him certain ſums of money as the price of their votes.

Sir George Cornwall moved for leave to bring in a bill for preventing bribery and corruption in the election of members to ſerve in parliament for the borough of Ayleſbury, and was ſupported by ſeveral members, who, from the report of the committee, and the evidence on which it was founded, ſtated the following circumſtances. It had been the cuſtom among the electors of this borough to demand Chriſtmas boxes of their repreſentatives, and to enforce the payment of them, they ſaid, that they ſhould always have a third candidate at the election, in order to enhance their own value. They had become diſcontented with the old candidates at the laſt election, and they contrived to find a third, of whom they made uſe to plunder the other two and himſelf alſo. For this purpoſe, they had deputed ſome of their body to ſearch for a third, whom they found out, and from whom they received a certain ſum of money, as a reward for their ſupport at the election. On his report, a letter of invitation had been ſent to this third candidate, which was ſigned by 200 electors, each of whom covenanted for, and received his bribe. When he came to Ayleſbury, purſuant to the invitation, his carriage was dragged through the town, and at the houſe where he ſtopped, all the voters inclined to ſell their ſupport to him were aſſembled, none being admitted but perſons qualified to vote. They were collected in a room, on the table of which there was at one end a bowl

23d March.

of

of punch, and at the other a bowl of guineas, from which each man had his doceur; that of the 270 who supported Mr. Bent, only 50 votes were free votes. They had even carried a funeral proceſſion through the town for the other candidate, becauſe he did not pay at the ſame rate. The motion for leave to bring in the bill was oppoſed by the Marquis of Titchfield and Mr. Hurſt; and the Chancellor of the Exchequer (Mr. Addington) and the Maſter of the Rolls, although they aſſented to the propriety of bringing in ſome bill on ſuch a report, did not pledge themſelves to ſupport it, if it went further than the really guilty, by disfranchiſing the borough.

16th April. The bill which was brought in propoſed to extend the right of voting for members for this borough to all perſons who had freeholds of the annual value of 40s. in either of the three hundreds of Ayleſbury. The motion for a ſecond reading was oppoſed by the Marquis of Titchfield, Mr. Hurſt, Mr. Francis, Mr. Peter Moore, the Maſter of the Rolls, Mr. Serjeant Beſt, and Mr. Fox, but on a diviſion, the majority in its favour was 19, the numbers 68 to 49.

4th May. The motion for committing the bill was ſimilarly reſiſted, Mr. Windham adding himſelf to the number of its opponents, but on a diviſion its ſupporters ſtill triumphed in a majority of 16; they counted 72 votes againſt 56, and finally, after ſome further reſiſtance, and another ineffectual diviſion, the bill paſſed the Houſe of Commons.

6th June. In the upper houſe, the bill was patronized by Lord Grenville, and as the evidence offered before the committee of the Houſe of Commons could not be received there, witneſſes were again examined in ſupport of the meaſure, and its opponents were heard by counſel. The reſult was, that notwithſtanding the oppoſition of Lord Auckland, the Lord Chancellor, and Lord Ellenborough, in its various ſtages, it finally paſſed, and received the royal aſſent.

In a former volume, mention was made of the conteſt for Middleſex, and the means by which a return was procured for Sir Francis Burdett.* Mr. Mainwaring, and certain freeholders of the county of Middleſex, preſented petitions againſt this return, which occaſioned ſeveral debates during the preceding ſeſſion of parliament, but owing to the preſſure of ſimilar buſineſs, and the probable duration of the inveſtigation, a committee was not appointed until the preſent ſeſſion. Before the day of naming the committee, 2d Feb. Mr. Fox endeavoured to induce the houſe to reject the petition of the freeholders, which contained the moſt ſerious charges againſt the ſitting member, on the ground, that although it was intitled the petition of certain freeholders of the county of Middleſex, yet it was not in any part of the petition alleged that the petitioners had ſuch freeholds as intitled them to vote for members of parliament, or that they were poſſeſſed of ſuch freeholds at the time of the election. This notable quibble occaſioned a long debate, in which

* Annual Regiſter for 1802, p. 375.

Mr. Fox was ſupported by Mr. Francis, Mr. Jekyll, Mr. Serjeant Beſt, Mr. Fonblanque, and Mr. Sheridan. On the other ſide, the Chancellor of the Exchequer ſhewed from precedents, and from the fair conſtruction of the terms of the petition, that it was within the ſpirit and even the letter of the ſtatutes Mr. Fox had referred to, and that to receive it was perfectly conſiſtent with the practice of the houſe on ſimilar occaſions. Mr. T. Grenville, Mr. Tierney, the Attorney-General, Mr. Jervis, Mr. Dallas, and Sir William Pulteney, ſpoke on this ſide, and on a diviſion, their opinion prevailed by a great majority, the numbers being 96 to 24.

3d Feb. The committee being balloted on the following day, proceeded to buſineſs without loſs of time, and during an inveſtigation which engaged them upwards of ſixty days, had proofs exhibited before them of riot, violence, perjury, and ſubornation, to an extent unparalleled in parliamentary hiſtory. It was proved, that a mob, hired, encouraged, and fed by the agents and boſom friends of Sir Francis Burdett, attended the huſtings every day, during the whole time of polling, abuſing Mr. Mainwaring and his friends in the moſt groſs and virulent terms, exhibiting proceſſions of men in chains and being flogged, flags inſcribed "No Baſtille," and ſimilar devices, to inflame the populace, in all which they were encouraged by Sir Francis Burdett, his friends, and agents, and by the two ſheriffs. It was further proved that nearly 300 perſons had been ſuborned to commit perjury, by ſtating themſelves to be freeholders intitled to vote at that election, from a purchaſe effected the night before for trifling ſums of money, in an adventure called the Good-intent Mill; and the perſon who planned and recommended this contrivance was named in the evidence. After this long, laborious, and expenſive inveſtigation had been gone through, and it was clearly proved that Sir Francis Burdett never had, nor could have pretended to a right to the ſeat, he called ſome witneſſes, who proved that an agent of Mr. Mainwaring had given inſtructions to an innkeeper at Brentford, to open his houſe for the reception of Mr. Mainwaring's friends, and although it was moſt notorious that all the other houſes in the town were opened for the voters of his opponent, this was relied on as eſtabliſhing proof of corruption within the ſtatute called the treating act.

9th July. On this evidence, Lord Marſham, who had been elected chairman of the committee, and conducted himſelf, through the long courſe of its ſitting, with great ability and integrity, reported to the houſe that it was the opinion of the committee, that Sir Francis Burdett, Bart. was not duly elected; that W. Mainwaring, Eſq. was duly elected, and ought to have been returned as the ſitting member at the ſaid election. But it having been proved before the committee that W. Mainwaring, Eſq. did commit certain acts of bribery at that election, the committee reſolved, that he was thereby incapacitated from ſitting in the preſent parliament; and that the ſaid election was void, ſo far as it related

lated to Sir Francis Burdett. The committee alſo reſolved, that none of the petitions, nor the oppoſition made to them, were frivolous or vexatious. Lord Marſham then moved, "that a new writ be iſſued for the election of a Knight of the Shire for the county of Middleſex, in the room of Sir Francis Burdett, whoſe election was declared void."

Lord Marſham further reported certain other reſolutions from the committee, which were as follow. "That on the 13th, 14th, and 15th days of the poll, when there was a majority of legal votes in favour of W. Mainwaring, Eſq. Robert Albion Cox, Eſq. and Sir William Rawlins, Knight, the Sheriffs who preſided at the election, did wilfully, knowingly, and corruptly poll 300 perſons, claiming a right to vote, under a fictitious pretence that they were freeholders, in conſequence of being joint proprietors of a certain mill, called the "Good-intent Mill," ſituate in the pariſh of Iſleworth; and that on the 15th day of the poll, after a majority was thus eſtabliſhed for Sir Francis Burdett, the ſaid Sheriffs rejected the votes of ſeveral other perſons, on the ſame grounds for which they had admitted thoſe of others; that they refuſed to hear counſel upon thoſe votes. That the ſaid Sheriffs, in thus deciding on the validity of ſuch votes, had acted contrary to the conduct purſued by themſelves on other occaſions, and in groſs violation of their duty. And it appeared to the committee, that the obvious tendency of their conduct was to admit perſons not having a right to poll, and to hold out an encouragement to the commiſſion of perjury.

The advanced period of the ſeſſion at which this report was brought in, prevented further proceedings on it for the preſent, but the evidence was ordered to be printed, that in the next ſeſſion, members might be fully prepared to decide what meaſure of puniſhment ſhould be applied to the returning officers, whoſe delinquency was thus ſignalized.

His Majeſty cloſed the ſeſſion by a ſpeech from the throne, in which, after the cuſtomary acknowledgments to both houſes of parliament, he recommended to the members to carry into their reſpective counties the ſame zeal for the public intereſt which had guided all their proceedings. "It will be your particular duty," he ſaid, "to inculcate on the minds of all claſſes of my ſubjects, that the preſervation of all that is moſt dear to them requires the continuance of their unremitted exertions for the national defence. The preparations which the enemy has been long forming, for the declared purpoſe of invading this kingdom, are daily augmenting, and the attempt appears to have been delayed only with the view of procuring additional means for carrying it into execution. Relying on the ſkill, valour, and diſcipline of my naval and military force, aided by the voluntary zeal and native courage of my people, I look with confidence to the iſſue of this great conflict, and I doubt not that it will terminate, under the bleſſing of Providence, not only in repelling the danger of the moment, but in eſtabliſhing, in the eyes of foreign nations, the ſecurity of this country on a baſis never to be ſhaken. In addition to this firſt and great

31ſt July.

object, I entertain the animating hope, that the benefit to be derived from our ſucceſsful exertions will not be confined within ourſelves; but that, by their example and their conſequences, they may lead to the re-eſtabliſhment of ſuch a ſyſtem in Europe, as may reſcue it from the precarious ſtate to which it is reduced, and may finally raiſe an effectual barrier againſt the unbounded ſchemes of aggrandiſement and ambition which threaten every independent nation that yet remains on the continent."

CHAP. XII.

Conduct and Principles of the French Government; Views of Bonaparte; Meeting of the Legiſlative Body; M. Fontanes Preſident; Expoſé; Contains an alluſion to the Plots of Aſſaſſins: Report on the Executions of two Conſpirators; a Plot announced headed by Moreau, Pichegru and Georges; Moreau arreſted; Report drawn up by Regnier, the Miniſter of Juſtice; ſenſation in the Legiſlature; Proceeding in the Tribunate; the Neceſſity of raiſing Bonaparte to ſovereign Rank intimated; an Addreſs propoſed; Speech of Moreau in behalf of his Brother the General; anſwered by Trielhard, although he was not a Member of the Tribunate; all the Legiſlative Bodies preſent Addreſſes; they intimate the Propriety of re-eſtabliſhing ſome Portion of the old Order of Things; Bonaparte's Anſwer; Addreſſes from Military Bodies; from the Clergy of Paris; ſome addreſs Madame Bonaparte; Addreſs of the Seamen of the Flotilla. Arreſt of Pichegru; a new Law paſſed againſt thoſe who ſhould harbour Georges and his Friends; further Meaſures; Georges is arreſted. Uſe made of theſe Events by the French Government. Publications in favour of the Aſſumption of Sovereignty by Bonaparte; Miſſion of Lucien Bonaparte to Rome; the King of Pruſſia required to ſend Louis XVIII Priſoner into France; he refuſes. Seizure and inhuman Murder of the Duc d'Enghien. Eagerneſs of Bonaparte to obtain the Throne; Curée propoſes in the Tribunate that Bonaparte ſhall be Emperor, and the imperial Dignity hereditary in his Family; oppoſed by Carnot; the Motion carried without any other Oppoſition; Proceedings in the Conſervative Senate; their Addreſs to Bonaparte; his Anſwer; Addreſs of the Municipality of Paris; Senatus Conſultum; the Queſtion whether the imperial Title ſhall be hereditary ſubmitted to the People; Titles and Dignities conferred by Bonaparte; Orders to the Clergy; Amneſties and Charities. Proceedings againſt the State-Priſoners; Examination of Pichegru; his ſudden Death in the Temple; he is ſaid to have deſtroyed himſelf; the Proceedings and Report on that Subject; abſurd and incredible. Efforts of the French Preſs to raiſe and confirm a Prejudice againſt England; Pamphlets by Mehée de la Touche and the Marquis de Montgaillard. Interrogatory of Georges; Moreau's Letter to Bonaparte; the Priſoners brought to Trial; great Efforts uſed to procure

cure a Conviction of Moreau; his Speech to the Court; he is ſentenced to two Years' Impriſonment; Georges and ſome others capitally; they are executed; Moreau permitted to go to America. Suppoſed Plot to poiſon Louis XVIII; Narrative of one Coulon; Indifference of the Pruſſian Government; Louis XVIII leaves Warſaw for Grodno. Preparations for the Coronation of Bonaparte; the Miniſters from foreign Courts preſent their renewed Credentials; Celebration of the 14th of July; Bonaparte's Excurſion to various Parts of France; his Reception at Boulogne; and at various other Places; Intention of the Pope to perform the Ceremony of the Coronation announced; Cardinal Maury attaches himſelf to Bonaparte; the Pope's Journey; his Reception; the People decide in favour of hereditary Monarchy; the Coronation.

WHILE the topics already detailed engaged a large portion of the attention of the legiſlature and people of Great Britain, the proceedings of the French government and nation were calculated to excite a great degree of ſpeculation, not unmixed with anxiety and alarm. The more the principles and views of that government were unfolded in its acts, the more evident it became that their neceſſary tendency and the determined reſolution of thoſe who exerciſed the ſupreme rule was, to eſtabliſh and confirm a rigid ſyſtem of military deſpotiſm at home, and not an influence alone, but a peremptory control over every other country with which France had any connexion. In purſuit of this plan the rights of foreign nations were no more regarded than the liberty and happineſs of domeſtic ſubjects; the invaſion of either depended on caprice or on convenience, aggreſſions, which, in former ages, would have rouſed the energetic indignation of all civilized people, were now committed without an apology, and crimes, at which human nature would recoil, were now perpetrated and avowed without a bluſh. Such was the degraded ſtate of Europe that France diſdained to acknowledge the opinion of other ſtates as a tribunal to which her conduct could be referred, and ſuch the ſcandalous effect of the inceſſant zeal with which every crime of that nation ſince the revolution had been defended, that paſt guilt was adduced as an extenuation of preſent turpitude, and they who had ſo long been the advocates of every ſpecies of infamy, were now content to overwhelm with abuſe thoſe who charged their favourite heroes with enormities too groſe for concealment, and too evident for denial.

The French legiſlature was aſſembled and governed in a manner which left no doubt that the nominal ſtate of France was ſpeedily to be changed, and that, not content with being really ſovereign, Bonaparte was ſoon to be avowedly, under whatever title it might be, the monarch of France. The ſteps which had been previouſly taken did not ſeem to render this laſt, and greateſt effort, ſo ſecure and eaſy as to prevent the neceſſity for confuſing the underſtandings of men by reports of plots and conſpiracies, and diſ- Jan. 7.

tracting their attention by a great variety of criminal enterprizes both at home and in foreign countries. The presidency of the legislative body, regulated according to a law recently passed, was conferred, for the year, on M. Fontanes, a man of great learning and ability, who had long been persecuted for his attachment to the party called the *modérés*, and his supposed adherence to the cause of the Bourbons, but who was now content to transfer his services and his allegiance to the prosperous usurper of their rights.

The ceremonies of addresses occupied some days, in which the legislature did not forget to offer to the first consul his favourite topic of flattery, a comparison between him and Charlemagne.

16th. The public attention was then called to the official statement of public affairs annually presented under the name of the *Exposé*, in which the government detailed to the people through the legislature their resources, means, hopes and projects for the ensuing year. This paper described, with laborious minuteness, the progress which the republic was making in public works, in commerce, in agriculture and in political regulation, when the British government chose to alarm its nation, to cover the channel with ships, to insult the commerce of France by injurious inspections, and her coasts and ports, as well as those of her allies, by the presence of its menacing forces. The state of the war was then reviewed with much exultation. "By the dispersion of our ships," said the first consul in this paper, "and the security of our commerce, our losses might have been immense; we foresaw these circumstances, and we would have supported them without discouragement or weakness, but happily, they have been less than we apprehended; our ships of war have returned to European ports, one only excepted, which had long been employed merely as a transport, has fallen into the hands of the enemy. Of two hundred millions, which the English cruizers might have ravished from our commerce, more than two thirds have been preserved. Our privateers have avenged these losses by important captures, and they will complete their revenge by others more important. Tobago and St. Lucia were defenceless, and were obliged to surrender to the first force which appeared; but our great colonies are yet preserved, and the attacks made against them by the enemy have proved fruitless. Hanover is in our power; 25,000 of the best troops of the enemy have laid down their arms, and become prisoners of war. Our cavalry has been remounted at the expence of that of the enemy; and a possession which was dear to the king of England, is in our hands, a pledge of that justice which he will be compelled to render to us." The state of foreign countries, dependent, allied, and neutral, was also reviewed with equal gratulation to the people of France, and equal applause to its government.

This

This publication would be entitled to ſome notice, as being the laſt of the kind which was addreſſed to the French nation as a republic, and the laſt in which their ruler was to be contemplated as a citizen, giving an account to his fellow citizens, of the origin and ſucceſs of his meaſures. But it contained one ſentence which, at the time of publication might be conſidered by many, as merely one of the general calumnies by which France was to be exalted, and England inſulted, but which afterward appeared to have a foundation on the moſt alarming and daring attempt which had yet menaced the government of Bonaparte. Speaking of the ſuppreſſion of rebellion throughout the republic, the author of the *Expoſé* ſaid, "the Britiſh government will attempt to throw, and perhaps has already thrown, on our coaſt, ſome of theſe monſters whom it nouriſhed in its boſom during the peace, in order to tear in pieces the land which gave them birth; but they will no longer find in it thoſe impious bands which were the inſtruments of their former crimes; terror has diſſolved them, or juſtice has purged our territory of them; they will find neither that credulity which they abuſed, nor that animoſity, the poignards of which they whetted. Experience has enlighted every mind; the moderation of the laws, and the adminiſtration of them, has reconciled every heart. Surrounded every where by the public force, overtaken every where by the tribunals, theſe dreadful men will, in future, neither be able to make rebels, nor to re-organize with impunity their horde of brigands and aſſaſſins."

Such expreſſions in the report were conſidered by moſt men as a mere continuation of that coarſe invective and illiberal abuſe with which the French, ever ſince the Revolution, had been in the habit of aſſailing all governments, and even all individuals, who, in perſon or conduct, were inimical to them. Nor was this opinion materially changed by an announcement in the official paper of the execution of ſome conſpirators and the arreſt of others. Two of theſe, named Picot and Lebourgeois, were ſhot in the plain of Grenelle, and, in narrating their fate, the French journaliſt deſcribed them as notorious Chouans, who, after committing every kind of depredation, had ſought refuge in London, where they were received in like manner with Georges, and many others to whom England afforded countenance in defiance of the treaty of Amiens. They had been ſent, it was ſaid, from London furniſhed with plenty of money, with air guns, and with canes for darts, in order to kill Bonaparte when an opportunity ſhould offer, and they had beſide planned a new *machine infernale*. The police had watched and arreſted, and the military tribunal had ordered their execution. A third culprit, it was added, named Guerella, had alſo been arreſted and ſentenced to death, but had obtained a reprieve, on his promiſe to make ſome important diſcloſures. 21ſt Jan.

As neither of the parties who were executed had made any diſcovery, this report was not received with much attention, more eſpecially, as it was publicly ſtated that the ſufferers had been offered a free pardon, on condition of ſubſcribing

a declaration charging the Britiſh government with a plot, and on their refuſing, had been executed without even the form of a trial. Guerella, it was added, was a low and inconſiderable perſon, who had no means of giving authentic information concerning any government, or even any individual of rank and diſtinction.

15th Feb. But the diſcredit and contempt which would attend ſuch an imputation as that above alluded to, were changed to ſentiments widely different, when it was authentically announced that the French government had fully diſcovered a counter-revolutionary plot, in which General Moreau was combined with Pichegru and Georges, who both had been recently in London, and neither of whom was known to be in France

17th. when the diſcovery was publiſhed. The matter was announced to the public in a report to the Firſt Conſul, drawn up by Regnier, the Miniſter of Juſtice, and, as no publication of any authority, could, from the circumſtances of the caſe, be made, except by the French government, their reports muſt be relied on, ſubject to ſuch obſervations as ſhall ariſe, as the only means of ſtating this moſt extraordinary tranſaction. At the time when the report of the Miniſter of Juſtice was made, General Moreau, Lajollais, and ſome other individuals implicated, were in cuſtody. The report, aſcribing the whole plot to England, began by ſtating, as an extraordinary fact, that Pichegru and Moreau, whom every honourable feeling ought to have ſtimulated to an eternal enmity, had effected a criminal reconciliation, Lajollais, the friend and confidant of Pichegru, having been the agent between them. In purſuance of a plot combined by them, but the exact ſcope of which was not defined, three diſembarkations of conſpirators had been effected, at an appointed ſpot, between Dieppe and Treport. The firſt conſiſted of Georges and eight of his companions; in the ſecond were Coſter, St. Victor, and ten others, and in the third were Pichegru, Lajollais, Armand Gaillard, Jean Marie, a ſtaunch friend of Georges, and ſome more of the ſame claſs. The parties who had landed found perſons prepared to receive them, and men paid to guide them by night, from ſtation to ſtation, till they ſhould reach Paris. There, retreats were provided for them in houſes hired beforehand, in various parts of the city, and kept by truſty individuals. Georges and Pichegru, after their arrival in Paris, lived, for ſome time, in the ſame houſe, and Pichegru had ſeveral interviews with Moreau; this, the reporter ſaid, was demonſtrated by numerous and inconteſtible proofs. Georges and Pichegru, the reporter proceeded, have been traced from houſe to houſe. Thoſe who aſſiſted at their landing; thoſe who in the darkneſs of night conducted them from poſt to poſt; thoſe who gave them an aſylum at Paris; their confidants and accomplices, Lajollais, their principal agent, and General Moreau, are arreſted; the effects and papers of Pichegru have been ſeized, and the police is employing the greateſt activity to find him. I muſt add, he concluded, that the citizens need be under no uneaſineſs. The greater part of the brigands have been arreſted; the reſt have fled, and are cloſely purſued by the police.

lice. No ſuſpicion attaches to any claſs of citizens, nor to any branch of adminiſtration.

On the preſentment of this paper, the genius of the French nation diſplayed itſelf in a tumult of legiſlative proviſion, and in copious and abject addreſſes. Not greater activity and zeal were ſhewn in 1794, in behalf of Robeſpierre and Collot d'Herbois, when the life of the one was ſuppoſed to have been menaced by the knife of a country-girl, and of the other by the piſtol of an invalid.

The tribunate on its meeting was attended by Treilhard, Lacuée, and Fleurieu, three orators deputed by government, who having preſented and ſpoken on the above report, Jaubert the Preſident, made anſwer in the name of the whole aſſembly. After a violent invective againſt England, he uſed theſe expreſſions. "If our firſt anxiety is always for the people, ſhall it not alſo extend to him whom the people have choſen for their chief, and whom our affection, as well as our judgment, would daily prompt us to raiſe to ſovereign rank, but that the French nation has already inveſted him with a power, unbounded as their confidence. As citizens, ſoldiers, miniſters, we make ourſelves reſponſible to our own age, and to ages to come, to hiſtory which never had ſuch great events to relate, and which nevertheleſs is in expectation of new prodigies, we all make ourſelves reſponſible for the life of Bonaparte, whoſe exiſtence guarantees to France her glory and her proſperity." He alſo moved that the whole tribunate ſhould go in a body to expreſs to the Firſt Conſul the horror with which ſo great a crime had inſpired them, and at the ſame time, to congratulate him on his eſcape from the danger which ſurrounded him.

Before the tribunate ſet out with this addreſs, Moreau, brother of the General, and who had before demanded leave to ſpeak, obtained an audience. After noticing the report which had juſt been read, and a general order to the army as reflecting on the general, he ſaid, he was inſpired with ſentiments of the deepeſt grief, to find that attempts had been ſo long made to calumniate a man who had rendered important ſervices to the Republic, and who, at preſent, had not the liberty of defending himſelf. He declared to the whole nation, that his brother was innocent of the atrocities imputed to him. "Let him have an opportunity of juſtifying himſelf," he proceeded, "and he will do it. I demand in his name, in my own, and in the name of his whole diſtreſſed family, that he may be brought to trial in the moſt formal manner. I demand that he may be tried only by a common tribunal: it will be eaſy for him to make his innocence appear. I declare that every thing which has been ſaid is an infamous calumny."

Theſe expreſſions having been noticed with diſapprobation, by a member named Curée, Treilhard, although reminded by the preſident that he had then no right to ſpeak in that aſſembly, obtained a hearing. He animadverted, with ſome aſperity, on the obſervations of Moreau, as unjuſt reflections on the moderation and impartiality of Government, and concluded by promiſing that the General, his relations, and friends ſhould be allowed every latitude of defence, as there

there was no one who did not desire to find him guiltless.

The tribunate, the senate and the legislative body, all presented addresses to the first consul, vying with each other in bombastic terms and servile sentiments. They all concurred in assuring him, that thirty millions of Frenchmen were full of inquietude and alarm at an attempt, which by menacing his life, exposed to imminent danger the peace, the happiness, and the glory of the country. They conjured him not to give, as he had hitherto done, all his cares to the people, but to bestow some portion on his own precious life, which had been so often menaced, and so often miraculously preserved by the special interposition of that watchful genius which presided over the destinies of the nation. Hints were given of a new era in history which was to commence from him, and he was advised to revive such a portion of the past order of things, as he himself should judge useful and necessary to the present. This was pretty plainly suggesting to Bonaparte the assumption of regal authority; and in his answer to the senate, he let it appear that the same subject had occupied his contemplations, when he professed great indifference as to his own life, but acknowledged his fears lest an abrupt termination of it should place the great people whose first magistrate he was, in a dangerous and uncertain situation; for, said he, the conspiracy was principally directed against the glory, the freedom, and the destinies of the French nation.

The soldiers of the consular guard, and those of the garrison of Paris had an audience, and made an address through the medium of Cesar Berthier, the chief of the staff. The mayor and other officers of the department of the Seine, and those of several public establishments, in and about Paris, presented similar homage. The clergy of Paris, by the mouth of their archbishop, the Cardinal de Belloy, rather exceeded than fell short of the laity in adulation. They declared that, as ministers of religion, they should always make it their glory to inculcate in the minds of the people committed to the care of Bonaparte, that their duty toward him was, submission and gratitude. Several other corporate bodies sent addresses, and the members of the national institution, and the officers of the government guard, added to their felicitations to the first consul a separate address to Madame Bonaparte, who received them most graciously, and made a becoming reply. To close this account of fulsome addresses, we shall notice that from the flotilla which was signed by admirals Bruix and Lacrosse and the captains serving under them at Boulogne. They expressed the most lively indignation against the perfidy of Great Britain, and said, "Yes, citizen first consul, "the French flotilla shall bound "over the short space which "separates us from those shores "which are destined to be a "new theatre for the triumphs "of the brave armies of the "republic. In vain will the "fleets of the enemy endeavour "to oppose our passage; you "have calculated it; the means "are ready; give but the order, "and

"and the event ſhall prove to all "Europe that every thing is poſ-"ſible which your genius can "conceive, and which is intruſted "to Frenchmen to execute." The right wing of the ſame armament dating an addreſs from Oſtend, expreſſed their hatred of Moreau, Pichegru, and Georges, and with reſpect to England, declared that they waited with impatience for the moment when the firſt conſul ſhould proclaim the hour of vengeance.

28th Feb. Theſe gratulatory homages did not ſo much engroſs the attention of government as to make them neglect the purſuit of the perſons inculpated. Some ſuſpicion had been thrown on their narrative by the ſuppoſition that Pichegru was not in France, but before the end of the month, all doubt was removed by the arreſt of that general, the means and mode of which are thus related. He had hired of one Le Blanc, a broker, a ſmall apartment at an enormous price, relying on his fidelity and attachment. Le Blanc, however, obtained an introduction to Murat, governor of Paris, and brother in law of Bonaparte, and having obtained from him a promiſe of 100,000 livres betrayed his gueſt. By Le Blanc's contrivance, ſix gens d'armes who had been ſecreted in the houſe, entered Pichegru's apartment while he was aſleep, and ſecured his piſtols and dagger which were laid on a night table near his bed. Awakened by their noiſe, the general ſprang from his bed, naked and unarmed, and inſtead of yielding to their ſummons to ſurrender, defended himſelf bravely. Wounded, and at laſt exhauſted by fatigue and loſs of blood, he was obliged to capitulate, and become a priſoner, on condition that he ſhould not be led through the ſtreets in irons, nor have his hands tied. He underwent a ſhort interrogatory, which produced nothing ſatisfactory to his enemies, and was committed to priſon.

29th. The following day, at the recommendation of government, the legiſlature paſſed a law, that any perſon concealing Georges or any of the ſixty individuals who were named as participators in his plot, ſhould be conſidered as principals in guilt. All perſons were to come within the penalties of this law, who from the time of its publication ſhould ſecretly receive, conceal or keep any of the perſons in queſtion, unleſs, within twenty-four hours from the moment of their being ſo received, the parties gave notice to the police. And all perſons who, at any time before the making of that law, had received Pichegru or any of his accomplices, were to give notice to the police, within eight days, on pain of ſix years impriſonment in irons. This cruel law was recommended to the tribunate by Trielhard, and to the legiſlative body by Simon, in ſpeeches of much art; but the labour was needleſs; each body by its preſident returned an anſwer of moſt abject compliance, the law was carried without a diſſenting voice.

To aid the operation of this ſtatute, the police cauſed it to be printed, poſted and publiſhed with more than uſual profuſion and aſſiduity, and the office was to be open for communications from eight o'clock in the morning till midnight.

night. They publiſhed, beſide, a minute deſcription of the perſon, gait and habits of Georges; they placed officers all along the walls of Paris, ſo that nobody could paſs the barriers by night, and by day every paſſport was rigorouſly examined, and every perſon and vehicle carefully inſpected by officers of police, adjutants and military officers. Laſtly, an ordonnance was publiſhed by Dubois, prefect of the police, affirming that Georges was ſtill in Paris, and commanding all perſons to make known to the police ſuch individuals as might be liable to ſuſpicion, who reſided with them, or in their neighbourhood. Maſters of furniſhed houſes were ordered to examine every individual lodging with them, and to ſee they had complied with the regulations of police, and that there was nothing ſuſpicious about them, and the drivers of hackney coaches were informed, that theſe perſons made frequent uſe of their carriages.

10th March. Theſe multiplied precautions produced, at length, the deſired effect. Georges, and his confidential friend, Leridan the younger, were ſtopped in a chaiſe, in one of the ſquares in Paris, intending, it was ſuppoſed, to paſs the Barrier, by means of a falſe paſſport, and eſcape through the country. Georges ſhot the police officer who ſtopped him dead on the ſpot, and wounded another who endeavoured to lay hold on him. He was however, at length, after much more reſiſtance, overpowered, ſecured and conveyed to priſon. A liſt was now publiſhed naming and deſcribing thirty-nine perſons who had been arreſted or were purſued in Paris as accomplices in the plot; but arreſts much more numerous, amounting, it is ſaid, to near five thouſand perſons were made at Rouen, Hamburgh, Mentz, Helvoetſluys, the Hague, and many other places within the compaſs or under the controul of France.

The efforts of the French government were moſt actively employed, in every direction, in turning to advantage this great event, in which contrivance and fortune had ſo happily co-operated for their benefit. The points chiefly aimed at were, the aſſumption of an unlimited aſcendancy in all the cabinets of Europe, to the utter excluſion of England, and the eſtabliſhment of Bonaparte on the throne of France. The gratification of private malice and perſonal revenge was alſo amply attended to, but that was more within reach, and attainable with leſs effort than the other two objects.

It has already been pointed out that the anſwers of Bonaparte to ſome of the addreſſes ſhewed his ſtrong inclination to be invited to aſſume the ſovereignty, and ſome of thoſe who preſented congratulations appeared to be well appriſed of, and perfectly ready to accede to his wiſhes. Still myſtery and reſtraint were deemed neceſſary, and perhaps ſome apprehenſions of the ſtrength of the royaliſt and jacobin parties who would be alike indignant at the donation of the throne to a foreigner, unallied in any reſpect, to the old dynaſty, occaſioned a great degree of caution. According to the cuſtom of France, the ſtate of the public mind was firſt eſſayed by unauthorized publi-

cations,

cations, ſuch as might produce effect if they ſucceeded, or if they failed, would not require a diſavowal, ſince no individual who had a public character had ever acknowledged them. Thus in a diſcuſſion on a picture of Jacob's dream, the prophecy of the patriarch's poſſeſſion and ſovereignty over the land was applied to Bonaparte and to France; while another writer was indignant that ſo great a hero ſhould be compared to the run-a-way ſhepherd who had defrauded his elder brother of his birth-right, but inſiſted that the firſt conſul was intitled to ſovereign power by his great deeds and great merits, and could have no opponents to his claim but the impure reſidue of the diſgraced and diſcomfited jacobins, or the ſtill more deſpicable agents of Warſaw, and fragments of the royal catholic army of Condé.

Such inſults on the exiled family of the Bourbons did not proceed from the mere ſpleen and groſſneſs of the writers, but were in conformity with the views and acts of Bonaparte. His brother Lucien had, about this time, been ſent on a myſterious embaſſy to various parts of the Continent, and at laſt was placed at Rome, an event that excited much conjecture, but about which no ſatisfactory opinion could, for the preſent, be formed. Laforêt, the French miniſter at Berlin, had frequent audiences with the miniſter Haugwitz, the object of which, as publicly announced, was to demand that Louis XVIII. who was reſiding at Warſaw, ſhould be ſent priſoner into France as implicated in the late conſpiracy, but it was ſaid that the court of Pruſſia refuſed to accede to the propoſal.

But if Bonaparte was diſappointed by the unexpected refuſal of the victim he had thus demanded, he found means to ſatiate his thirſt for blood by the ſacrifice of one of the Bourbon family, in a manner, conſidering all its circumſtances, ſcarcely rivalled, and certainly not exceeded in the annals of the moſt ſavage deſtroyer that ever ſcourged the human race. Louis Antoine Henri de Bourbon, duc d'Enghien, ſon of the prince of Condé, was in the thirty-ſecond year of his age. Following the fortunes of his family, he had emigrated at an early age, and during the whole of the laſt war had ſerved with diſtinction in the royaliſt army. Nature had been liberal in the endowment of his perſon, and his mind was enriched by many virtues, and adorned with the acquirements of a liberal and judicious education. At the end of the war, he had ſought a retreat in the dominions of the elector of Baden, where he lived in a ſtate of cautious privacy, avoiding alike that activity which would have expoſed him to ſuſpicion, and that publicity which would have rendered him the object of mortifying curioſity or of illiberal reflection. Early in the preſent year, feeling the irkſomeneſs of his ſituation, and the diſgraceful oblivion to which he ſeemed to be conſigned, he had written to the Britiſh miniſter at Vienna, ſoliciting to be employed in the armies of his majeſty, in any way that might be thought proper, and he declared that as he could have no individual nor family

12th Feb.

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intereſt to advance, his hopes were limited to the obtainment of a commiſſion in the army, or any other honourable employment that government might be pleaſed to aſſign.

15th March. While the duke was thus employing himſelf, in the ſuppoſed ſecurity which a neutral territory ſhould afford, a party of 1500 French dragoons, headed by Caulincourt, an aid-de-camp of Bonaparte, croſſed the Rhine in the night, in three diviſions. They obliged the guards of the elector to open to them the gates of Offenburg and of Ettenheim where the duke had fixed his abode, and proceeding to his houſe, ſeized him and a few old prieſts and invalids who dwelt with him, and loading his feet and hands with irons, immediately repaſſed the river and conveyed him a priſoner into France. With the utmoſt rapidity, without ſleep and in fetters, he was obliged to travel day and night, until he reached Paris. When his guards brought him to the Temple, they found an order, in obedience to which, they immediately carried him away

21ſt. to the caſtle of Vincennes. As ſoon as he arrived there, a military committee compoſed of ſeven perſons, ſelected for the purpoſe by Murat, repaired to the caſtle to try, or rather to order him for execution. In his abſence the charges againſt him, and the proofs in ſupport of them were read. The charges were, 1ſt, having borne arms againſt the republic; 2d, having offered his ſervices to England; 3d, having received and conſpired with agents of England; 4th, having put himſelf at the head of a troop of emigrants in the pay of England in Fribourg and Baden; 5th, having endeavoured by correſpondences with Straſburgh, to cauſe inſurrections in the neighbouring departments, to make a diverſion in favour of England; and 6th, having aided the late conſpiracy againſt the life of the firſt conſul.

It was not until after the reading of theſe charges and papers that the priſoner was admitted into the court; and then, the report of the trial publiſhed by the French government ſays, he was interrogated and allowed to make his defence; but what was the nature of the interrogatory or of the defence no information was ever given. Indeed it appears that the unfortunate prince was brought to his trial rather dead than alive; exhauſted with fatigue, with the weight of his irons, and with want of ſleep to ſuch a degree, that with difficulty he could keep his eyes open. The court, without much deliberation, found him guilty of all the charges, and ſentenced him to death. The ſame night, he was taken from his dungeon, led, at one o'clock in the morning, by torch-light, to the wood of Vincennes, and by the Italian ſoldiers in the ſervice of Bonaparte, inhumanly ſhot. He met his fate with a calmneſs and bravery characteriſtic of his illuſtrious houſe. He heard the ſentence pronounced on him with dignified compoſure, is ſaid in his way to the place of execution, to have expreſſed joy that his murderers were to be foreigners and not Frenchmen, refuſed to permit a bandage to be placed over his eyes, and when the muſkets were pointed at him, adviſed the ſoldiers to level them lower, as they would

would otherwiſe only wound, or miſs him. In his laſt hours he was allowed to have the attendance of a prieſt, but with the barbarity and meanneſs ſo often diſplayed by the French, in revolutionary times, they were not allowed to be alone together, nor to have any intercourſe but in a tone of voice ſufficiently loud to be heard by the bye-ſtanders.

The effect of this event formed a ſtriking contraſt to that of the diſcovery of the conſpiracy. Gloom overſpread every countenance, and ſilence ſtifled every emotion. No one ventured to congratulate the firſt conſul on his eſcape, or on the deſtruction of his mortal enemy; no one dared to blame, and no one was allowed to vindicate the act. The intelligence of the trial and the execution were firſt imparted in papers printed out of France, for it was not until ſeveral days after the event, that the Paris newſpapers contained any narrative on the ſubject. In private, where men could venture to intimate an opinion, every one declared his abhorrence of the act, and every Frenchman ſought to alleviate his portion of the burthen of national infamy, by congratulating himſelf that he was not one of the Italians who had performed this taſk of midnight butchery. In foreign countries, where any free opinion could be expreſſed, the murder was ſtigmatized in becoming terms, and in ſome, ſolemn funeral obſequies were performed in honour of the victim. The groſs violation of neutral territory occaſioned ſome remonſtrances, which will be noticed in a ſubſequent page.

Amidſt the profound ſenſation occaſioned by this moſt wicked tranſaction, the ruler of France was uſing every effort to ſecure and accelerate the completion of his great deſire, that of being proclaimed emperor of the French. His acquaintance with the people on whom he was to practiſe, enabled him to know that it was not politic to allow too much time for the formation of deliberate opinions, but that it was fit that he ſhould avail himſelf of the agitation which engaged every mind, and by a ſucceſſion of ſurprizes gain the object for which he was ſo anxious.

This important propoſition was introduced to the tribunate by Curée, 23d April. the member who firſt expreſſed indignation at the ſuppoſed treaſon of Moreau. He ſubmitted it formally as a motion of order, containing three propoſitions, the moſt material of which were that the government of the republic ſhould be entruſted to an emperor, and that empire ſhould be hereditary in the family of Napoleon Bonaparte. On the day appointed for the diſcuſſion, 30th. Curée prefaced his motion by a prepared ſpeech, in which he had conſiderable difficulties to encounter. Addreſſing himſelf to an aſſembly of profeſſed republicans, whom in his outſet he ſtyled citizens, he had to recommend the re-eſtabliſhment of a throne, and while he was to paint in glowing colours the advantages of a monarchial government, he was to juſtify the overthrow of a throne eſtabliſhed during fourteen centuries, and aſſign a preference to a new man, whoſe perſon and family had not been known ten years.

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His ſpeech was conſequently a mixture of the extravagant bombaſt which had prevailed ſo much ſince the commencement of the revolution, and of an obſcure and ſenſeleſs jargon, mixed with ſpecious promiſes and auſpicious prophecies. He ſpoke with enthuſiaſm of that memorable epoch of the French revolution, when the people, with an unanimous movement, and with a voice, powerful as that of the Creator on the firſt day of exiſtence of the univerſe, cried, "let equality "be eſtabliſhed, let privileges diſ-"appear; and let the nation be "what it ought be." This impious traſh was ſucceeded by an hiſtorical ſketch, in which the ſtate of the kingdom was traced from the days of Charlemagne, all its woes being aſcribed to the inveſtment of the monarchy in one of the moſt powerful families of the feudal ſyſtem, and it was mentioned as the greateſt fault committed in 1789, that the people left the ſovereign power in the hands of a family eſſentially feudal. From ſuch reaſonings what information can be derived? it is not worth while to purſue the details: the concluſion was, an earneſt recommendation of the motions Curée had propoſed. Having given a view of the evils under which France had laboured ſince the revolution, and the alarms of the preſent times, he ſaid, What ſecurity can we give to the people againſt the fear of ſo many woes? What remedy can we apply to ſuch numerous evils? The opinion of the army, and that of the whole people. An hereditary ſucceſſion in a family rendered illuſtrious by the revolution, conſecrated by liberty and equality, in the family of a chief who was the firſt ſoldier, before he became the firſt magiſtrate of the republic, a chief who would always have been eminently diſtinguiſhed by his civil qualities, even if he had not filled the whole world with the fame of his arms, and the ſplendor of his victories.

Almoſt all the members of the tribunate expreſſed a deſire to ſpeak on the occaſion, but all who deſired could not be heard; nor indeed was it neceſſary, for one only ventured to raiſe his voice againſt the propoſition of Curée, and that one was Carnot. His diſcourſe, is intitled to ſome notice, not for its own value, for it is feeble in argument, and trite in expreſſion, but as the laſt effort made in a public aſſembly in France, to give a preference to the republican, over the monarchial form of government. From the moment, ſaid Carnot, when it was propoſed to the French people to vote on the queſtion of the conſulate for life, it was eaſy for every man to perceive that there was a deſign in reſerve, and to anticipate a further aim. In fact, ſince that time, we have witneſſed in rapid ſucceſſion, a crowd of inſtitutions, evidently, monarchial, but when any one of them was propoſed, care was taken ſpeedily to lull thoſe who were uneaſy on the ſubject, by proteſtations that theſe inſtitutions were only deviſed for the purpoſe of procuring to liberty the higheſt and greateſt poſſible protection. But at this day, we ſee clearly diſcloſed the end of all theſe preliminary meaſures. Without diſcuſſing the preference due to a republican or a monarchial government;

ment; he obſerved that the principal arguments produced in favour of the latter, reduced themſelves to an aſſertion that without it no means could exiſt of ſecuring the ſtability of government, and the public tranquillity; of avoiding internal diſcord, and uniting all the powers of the ſtate againſt foreign enemies. On this point, he obſerved, that the government of an individual was not, in any reſpect, a pledge of ſtability or quiet; the duration of the Roman empire was not longer than that of the Roman republic. But during the imperial dominion, internal commotions were greater; crimes were more multiplied; and for the republican pride, heroiſm, and all the manly virtues, were ſubſtituted a ridiculous oſtentation, vile adulation, unbounded avarice, and an undiſguiſed indifference to the national proſperity. What remedy could be ſupplied by hereditary ſucceſſion? Was it not conſidered as the legal inheritance of the houſe of Auguſtus? Was not a Domitian the ſon of Veſpaſian; a Caligula of Germanicus; and a Commodus of Marcus Aurelius? And although the late royal family of France had maintained themſelves on the throne eight hundred years, how many internal commotions had attended its ſway; how many foreign wars founded on pretended rights of ſucceſſion, ariſing out of marriages between that royal family, and thoſe foreign ſovereigns? After the peace of Amiens, Carnot continued, Bonaparte had the choice between a republic or a monarchy; but he had ſworn to defend the former, and to reſpect the wiſhes of France, which had made him their guardian. Now it was propoſed to make of that power a property, of which at preſent, only the adminiſtration is poſſeſſed. The Romans were moſt jealous of their liberty, and Camillus, Fabius and Cincinnatus only ſaved the country becauſe they relinquiſhed the power which had been confided to them, after they had ſaved their country. But the liberty of Rome periſhed as ſoon as Cæſar wiſhed to uſurp abſolute power. He cited the example of the United States. It was reſerved for the new world to ſhew to the old the practicability of a nation's enjoying liberty, and the riſing proſperity of the people; and the deſtinies to which they appeared to be called, left no doubt remaining of the exiſtence of that truth. After diſcuſſing a variety of general principles, Carnot made ſome particular obſervations. "Will the opinion of the public "functionaries," he ſaid, "be "the free wiſh of the whole "nation? Will there not be in- "conveniencies attending the ex- "preſſion of an oppoſite ſenti- "ment? Is the liberty of the "preſs ſo much reſtrained and de- "graded, that it will be impoſ- "ſible to make, in the public "prints, the moſt reſpectful re- "monſtrances againſt the pro- "poſed arrangement?" He then conſidered the queſtion in another point of view. He aſked, if the expulſion of the Bourbons at all involved the neceſſity of a new dynaſty; if the eſtabliſhment of that dynaſty would not place obſtacles in the way of a general peace; if it would be recognized by foreign powers, and if in caſe of a refuſal to recognize it, arms would neceſſarily be reſorted to, and for an

an empty title the ſecurity of the French nation would not perhaps be endangered ?"

This ſpeech was heard with indignation by moſt of the members of the tribunate, and in their replies, many of them indulged in ſevere reflections on the principles and motives of Carnot, who had, nevertheleſs, taken all proper precaution to ſhield himſelf againſt miſinterpretation, by paſſing the higheſt encomiums on Bonaparte, and by profeſſing his determination to live, as he always had, quietly and peaceably under the government to be eſtabliſhed, however he might diſapprove of its forms.

Carnot alone diſſenting, the tribunate paſſed reſolutions declaring Napoleon Bonaparte emperor of the French, the title and imperial authority to be hereditary in the male line, according to the order of primogeniture.

4th May. The conſervative ſenate found no difficulty in adopting the meaſure which had paſſed the tribunate. Indeed their opinions ſeemed to have preceded thoſe of the other body of legiſlators, for when the orators of the tribunate attended them to communicate the reſolutions they had paſſed, the vice preſident of the ſenate ſaid, that, although he could not for the moment lift the veil which covered the labours of the body over which he preſided, he could give an aſſurance that many days ago, that body had called to the conſideration of this important topic the intire attention of the chief magiſtrate.

When the veil was withdrawn, it appeared that in the courſe of an addreſs on another ſubject, the ſenate had given ſome intimations to the firſt conſul of their wiſh that he ſhould aſſume the ſovereign rank. Anxious that the diſcuſſion of a ſubject ſo intereſting ſhould not be allowed to ſleep, Bonaparte ſent a meſſage to the ſenate, requeſting them freely to open to him their whole mind upon it; he was deſirous, he ſaid, that on the next 14th of July the government might have to ſay to the people; "On this day fifteen years, by "a ſpontaneous movement, you "flew to arms, and acquired li- "berty, equality and glory. "Theſe, the greateſt property of "nations, being ſecured above all "danger, it remains only to put "an end to the plots of our moſt "mortal enemies, by the adop- "tion of every thing which the "experience of ages and of na- "tions has demonſtrated to be "neceſſary to guarantee thoſe "rights which the people have "deemed neceſſary to their dig- "nity, their freedom and their "welfare." In their reply, the ſenate came fully to the point deſired, and after a long panegyric on hereditary royalty, declared that glory, gratitude, love, reaſon, and the intereſts of the nation all concurred in proclaiming Napoleon Bonaparte hereditary emperor. This reply was given on the day the tribunate ſent their orators, and in courſe denoted the concurrence of the ſenate in their reſolves. The municipality of Paris alſo preſented an addreſs, in which they talked of their fears; they were watched by implacable enemies, who were capable of horrid

27th March.

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rid plots, and who would never ceaſe to contrive their ruin, until the nation ſhould derive ſecurity from inſtitutions, ſtrong, generous and durable; the occaſion was urgent; there was not a moment to be loſt.

18th May. All perſons thus concurring in ſentiment, an organic ſenatus conſultum was prepared, and being voted by the ſenate, they repaired, with the Conſul Cambacérès at their head, to Saint Cloud, to preſent their decree to Bonaparte, and greet him by the deſired title of emperor. He made a ſhort anſwer, declaring his acceptance of the title, and the ſenate, being admitted to Madame Bonaparte, congratulated her on the great event. Proclamation was immediately made, and the title of emperor was thus conferred on Bonaparte. The queſtion whether the throne ſhould, or ſhould not be hereditary, was to be ſubmitted to the people, and for that purpoſe regiſters were to be kept open twelve days; but as no one doubted the event, no one was anxious about the proceeding.

One of the earlieſt acts of the new emperor was to conſtitute his brother Joſeph, grand elector, and his brother Louis, conſtable of the empire. The ex-conſul Cambacérès was appointed arch-chancellor, and the ex-conſul Le Brun arch-treaſurer. Bonaparte addreſſed to them a letter conceived in terms of great kindneſs, aſſuring them that, although their titles were changed, their functions, and his confidence in them, remained unaltered, and he added that he had nothing to require from them, but a continuance of their wonted ſentiments toward the ſtate and himſelf. An imperial decree was iſſued, fixing the titles of the ſeveral branches of the imperial family, and great officers of ſtate. The princes and princeſſes, and the ſiſters of the emperors, were to be called imperial highneſs, and they, together with the high dignitaries of the empire, were to have the title of Monſeigneur. The miniſters were to preſerve the title of Excellency, and were by the functionaries in their reſpective departments to be ſtyled Monſeigneur. The marſhals of the empire were to be called Monſieur le Marechal, and when ſpoken or written to, Monſeigneur; and the preſident of the ſenate was to be entitled his Excellency. By another decree, the dignity of Marſhal was conferred on the following generals: Berthier, Murat, Moncey, Jourdan, Maſſena, Augereau, Bernadotte, Soult, Brune, Lannes, Mortier, Ney, Davouſt, and Beſſieres; and on the ſenators Kellermann, Lefebvre, Perignon, and Serrurier. It occaſioned no ſmall ſurprize, and produced as much animadverſion, both in converſation and in print, as the ſtate of France would allow, that in all theſe tranſactions, the name of Lucien Bonaparte, to whom his brother owed every thing he poſſeſſed, was never mentioned. Some imagined that he was reſerved to play a great part in a new exhibition of imperial or royal dignity which was in preparation; while others did not ſcruple to aſſert that he had offended his brother Napoleon, by an unreſerved cenſure of his preſent proceeding, and that he was preparing to retire into Italy, to enjoy in privacy

the wealth which had fallen to his ſhare in the courſe of the revolution.

The organic ſenatus conſultum already alluded to, was either prepared before the decree for making Bonaparte emperor, or drawn up with great diſpatch afterward. It conſiſted of ſixteen chapters or titles, ſubdivided into one hundred and forty-two ſections, and comprizing every thing which was deemed neceſſary to give effect and activity to the new arrangements. As this document is given in another part of this volume*, it will not be analyzed here; the only extract to be made from it, as worthy of obſervation, is the oath preſcribed to be taken by the emperor, which is in theſe terms: "I ſwear to maintain the integrity of the territory of the republic; to reſpect and to cauſe to be reſpected the laws of the concordat and the liberty of public worſhip; to reſpect and to cauſe to be reſpected the equality of rights, political and civil liberty, the irrevocability of the ſales of national domains; to levy no duty, to impoſe no tax, but by virtue of the law; to maintain the inſtitution of the legion of honour; and to have no view in governing, but the intereſt, the happineſs, and the glory of the French people."

21ſt May. To add a mockery of religion to the reſt of the burleſque ſolemnities of this proceeding, Bonaparte addreſſed a circular letter to the archbiſhops and other dignitaries of the church, informing them that in his deſire to make the new order of things beneficial to the people of France, he relied with confidence on the powerful aid of the moſt high; he would inſpire his ſervants with a deſire to be inſtrumental, as far as was in their power, in the great ends propoſed. They would enlighten the people by their wiſe inſtructions, and by preaching to them a love of their duties, obedience to the laws, and the practice of every virtue, chriſtian and civil; and they would call down the bleſſings of heaven on the ſtate and on its ſupreme ruler. As a beginning, they were directed to order *Veni Creator*, and *Te Deum* to be ſung in all the churches in their dioceſe, and to take care that all perſons ſhould be preſent, who uſually aſſiſted at ſuch ceremonies.

2d June. As a further ornament to this great occaſion, a decree was alſo iſſued, declaring certain amneſties, and allowing certain pecuniary donations, which were however very ſmall in their amount, and little conſiſtent with the general affectation of ſplendour which pervaded all the preparations for the coronation. Indeed, the great expence which was known to be deſtined for dreſſes, liveries, jewels, crowns, ſceptres, and globes on this occaſion, might, in ſome ſort, apologize for the parſimony diſplayed in other reſpects. The people of Paris awaited this great day of rejoicing with anxious curioſity, although other objects of conſiderable importance were not wanting to fix their attention and gratify their love of novelty.

* State Papers, p. 233.

Amil

Amid the purſuits of ambition, and in view of the completion of thoſe intrigues which were to carry him to the enjoyment of the higheſt title, combined with the moſt extenſive power which any man had ever enjoyed, Bonaparte did not permit his vengeance to ſleep, or omit any thing which, by whatever means, legal or ſecret, could inſure the deſtruction of thoſe he hated. Immediately on his arreſt, Pichegru underwent an interrogatory before the prefect of the police, to whoſe queſtions, ſometimes mild and artificial, at others inſulting and boiſterous, he always returned firm and proper anſwers. The object of one part of the examination was, to obtain from him a confeſſion that he came to France under the direction of the French princes, and for ſome purpoſe connected with them; but to a queſtion, what was his motive in leaving England to come to France, he returned the following anſwer: "It is now ſix years "ſince I left France in conſe- "quence of the proceedings of "Bonaparte, whoſe hatred againſt "me originated on the 13th Ven- "demiaire (5th October, 1795) "in conſequence of my having "expreſſed myſelf like a true "Frenchman, on the events of "that day. But he, viewing me, "perhaps, as an obſtacle in the "way of his ambition, concurred "ſpecially in the proceedings of "Fructidor, in conſequence of "which, I was baniſhed from "France. Since that period, I "have travelled through many "countries, and laſtly, I fixed "my abode in England. Weary "of ſo long an abſence from my "country; weary of the calum- "nies which the French journals "conſtantly repeated about me, "ſometimes ſaying that I was at "the head of the armies, and "ſometimes of the councils of "foreign princes, I thought it "my beſt courſe to return to "France." This account was perhaps true, but evidently it was not the whole truth, nor ought it to be expected that a priſoner on an interrogatory ſhould give any account of his conduct which would facilitate proceedings againſt him, and make his defence hopeleſs. In the ſequel, he was aſked reſpecting Moreau and Georges, and expreſsly denied that he had ſeen either of them ſince his arrival in Paris. At the cloſe of this day's examination, the prefect addreſſed to the priſoner theſe words: "In "terminating this interrogatory, "I invite, nay, I ſummon you, "in the name of your own ho- "nour, to tell the truth, in an- "ſwer to the queſtions I have put "to you; I invite you not to "deny facts, which being evident "and proved, add to a ſerious "offence, the diſgraceful varniſh "of a lie. I repeat, that the "ſyſtem which might be ſuitable "to obſcure knaves, is beneath a "man, who, like you, has headed "the armies of the republic, and "filled Europe with the fame of "his exploits. The crimes im- "puted to you are odious, with- "out doubt, but reflect, that "you add to thoſe crimes ſome- "thing baſe and degrading, by "perſiſting in uſeleſs denials." Pichegru anſwered; "The only "reflection which ariſes in my "mind from theſe obſervations "is, that you aſſume an un-

29th Feb.

"warrantable licence, in taxing "my anſwers with falſehood, and "uttering inſinuations which are "repugnant to truth." When the interrogatory and anſwers were read over to him, he refuſed to ſign them, alleging that the greater part of the queſtions were inſidious and abuſive. On his ſecond interrogatory, they produced to confront him, ſeveral perſons, of whom he denied all knowledge, nor did he the leſs perſiſt in theſe declarations, although the perſons produced alleged that they had ſeen him in various places ſince his arrival, and in places where he denied he had ever been, and accompanied by perſons with whom he diſclaimed all intercourſe.

1ſt March.

Little ſatisfied with the effect of theſe experiments, the government committed him to the Tower of the Temple, where, for about a month, the attention of the public was not directed toward him, and then on a ſudden, the government announced that he had terminated his exiſtence by ſuicide. The account which they gave of the event was this. In conſequence of his repeated requeſts, accompanied with aſſurances, on his word of honour, that he would make no attempt on his own life, his guards had been removed from his chamber during the night, and every morning, a boy brought a faggot to light his fire. From one of theſe faggots, Pichegru, it was ſaid, contrived to ſecrete a ſtick of ſome thickneſs, and on the night in which he carried his deſign into execution, having made a hearty ſupper, he went to bed about midnight. *When the boy who waited on him had retired, Pichegru drew from beneath his bolſter, where he had ſecreted it, a black ſilk cravat,* which he wound round his throat, and introducing the piece of ſtick he had taken from the faggot, into the two ends of the cravat, twiſted it about until ſtrangulation was produced, and then he prevented the ſtick from returning ſo as to untwiſt the cravat, by placing one end behind his ear. To ſecure all, he laid down, with that ear on his pillow, and died in the courſe of the night. One of the ſentinels, it was added, heard him cough and ſpit at about three o'clock in the morning, and it ſtruck him that the ſound was like that of a perſon labouring under ſome oppreſſion; but hearing no more, he did not enter the room. At ſeven, the turnkey entered, to light the fire, but ſeeing the priſoner a corpſe, he immediately gave the alarm. Eight phyſicians and ſurgeons were ſent by the criminal tribunal to inſpect the body, and their report was publicly read, in the tribunal of the ſection, by the officer of health who had drawn it up. This report contained a great many trifling and unimportant particulars, ſuch as the ſex of the corpſe, the height, the colour of the hair, and eyebrows; it alſo detailed the ſtate of the veins, the diſcompoſure of the countenance, and that the cheek of the deceaſed had been ſcratched by the ſtick, and they came to the concluſion that he had ſtrangled himſelf. The commiſſary of government, after hearing this report read, made a ſpeech congratulating the tribunal on the publicity which had been given to their proceedings, and pronouncing

6th April.

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what would be the opinion of poſterity reſpecting the deceaſed. By order of the Court, two of its officers ſuperintended the funeral, and depoſited the body in the church yard of St. Catherine.

With whatever art and care theſe proceedings were drawn up, the account they contained was, by no means, ſatisfactory even to the people of France, but much leſs ſo to the reſt of Europe. The formation of an artificial tourniquet, by means of a piece of faggot ſtick, and the perſevering uſe of it as deſcribed, were conſidered improbable and unnatural. The deſcription of Pichegru taking his black handkerchief from under his bolſter, at a time when nobody could ſee him or know what he did, was deemed an abſurd invention. The moral and religious character of the man, and the firmneſs with which he had endured incredible hardſhips during his tranſportation to Guiana, by order of the Directory, were conſidered as ſtrong preſumptive proofs, that he had not now committed the crime imputed to him. No one who entertained a doubt, felt it at all removed by the report of men employed by government, who viewed the body in ſecret; and the careful manner in which all approach to the corpſe, except by appointed and confidential perſons, was denied, was calculated rather to confirm than to remove ſuſpicion. If accounts ſubſequently publiſhed are entitled to credit, Pichegru was inhumanly murdered. His bold and ſturdy anſwers in his two interrogatories afforded no ſatisfaction to his enemies, and while he was in priſon, they endeavoured by torture to extract from him confeſſions favourable to their cauſe. But his great firmneſs rendered this attempt alſo unavailing, and at laſt, finding that the marks of torture were ſo viſible on his whole perſon, and his courage ſo inflexible, that there could be no doubt that he would diſcloſe, if brought to a trial, all that had paſſed during his confinement, it was found neceſſary to have recourſe to the laſt expedients of a deſpotic and unprincipled government, private aſſaſſination, and a calumnious charge of ſuicide againſt the victim.

The police in all parts of France was actively employed in making ſearch after other perſons, beſide thoſe already in cuſtody, who were ſuppoſed to be implicated in the conſpiracy, and frequent reports gave aſſurance that theſe ſearches were attended with ſucceſs. The preſs too, was employed, in the French manner, to impart to the public the ſenſation which was deſired by government. Beſide the publication of reports, ſpeeches, examinations and addreſſes on this ſubject in the official paper, two pamphlets were iſſued, from which a conſiderable effect was expected, eſpecially in convincing the people, that England aſſiſted in forming, and ſupported thoſe who were to execute theſe conſpiracies. One of theſe pamphlets was by Mehée de la Touche, a man deſcribed as a moſt profligate character, one of the aſſaſſins of September, 1792, and ſubſequently ſentenced to tranſportation for his numerous crimes. This man, employed by the French government, had certainly contrived to recommend himſelf to the Engliſh miniſtry, and was by

them confidentially employed in ſome ſecret arrangements with their miniſters at foreign courts. He was alſo introduced to them and their friends, and to many of the principal French emigrants in London. Thus he had the means of giving to whatever falſehoods he was diſpoſed to circulate, ſo much appearance of truth as would render the contradiction of them extremely difficult, and he was not delicate in uſing all the advantages he poſſeſſed. His book was read with great avidity, and its contents much relied on in France, although the author declared that, in time of peace, he was ſent over to England as a ſpy, and that the Britiſh government refuſed, at that time, to communicate with him or avail themſelves of his proffered ſervices, becauſe the two countries were not in a ſtate of hoſtility. The other writer was the Marquis de Montgaillard, who, at an early period of the revolution, had ſought protection and found encouragement in England; who had afterward reconciled himſelf with the French government, and who now, with occaſional ſacrifices of time and place, pretended to diſcloſe a ſeries of conſpiracies in which Pichegru had been engaged from the year 1795 till the time of his arreſt. The baſeneſs of this man was more offenſive than that of Méhée de la Touche, as he was better born, and on his coming to England, had carried his pretenſions of loyalty to his ſovereign to an enthuſiaſtic height, publiſhing a periodical pamphlet more injurious to the French government then in being, than any other which was circulated.

Georges, like Pichegru, had undergone an interrogatory, but no ſatisfactory reſult was obtained. He bluntly acknowledged that he came to Paris to attack Bonaparte, but denied that he was connected with Pichegru, or had even ſeen Moreau, and when aſked as to ſome particular circumſtances, ſternly refuſed to anſwer, ſaying there were victims ſufficient already, and he would not be the means of increaſing their number. 8th March. After he had been impriſoned upward of a month, Moreau wrote a letter to Bonaparte, complaining of his long detention, recapitulating many of the acts of his former life, and ſtating ſuch circumſtances as ſeemed to him beſt calculated to prove that he could not have had ſuch intercourſe with Pichegru and Georges as was imputed to him. This letter was afterwards publiſhed, but does not appear to have produced any effect on the perſon to whom it was addreſſed.

Soon after the elevation of Bonarparte to the dignity of emperor, it was 28th May. thought fit to bring all the parties accuſed to a trial before the criminal tribunal of the department of the Seine. A moſt voluminous act of accuſation was prepared againſt them; ſo large that when printed, it occupied three hundred and forty cloſe octavo pages. The perſons accuſed were forty-ſix in number. The principal among them, beſide General Moreau, were Georges Cadoual, and his brother, Pierre Jean, Bouvet de Lozier, General Rouſillon, Armand Polignac and his brother Charles, and General Lajollais. The reſidue was compoſed of ſome landed proprietors, ſome perſons without a deſcription,

deſcription, and ſome tradeſmen and ſome perſons who let furniſhed lodgings. From the details which compoſed the body of the charge, the government proſecutor deduced three propoſitions. 1ſt, That there was a conſpiracy; 2d, that the Engliſh government was the ſoul of it; and 3d, that all the individuals taken up by virtue of warrants of arreſt were authors of or accomplices in this conſpiracy, or guilty of a breach of the law againſt thoſe who conceal ſtate criminals. The proofs, it was ſaid, would reſult from the acts imputed to the accuſed, and the depoſitions received in the various interrogatories which they had undergone.

The anſwers to theſe interrogatories were then ſet forth; and it is to be obſerved that it was not pretended that any priſoner was inculpated by his own anſwers, but the anſwer of every other priſoner was read as evidence againſt him. Thus againſt General Moreau no evidence could be deduced from his own interrogatory, but General Rouſillon, Bouvet de Lozier, one Rolland, and ſome other perſons accuſed were allowed to ſtate that he had firſt engaged in a conſpiracy to overturn the exiſting government, and reſtore Louis XVIII, but afterward preferred being dictator himſelf, and was making exertions for that purpoſe. Witneſſes were called againſt the ſeveral parties, and according to the French mode of juriſprudence, each priſoner was interrogated by the Court, and required to ſhew what he had to allege in anſwer to the evidence adduced. Each of the parties accuſed made a defence by counſel, and added whatever he thought proper from himſelf. The ſeveral defences made by the parties had little intereſt, except that of Moreau. Georges avowed the ſame intentions as he had declared in his interrogatory, and Armand Polignac admitted that he came to France for the purpoſe of re-eſtabliſhing the Bourbons. Moreau, he ſaid, had at firſt been underſtood to be well affected to this plan, but afterward it was ſtated that he was deſirous of being Dictator himſelf, and this made Armand Polignac repent that he had embarked in the plot. Jules Polignac did not corroborate theſe aſſertions; he denied having any concern in any plot, but allowed that he knew there was a plan to attack the Firſt Conſul.

After Moreau had undergone an interrogatory, in which he diſtinctly denied the facts alleged againſt him, and before his advocate was heard in his defence, he addreſſed a ſhort ſpeech to the Court, not, as he ſaid, becauſe he did not feel a perfect confidence in his profeſſional adviſers, through them he would addreſs himſelf to the juſtice of the Court, but he felt it right to ſay a few words to the judges and to the nation. Unfortunate circumſtances, produced by chance or prepared by malevolence, he obſerved, might for a few moments caſt a ſhade over the character of the moſt upright of men. By dint of addreſs, a real criminal might remove from himſelf all proof and even all ſuſpicion of crime, but, a whole life always afforded the ſafeſt teſtimony for or againſt a party accuſed. On this principle, he entered into a ſhort review of his own life, from the time when his

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ardour in the cauſe of the revolution induced him to quit the ſtudy of the law, and embrace the military profeſſion, ſhewing that in the moſt troubleſome times, and when the conduct and motives of men were moſt open to reproach, his had always been free from ſuſpicion, and that whatever opportunities the change of circumſtances in many eventful years might have preſented, he was always exempt from the charge of ſelfiſhneſs or ambition. The defence read by his counſel was eloquent and argumentative, it ſhewed in the ſtrongeſt manner, the probability that Moreau was innocent, and refuted by demonſtrating its improbability, the evidence againſt him.

28th June. In concluſion, the Court ſentenced twenty of the priſoners capitally; among whom were Georges, Bouvet de Lozier, Rouſillon and Armand Polignac. Five were condemned to two years impriſonment, and in this liſt were Moreau and Jules de Polignac. Fifteen were acquitted, and five were tranſmitted to the correctional police. All thoſe who were capitally convicted, except Georges, appealed to the Court of Error, but this proceeding was of no avail. The great efforts made to procure a capital ſentence againſt Moreau were evident to every one, and probably the diſguſt generally expreſſed on this ſubject, and the fear of the effect which might be produced on the army, prevented the great aim of the proſecution from being accompliſhed. Of thoſe condemned to death, eight obtained pardons on condition of being impriſoned four years in different places fixed on for that purpoſe, and it was remarked that this bounty was particularly extended to thoſe whoſe examinations had moſt tended to criminate Moreau. General Rouſillon and Armand de Polignac were in the number; the latter is ſaid to have owed his life to the moſt abject and degrading ſupplications. Georges and his companions underwent their fate with conſpicuous bravery, and the pity excited in many boſoms was undiſguiſed. On the day of their execution it was publicly given out that Moreau had ſailed for America, but this was afterward believed to be a feint to prevent any commotion which might have been raiſed on his behalf among the military, and the croud aſſembled to ſee the execution. It was alſo aſſerted, that he had died ſuddenly in priſon, and probably, the public would have been entertained with a new report ſimilar to that on Pichegru, but the people and the military manifeſted ſo ſtrong a ſenſation on the rumour, that government was alarmed, and a formal denial of Moreau's death was publiſhed by authority. As revenge and fear could not be ſatiated, it was found convenient to aſſume the air of humanity, and the General was finally permitted to take his departure for America.

Whether there really was any plot, or, if that is to be believed, what its nature and extent might be, are utterly unknown; but it is judiciouſly obſerved, that it is clear from theſe trials, that one perſon was deeply and inexpiably guilty, and that was, the murderer of the Duke d'Enghien, for, in the whole courſe of the depoſitions, not one word occurred to ſhew that that unfortunate prince

was,

was, in the ſlighteſt degree, connected with any plot or conſpiracy of any kind, or that he was conſulted by, or had intercourſe with any perſon who was ſo concerned.

1ſt July. Soon after this conſpiracy was diſpoſed of, another of a very different kind occupied the attention of Europe. Louis XVIII. had for ſome time reſided at Warſaw, and was about to quit that place for the dominions of the Emperor of Ruſſia, when, on the day intended for his departure, his journey was ſtaid by a remarkable diſcloſure. A man named Coulon, who kept a billiard room, came and informed ſome noblemen of the houſehold of the King of France, of ſome extraordinary converſations which had paſſed between him and two perſons unknown, and placed in their hands a packet containing three carrots ſcooped out and filled with arſenick, and a wickered bottle, which he ſaid he had received from the ſame perſons unknown. His narrative was, that on the 20th of July, theſe two perſons came to his billiard room, and, as he was a Frenchman, diſcourſed a good deal about Louis XVIII. and diſcovered that Coulon was much acquainted with the domeſtics of that prince. The next day they returned, and again aſked ſeveral queſtions, particularly whether the king went abroad frequently?—if he went out by himſelf?—what were the number and perſons of his ſuite?—and if they were armed?—Finding, in the courſe of their converſation, that Coulon had not paid for his billiard table, and was otherwiſe diſtreſſed for money, one of them took occaſion to obſerve, that there was a way by which he might eaſily obtain a large ſum, but the matter muſt be a profound ſecret, or his life would anſwer for it. He promiſed to do whatever ſhould be required, and was anxious for an explanation. Having thus excited his curioſity, and fixed his attention, they explained their plan; and ſaid, that being acquainted with all the ſervants of the king's family, and particularly the cook, he could go into the kitchen at any time without exciting ſuſpicion. "If you "ſhould ſucceed," (added they) "your fortune is made." Coulon heſitating, they called for punch, and made many promiſes, to ſurmount his ſcruples and inſpire him with courage. In particular, they aſſured him of a ſafe retreat into France, and a good eſtabliſhment for himſelf and his wife. The next day, being Sunday, an emiſſary from theſe unknown perſons called on him in the evening, and led him circuitouſly, and in the dark, through many ſtreets, to a houſe, where he found one of the men he had converſed with the night before. He was aſked whether he was ſtill reſolved to do what he was deſired, and on his anſwering in the affirmative, champaign was brought in, and one of the ſtrangers ſoon became intoxicated. They ſettled the mode of executing their plan. Coulon was to go and viſit the king's cook, and tell him that for a long time paſt he had not taſted mutton chops; and that he ſhould aſk him to dreſs a few. After the precaution of making the cook drunk, he was to throw into the pot a parcel with which he was to be provided. "Very well," (ſaid

(ſaid Coulon) "but the money; "you have promiſed me 400 "louis, but you have given me "nothing." The ſtranger, who was drunk, ſaid, "I don't know "if Boyer would give you ſo "much as that." Boyer was a French commercial agent, eſtabliſhed at Warſaw, where no perſon of that deſcription had ever been appointed before. The man who was ſober, ſeemed alarmed at this indiſcreet mention of the agent's name, and haſtily ſaid, "What "do you mean by that? Boyer "is not here; he is gone, and "will not return for two days." Coulon inſiſted on the money; again mentioned his wife, and the expences of his journey. They told him not to be uneaſy on that ſcore; he had nothing more to do than to come next day at eleven o'clock in the evening, and be within twenty yards of the village Neuf; that there ſome one would give him the packet; that he was to put it into the pot on Tueſday the 24th of July; that then he ſhould go to the five gallowſes, where he ſhould find a perſon who would conduct him to a place of ſafety, and carry him into France. "And my wife?"—ſaid Coulon. "Give yourſelf no trouble on that "head; and there is a ducat to "drink with the cook."—At one in the morning they conducted Coulon home through bye-ways to prevent his making obſervations. He immediately informed ſome officers of the king's houſehold of all that had paſſed, and the Count D'Avaray, captain of the king's guards, ordered that the report ſhould be put in writing, ſigned and cyphered.

Alarmed for the ſafety of the king and queen and the duke and duchefs of Angoulême, thus menaced, the Count d'Avaray diſcloſed the whole matter to M. de Hoym, preſident of the chamber, in whoſe power it was to take the neceſſary meaſures of vigilance and precaution on ſuch an occaſion. The preſident, at this time, entered with great warmth and ſenſibility into the matter, promiſed every aſſiſtance in detecting the conſpirators, and after adviſing the friends of Louis how to act, pointed out the places where they might apply, if neceſſary, for further aſſiſtance.

According to arrangements entered into, Coulon was directed to attend at the appointed ſpot, and with fear and trembling obeyed. It was, in courſe, impoſſible for any of the adherents of the royal family to go with him, and conſequently the relation of what follows depends entirely on Coulon. He ſtated, that after paſſing the barriere leading to the village Neuf, he was followed by a man, who in a few minutes cried—"Are you Coulon?"—"Yes," replied he. Then another man came out from a field of corn. Both of them told Coulon not to go any farther, leſt the dogs ſhould raiſe an alarm. They aſked him if he continued in the ſame intentions? Coulon anſwering in the affirmative, they gave him a packet and ſix crowns, expreſsly recommending to him not to turn the packet upſide down, becauſe it contained carrots, hollow in the inſide, and what was in them might fall out. Coulon demanded the money promiſed. The others anſwered, that they could not give more, having already been

ſeveral

ſeveral times deceived, and not conſidering themſelves perfectly ſure of him. On this, Coulon ſaid to him, "If you diſtruſt me, let "one of you go along with me, "I will get him introduced." They refuſed, ſaying it was impoſſible; beſides too, he might already have prated of the affair, though they did not believe he had. "For the reſt," added they, "if you do not ſucceed, it will "be your own fault, if you do, "you have only to repair on Saturday to Sochaczer. The "poſtmaſter of the place, who "knows you, will make you welcome, and will give you whatever you want. When you "arrive there, he will give you "the four hundred louis d'ors, "and we will ſet off for France "together. If you do not do "this on Saturday, on Sunday "you ſhall not be in life. We "have promiſed you four hundred "louis d'ors, but you ſhall have "one hundred more for every "perſon who dies within a "month." They then pointed out to him the forty-fifth tree from the barrier on the road to the village Neuf. At the foot of this tree they buried a handkerchief, one of the corners of which they left above the ground. Should Coulon be unable to execute the project in the courſe of Tueſday the 24th, he was to take away the handkerchief, and in caſe of ſucceſs he was to leave it. At parting, they gave him a ſmall bottle, and ſaid, "You will drink two "glaſſes of this before entering, "which will give you courage, "and when you have put in the "packet you need not be afraid, "becauſe it will not operate ſud-"denly." They then told him, that if he ſhould remove the handkerchief, they would ſee him again in the evening. Coulon aſked where? They told him to give himſelf no trouble, for they knew very well where to find him. Coulon declared that he could not be certain, if the two men who met him on the night between the 23d and 24th, were the ſame who firſt made the propoſition to him; but that he was very certain, that the talleſt of the two, who was preſent at all the interviews, was the perſon who gave him the pacquet, and placed the handkerchief, &c. The two men followed him to the end of the road. On their leaving him, he fainted away, and was aſſiſted by a Pruſſian officer, who happened to be paſſing.

Having given ſome neceſſary inſtructions to the cook, in caſe any of the conſpirators ſhould come to him in company with Coulon, the Count d'Avaray obtained another interview with the Preſident de Hoym, and told him all that had paſſed, but found his diſpoſition ſtrangely altered. The count wiſhed the preſident to put his name as an atteſtation to the facts he had diſcloſed, and requeſted him to put his ſeal, together with his own, on the packet containing the carrots, as a meaſure of precaution, for the purpoſe of teſtifying the identity of the contents, when they ſhould be ſubmitted to an analyſis. The preſident, at firſt, thought theſe requeſts reaſonable, but, on recollection, refuſed to affix his ſeal; he even declined going with the count to the Archbiſhop of Rheims, who lived next door, and took his leave, with empty aſſurances of profound perſonal reſpect for

for the Count de L'Iſle, which was the title by which the King of France was known. The packet was at length ſealed by the Count d'Ayaray and the archbiſhop.

As the day prefixed for the king's departure was come, and as the inquiry would occaſion ſome delay, it became neceſſary to inform him and other members of the royal family of the tranſaction. The king received the intelligence with great firmneſs, and other applications having been made without ſucceſs, wrote letters himſelf, ſoliciting M. de Hoym to take the neceſſary meaſures for inveſtigating the buſineſs, and to appoint a chymiſt, and a phyſician to be preſent at an analyſis of the vegetables produced by Coulon. To the former requeſt the preſident anſwered, that in ſuch affairs, his duty confined him to a part intirely paſſive, and the latter he altogether declined. The analyſis was made in preſence of the king's phyſician, and ſeveral officers of his houſehold, by M. Gagatkiewieſh, one of the moſt celebrated phyſicians, and M. Gudeil, an eminent apothecary of the place. Their report was, that the hollow where the carrots had been ſcooped out was filled with a mixture of white, yellow and red arſenic, and that the bottle contained a mere ſpirituous liquor.

This inveſtigation having ſufficiently proved that for ſome purpoſe or other, poiſon had really been prepared, and Coulon ſtill declaring that he was alarmed for his life, in conſequence of the threats of the perſons by whom he had been employed, the king wrote to M. de Tilley, preſident of the police of the town, requeſting him to take ſuch meaſures as his diſcretion ſhould ſuggeſt, to diſcover the guilty parties. To this, after ſome delay, M. de Tilly returned for anſwer, that he had depoſited the packet in proper hands, to be returned wherever it ſhould be ordered, but that the further proſecution of the affair did not depend on him, but on the courts of juſtice. Hopeleſs of deriving any ſatisfaction from the Pruſſian officers of police, M. d'Avaray thought it needleſs any longer to obſerve the rule of forbearance which hitherto ſwayed him. He ſent for Coulon, with whom he had before avoided all connection beyond the mere receipt of his information, and at two interviews, examined, re-examined and ſifted his whole narrative with ſuch minuteneſs, that, at the end, he and eight other perſons of the king's retinue, among whom were the Archbiſhop of Rheims, the Duke de Pienne, and the Abbé Edgeworth, ſigned a memorial of all the facts, and declared themſelves, in their ſouls and conſciences, fully convinced of the truth of Coulon's report. On leaving Warſaw for Godno, Louis XVIII, gave an account of the affair to the King of Pruſſia; and particularly recommended Coulon to his care and benevolence. 30th.

This ſtrange affair was differently viewed, as prejudice or party prevailed. Some adopted the opinion expreſſed by the adherents of Louis, while others declared their belief that Coulon was a ſharper, who fabricated the ſtory to extort from the credulity of Louis or his adherents a ſum of money, as the price of his intelligence. The whole narrative is certainly very extra-

extraordinary, not in itſelf eaſily credible, and reſting intirely on the teſtimony of Coulon; but there was no application from him for money, nor for a promiſe of any; his depoſition, if it had been at all inveſtigated by the Pruſſian government, would have been analyzed with the utmoſt ſeverity, and impriſonment for life was the leaſt puniſhment he could expect, if, upon examination, he was diſbelieved. The eagerneſs of M. de Hoym, and his ſubſequent coldneſs about the buſineſs, form a remarkable feature in the tranſaction, and it is not a little extraordinary that Boyer, the French commercial agent, ſhould never think that his honour or that of his employers, required that he ſhould demand ſome further inveſtigation. The general apathy of the Pruſſian government, eſpecially after the firſt demonſtrations made by M. de Hoym, could only be attributed to the fear of offending France; Bonaparte's offers to Louis XVIII. a year before, and the recent aſſaſſination of the duc d'Enghien were ſtrong in every recollection, and the preponderating probability ſeemed to be, that however ſtrong in point of force Bonaparte might feel his newly acquired ſovereignty to be, he would gladly have added to its ſtability by the removal of a family whoſe title, confirmed by ages, would be a perpetual reproach to his uſurpation.

In the mean time, Bonaparte was enjoying the ſtate and exerciſing the authority of emperor, and amidſt his other occupations, beſtowed no ſmall portion of care and attention on the ceremony of his coronation, which was to take place in the enſuing winter. 8th July. The miniſters of foreign courts in amity with France had their credentials renewed, and made conformable to the new ſtate of things, and a day was ſet apart, on which with great ſtate and ceremony, the new letters were preſented. The miniſters were admitted in the order of their ſending to announce their intentions; embaſſadors were accommodated with ſtate carriages belonging to Bonaparte, miniſters went in their own. The firſt who was preſented was cardinal Caprara, legate a latere from the pope, he had an audience of the emperor and empreſs at ten in the morning. After the grand parade, the others were admitted. They were, the embaſſadors and miniſters of the kings of Spain, Pruſſia, Naples and Denmark; the elector archchancellor, the electors of Baden, Wirtemberg, Heſſe Caſſel and Heſſe Darmſtadt, the republics of Batavia, Liguria, and Lucca, and the Helvetic confederation. The powers who did not at firſt pay this mark of friendſhip and reſpect, but were expected ſoon to do ſo, were the emperors of Germany, Ruſſia and Turkey, the king of Sweden, the prince regent of Portugal, the queen regent of Etruria, the king of Sardinia, the Ciſalpine republic, and the United States of America. According to the accounts which were publiſhed by authority, all the letters concurred in expreſſing the lively ſatisfaction of the ſovereigns and ſtates at ſeeing the deſtinies of the great French nation for ever united to thoſe of the emperor of the French. In return for theſe expreſſions,

preſſions, Bonaparte publiſhed an addreſs to theſe embaſſadors and miniſters, diſplaying his own good intentions, and vaunting his own moderation. He particularly diſclaimed all views of aggrandizing the French dominions, treating every ſuſpicion of the kind as a mere idle rumour. "People "ſay," he obſerved, "that the "emperor is about to unite under "his government the Italian and "Ligurian republics, Lucca, the "kingdom of Etruria, the ſtates "of the holy father, and by ne-"ceſſary conſequence, Naples. "They ſay that Switzerland and "Holland will ſhare the ſame "fate, and they ſay that Hanover "will offer to the emperor the "means of becoming a member of "the Germanic body." Each of theſe aſſertions was ſeparately noticed and refuted, and it was proved, from paſt moderation and preſent policy, that every one of the attempts ſuppoſed to be in contemplation, was next to impoſſible.

14th July. The anniverſary of the taking of the Baſtille, a ceremony inſtituted by La Fayette during the momentary gleam of his pride and popularity, was now for the firſt time in twelve years to be celebrated in the preſence of a ſovereign. In 1792, the unfortunate Louis and his queen, then in the midſt of their diſtreſſes, and on the eve of their dethronement, attended this ceremony amid ſuſpicions and inſults of every deſcription. Bonaparte, on this day, preſided in the midſt of military pomp, and in the full exerciſe of deſpotic authority, and while he diſtributed honours, and exacted oaths of fidelity, was greeted with cries of *vive l'Empereur*, and every motion of himſelf and his conſort was announced to the people by diſcharges of artillery. The oath was adminiſtered to the members of the legion of honour in the Hotel des Invalides, where La Cépede the grand chancellor made a ſpeech on the happineſs of the nation which had made the ſaviour of France, emperor of the French, and concluded, expreſſing a wiſh that honour, the country and Napoleon, might for ever be the motto of France, and the pledge of her eternal proſperity.

In the midſt of this pomp, fear and inquietude marked ſome of the proceedings of government. Rumours of new plots were ſet afloat, ſecret arreſts were very numerous, and Réal, who had been nominated miniſter of police, was diſplaced to reſtore Fouché, whoſe known vigilance, intelligence and character, left no doubt of the reaſons of his re-appointment.

As a ſummer excurſion, and for evident political purpoſes, Bonaparte went to viſit ſome of the ſea-ports and other diſtant parts of France. He performed this tour alone, Madame Bonaparte having gone to Aix-la-Chapelle. In travelling with his uſual velocity, he arrived at Boulogne, where he reviewed his ſmall fleet of gun-boats and flat-boats, and his great army which by their aid was to paſs over to England. While he was there, a violent ſtorm did great damage to the pigmy fleet, as if to convince him by experiment, how incapable it was of reſiſting the elements. Another leſſon which he received while at Boulogne, aroſe from a bombardment of Havre, during three days, by 20th.

by captain Oliver of the Melpomene, an operation which the fleet of ſmall craft could not prevent, and the capture of two of theſe boaſted gun-boats, the one of 20, the other of 14 guns, by an Engliſh frigate. While Bonaparte was at Boulogne, a magnificent fete was celebrated in honour of his birth day. From Boulogne, he continued his courſe by the coaſt, and viſited various towns in Flanders. At Bruſſels he was received with great pomp and magnificence, and then proceeded to Aix-la-Chapelle, where he was met by his great officers, and the miniſters and plenipotentiaries, who had not before preſented their renewed credentials, performed that ceremony. Continuing his tour, he arrived ſucceſſively at Mayence, Cologne and other parts of the low countries. In all the places he viſited, Bonaparte ſagaciouſly blended magnificence of appearance with an apparent attention to thoſe circumſtances which would adminiſter to the pride of the inhabitants. Beſides reviewing his military force, he perſonally examined the ſtate of the manufactures, viſited the cathedrals and public buildings, and received very graciouſly deputations which attended him, with congratulations and compliments. The people, on their parts, did not fail to fulfil the orders they received, by honouring their viſitor with all poſſible marks of ſatisfaction, and all the external ſigns of homage and affection. Triumphal arches, trophies, emblems, choruſes of women, and proceſſions were raiſed and diſplayed at the ſeveral towns through which he paſſed, and the reſources of adulation appeared to be exhauſted in the compliments which were paid to him, and to Madame Bonaparte, who accompanied him in his progreſs after he quitted Aix-la-Chapelle.

16th Aug.

5th Sept.

During this period, the great buſineſs, which abſorbed every other conſideration, was that of preparing for the approaching coronation. Early in July, a decree had been iſſued, appointing the manner in which deputations from the various military bodies were to take the oath of allegiance, and regulating ſome of the moſt important forms. The robes and crowns of the emperor and empreſs were beſpoke, and were to be of the utmoſt ſplendor. Thoſe of the princes and the grand dignitaries were to be proportionably magnificent. The members of the legion of honour were to be decorated with a ſtar, in the centre of which a crown of oak and laurel was to contain the head of Bonaparte, with the legend, "Na- "poleon Emperor of the French." The reverſe was to exhibit the French eagle carrying lightning, with a legend "Honour and our "Country." The ſtars of the great officers were to be of gold, thoſe of inferior degree of ſilver, and they were always to be worn at a button hole of the coat ſuſpended by a three coloured ribbon. Into this legend not only military, but many eccleſiaſtical and civil officers were admitted. A new imperial ſeal was alſo deviſed.

To the aſtoniſhment even of thoſe who had moſt contemplated the changes effected in morals and politics ſince the French revolution, it was formally announced

that the Pope was to travel from Rome to Paris to perform the ceremony of the coronation, and to their ſtill greater ſurprize, Cardinal Maury, the ſuppoſed immoveable adherent of lawful monarchy, proſtrated himſelf at the feet of the uſurper. For the conduct of the Pope, ſome political reaſons might be aſſigned, but the proſtration of the cardinal ſeemed to be ſpontaneous and cauſeleſs. He wrote, it is ſaid, unexpectedly and without ſolicitation, to the archbiſhop of Paris and to Bonaparte, declaring his intire devotion to the new dynaſty, and to the newly adopted principles of government. The Pope certainly did not make a voluntary tender of his ſervices, he was invited, which could only be conſidered as a command, by Bonaparte; he complied as a matter of neceſſity, and his ſentiments on that ſubject are ſaid to have been authoritatively and explicitly declared.

31ſt Oct. The compliance of his holineſs was extremely agreeable to Bonaparte, and his journey into France was performed with every circumſtance of ſtate and magnificence. Some of his eſcort preceded him three days. His cardinal and ſuperior officers were in coaches and four; himſelf in a coach and ſix, his military train was numerous, the journey was by ſhort ſtages, and the avant-couriers and the purveyors took care that nothing ſhould be wanting to his accommodation.

3d to 25th Nov. In three weeks, the pope arrived at Fontainbleau, where Bonaparte was hunting, who on being informed of his coming, haſtened to meet him. The reſpect which Bonaparte oſtentatiouſly paid, was, however, tempered by an anxious care not to ſanction any notions the Pope or his poſſible ſucceſſors might entertain or wiſh to revive, of their own temporal ſuperiority. At Saint Herem, where they met, Bonaparte alighted from his horſe at the ſame time that the pope deſcended from his carriage, they advanced an equal number of ſteps to embrace. Six carriages then coming up, Bonaparte firſt ſeated himſelf in one of them, and Pius VII. getting in afterwards, was placed on his right hand. A double line of ſoldiers was formed, through which they paſſed to the caſtle, their progreſs being honoured by frequent diſcharges of artillery, and his holineſs, having been received in great ſtate by the domeſtic officers, paid his viſits of form to Bonaparte and his wife.

The ceremony of making an emperor was now drawing to a cloſe. It was announced in the Moniteur, that the propoſition that the imperial dignity ſhall be hereditary in the lineal deſcendants, natural, legitimate or adoptive of Napoleon Bonaparte, and in the lineal deſcendants, natural and legitimate of Joſeph and Louis, had been ſubmitted to the people; and that out of 3,524,254 voters, 3,521,675 had voted in the affirmative, and conſequently that ſuch was the will of the nation, lawfully expreſſed.

2d Dec. As the day appointed for the coronation drew near, deputations from public bodies preſſed to offer their congratulations and homage to the emperor, the empreſs and the pope; a programme or plan of proceeding was publiſhed, detailing minutely

the form and courſe of the proceſſion, and of the ceremonial, which was exactly followed. At ſix o'clock in the morning the day was uſhered in by the ringing of bells and firing of cannon, a vaſt concourſe admitted by means of tickets only, filled the places allotted for ſpectators in the metropolitan church; the reſidue of the void ſpace was occupied by the conſtituted authorities and by troops, great numbers of whom were alſo on duty in the city. The Pope ſet out at 9 o'clock exactly, and a grand proceſſion was formed of military and public functionaries to attend him. Every thing which met the eye proved how much care had been employed in completing a moſt ſtriking and magnificent exhibition. The dreſſes and ornaments of Bonaparte, his family, and his officers military and civil were ſuperb. The Pope performed the ceremony with the conſecrations and benedictions preſcribed, and it was not the leaſt remarkable part of the tranſaction that Bonaparte was, in great form, preſented with the crown, ſceptre, and ſword of Charlemagne. The grand maſs finiſhed at three o'clock; the city was brilliantly illuminated at night, and ſo great a concourſe was never known on any previous occaſion.

CHAP. XIII.

Efforts of Bonaparte to diſſolve all connexion between Great Britain and the Continent; obſervations on the appointment of Mr. Spencer Smith to be Miniſter of the Elector of Wirtemberg; Report of Regnier on ſome ſuppoſed intrigues of Mr. Drake at Munich; Circular Letter of Talleyrand to Foreign Miniſters on this ſubject; their Anſwers; mention of this Matter in the Engliſh Houſe of Commons by Lord Morpeth; Anſwer of Mr. Addington; Circular Letter of the King of England; Mr. Drake diſmiſſed by the Elector of Bavaria. Second Report of Regnier; Attack on Mr. Spencer Smith; its motives. Capture of Captain Wright; he is ſent to Paris; his Fate. Seizure of Sir George Rumbold at Hamburgh; Remonſtrance of the Britiſh Government to all Neutral Nations; Sir George Rumbold is carried to Paris and there releaſed. Seizure of two Britiſh Merchants near Altona projected by France, but prevented. Talleyrand's tardy Reply to the Circular Letter of the Britiſh Government. Indifference of the King of Pruſſia to theſe Events. Proteſt of the Emperor of Ruſſia againſt the Murder of the Duc d'Enghien; Anſwer of Talleyrand; Reply of Ruſſia containing certain demands; Counter-Demands of France; the Ruſſian Chargé des Affaires quits Paris. Wavering Conduct of Ruſſia; Indifference of the Powers of Germany; Enthuſiaſm of the King of Sweden. He is abuſed in the Moniteur; reſentment of the King of Sweden. Treaty of Bonaparte with the Count of Bentheim; Proteſt of the King of England. The Emperor of Germany changes his Title to Emperor of Auſtria. Abject ſtate of Spain. Portugal purchaſes Neutrality. Demands of France on Naples; reſiſted.

Misery of Holland. Capture of Surinam. Capture and re-capture of Goree. Exploits of the French Admiral Linois. Independence of St. Domingo. Disputes in Jamaica. State of Affairs in England; Attack on the Boulogne Flotilla; Middlesex Election.

ONE great and avowed object of Bonaparte's policy was to separate Great Britain from the continent of Europe, by dissolving all her political connexions with every power, and rendering the renewal of them impossible. This design had been unremittingly, and almost openly pursued during the peace, but on the re-commencement of hostilities, forbearance seemed to be no longer necessary, and no limits were set to the eagerness and violence with which this plan was followed.

11th Feb. The intended attack was preceded, as usual, by a coarse invective in the French official paper. The appointment of Mr. Spencer Smith to be minister to the elector of Wirtemberg, occasioned one of these abusive effusions, in which it was represented that Mr. Smith was to be the substitute of Mr. Wickham in the operations relating to spying, corruption, and plots; but it might happen that the first consul would one day inquire, whether the law of nations permitted England to maintain such agents under a political character, either at Munich or at Stutgard.

26th March. This attack was soon followed by a long report from Regnier the grand judge, on the subject of a supposed plot in which Mr. Drake, the British minister to the elector of Bavaria, was the agent, and which was described as a part of the conspiracy then preparing for trial at Paris, but published separately for the purpose of opening the eyes of Europe to the despicable character of the English ministry, the meanness of its agents, and the miserable expedients it had recourse to, for accomplishing its views. The direct correspondence of Mr. Drake, Regnier said, was continued for four months with agents sent, paid, and employed by him in the heart of the republic, and consisted of ten original letters, written in his own hand. It was not as the representative of his sovereign that Mr. Drake came to Munich with the title of plenipotentiary. This was merely his ostensible character, a pretence for sending him; the genuine object of his mission was to recruit for agents of intrigue, revolt, and assassination; to stir up a war of plunder and murder against the French government, and to wound the neutrality and the dignity of the government where he resided. Ostensibly, he was a public character, he was in reality (as his private instructions would prove) the secret director of English machinations on the continent; the sinews of which were gold, corruption, the foolish hopes of those concerned in the plot, and of all the ambitious people in Europe. The plan of operations and means of communication were then briefly analysed, and finally it was mentioned, that the great point was to gain partizans in the army. On this subject Regnier exclaims; "How vain

vain theſe hopes were, is ſufficiently characteriſed by the ſtriking unanimity that prevails every where, now that the danger with which France was menaced is diſcovered. But the attempt to commit a crime, the bare idea of which is an outrage to humanity, and the execution of which would not only have been a national calamity, but I may add, a calamity for all Europe, demands not only a reparation for the paſt, but a guarantee for the future. A ſolitary, ſcattered banditti, a prey to want, without harmony, and without ſupport, is always weaker than the laws which are to puniſh it, or the police which ought to intimidate it. But if they have the power of uniting, if they could correſpond with each other, and the brigands of other countries, if in a profeſſion the moſt honourable of all, inaſmuch as the tranquillity of empires, and the honour of ſovereigns, depend thereon, there ſhould be found men authorized to make uſe of all the power their ſituation affords, to practiſe vice, corruption, infamy, and villainy, and to raiſe out of the refuſe of human nature, an army of aſſaſſins, rebels, and forgers, under the command of the moſt immoral and moſt ambitious of all governments, there would be no ſecurity in Europe for the exiſtence of any ſtate, for public morality, nor even for the continuance of the principles of civilization. It is not my duty to diſcuſs the means you may poſſeſs to ſecure Europe, by guaranteeing her againſt ſuch dangers. I content myſelf with informing and proving to you, that there exiſts at Munich an Engliſhman, called Drake, inveſted with a diplomatic character, who, profiting of this guiſe, and of the vicinity of that place, directs dark and criminal efforts to the heart of the republic; who recruits for agents of corruption and rebellion; who reſides beyond the environs of the town, that his agents may have acceſs to him without ſhame, and depart without being expoſed; and who directs and pays men in France, charged by him with paving the way to an overthrow of the Government. This new ſpecies of crime, eſcaping from its nature, the ordinary means of ſuppreſſion, which the laws put in my power, I muſt confine myſelf to the unmaſking it to you, and pointing out to you at the ſame time, the ſources, circumſtances, and conſequences."

The papers on which this report was founded, conſiſted of ten letters written by Mr. Drake to his agent and correſpondent in Paris, who was no other than the Mehée de la Touche, mentioned in the laſt chapter, and two papers intitled "Inſtructions," and "Additions to the Inſtructions." That the letters are genuine, there is no reaſon to doubt; of the inſtructions, the reporter does not pretend to give a true copy, but only the ſubſtance, and there is much reaſon to ſuſpect that as ſome portion of that which was written is ſuppreſſed, ſome part of that which was publiſhed is fabricated. The firſt part directs, in a very ordinary way, the manner in which Mehée de la Touche ſhall pay and correſpond with his inferior agents, and how he ſhall convey intelligence to his employer. Mehée de la Touche is particularly inſtructed to inform his aſſociates, that having the high-

eſt opinion of their prudence, the purity of their intentions, and their patriotiſm, they may be furniſhed with pecuniary aſſiſtance, to enable them to overthrow the preſent government, and afford means for the French nation to chooſe the form of government, moſt likely to aſſure its happineſs and tranquillity; a point which ten years experience ought to have rendered very obvious. The additional inſtructions contained the means to be uſed for overthrowing the exiſting government of France, and the firſt recommended are moſt obvious and natural; the obtaining exact intelligence of all the plans of government through perſons employed in the public offices, to the end that thoſe plans may be effectually counteracted and fruſtrated. It was a particular requeſt that Mr. Drake might be informed of Bonaparte's plans with reſpect to Turkey and Ireland, and of the plots of the Iriſh refugees. All this was no more than the common mode uſed in the time of war for obtaining intelligence of the deſigns of an enemy, and a great portion of the reſidue of the inſtructions is filled up with directions for writing with ſympathetic ink, uſing fictitious names, and eluding the ſuſpicions of government and the vigilance of the poſt-office. The great object to be deſired was the re-eſtabliſhment of the ancient monarchy, and for that purpoſe committees were to be formed, and a correſpondence eſtabliſhed with England. Two more abſurd directions were probably interpolated; the one was to buy over thoſe employed in the powder mills, for the purpoſe of blowing them up, as might be found convenient; the other to try all poſſible means to diſorganize the armies, both within and without the republic.

The agent, Mehée de la Touche, the report proceeds, having been ſent from England to Bavaria, there to receive Mr. Drake's inſtructions, before he commenced his operations, announced to him, by a note, his arrival at Munich; to which having received a ſatisfactory anſwer, and made his arrangements, he proceeded to Paris. There he ſaw that nothing was to be done; however, he did not ceaſe to ſupply Mr. Drake with letters and bulletins for his money, but he alſo let the police into the ſecret of this correſpondence.

That the Britiſh government was groſsly duped by this adventurer, employed for the purpoſe by Bonaparte, cannot be doubted, but Mr. Drake's letters contain nothing which ſupports the aſſertion of the Grand Judge with reſpect to his criminal deſigns, but on the contrary, the intelligence required, and the plans ſuggeſted, were quite within the bounds of qualified hoſtility. Far from requiring the aſſaſſination of Bonaparte, Mr. Drake ſeemed to foreſee his elevation to the imperial dignity, and at the cloſe of the laſt year, uſed theſe expreſſions: "I have juſt had an interview with a perſon lately arrived from Paris, from whom I learn, that the firſt conſul becomes every day more and more extravagant; that the reign of terror is re-eſtabliſhing rapidly; that his violent conduct announces ſufficiently that he is perfectly eaſy as to his own ſituation: in ſhort, that all that paſſes preſages ſomething remarkable, more or leſs, at

at a diſtance. It is evident, that the invaſion of England embarraſſes him greatly; for though he pretends to be reſolutely determined upon it, yet is he ſenſible of, and fears the dangers of it, without knowing well how to recede. I beg of you to give all your attention to this ſituation of affairs, the which (according to the perſon from whom I heard theſe remarks) muſt bring things, ſooner or later, to the definitive criſis." In the ſame letter, he obſerves, that he knows nothing of what is paſſing in La Vendée, and a ſubſequent letter ſhews how falſely any co-operations in the plans of Georges and his aſſociates was imputed to England. "It is only through you," Mr. Drake ſays to Mehée de la Touche, "that I learn the circumſtances relative to Georges, &c. I have no other knowledge of his projects, than that with which your letter furniſhes me; but if you poſſeſs the means of extricating any of his aſſociates from their difficulties, fail not to employ them. I beſeech you earneſtly, to have written and printed, at once, a ſhort addreſs to the army (officers and ſoldiers) exciting them not to ſuffer Moreau, their fellow ſoldier, who has ſo often led them to victory, to periſh, a victim to the rage and the jealouſy of the firſt conſul. You may, in this addreſs, obſerve, that the merit of Moreau has, for a long time, been offenſive in the ſight of the petty tyrant; and that the firſt conſul, to get rid of his rival, has ſelected the moment of the arrival of the news of the unfortunate fate of St. Domingo, to draw off the attention of the nation from a diſaſter, ſingly ariſing from his bad conduct. You will do well not to loſe a moment in making this ſhort addreſs, and to get it circulated among all the armies with the greateſt diligence."

As this report was publiſhed a very few days after the murder of the duc d'Enghien, all poſſible exertions were made to give it the utmoſt publicity, and by making it a general theme, to divert the attention of mankind from that moſt atrocious tranſaction. Accordingly it was printed in all the papers in France, and all the other ſtates on the continent to which the influence of France extended; a copy was ſent to every member of the diplomatic body in Paris, with a circular letter from Talleyrand. In this addreſs, the French miniſter affirmed that a conſpiracy was carried on by Mr. Drake, which by its object, as well as its date, connected itſelf with the infamous plot which was then under inquiry before the proper tribunals. "Such a proſtitution," he proceeds, "of the moſt honourable function that can be entruſted to man, was unexampled in the hiſtory of civilized nations. It will aſtoniſh, it will afflict all Europe, as the ſcandal of an unheard-of-crime, a crime which, till this moment, the moſt perverted governments had not dared even to contemplate."

To this letter the miniſters from the different courts returned anſwers more or leſs flattering to the feelings of the firſt conſul. The anſwers of cardinal Caprara, the Pope's legate, and Schimmelpenninck, the Dutch miniſter, were in the abject ſtyle which might be expected from the dependent condition of their governments. That of Lucchеſini, the envoy

from Prussia, was temperate, not announcing any positive decision on the facts in question. De Souza, the envoy from Portugal, wrote in terms of mere civility. Count Cobentzel, the imperial ambassador, also avoided giving any opinion, and the note of D'Oubril, the Russian chargé des affaires, was something like a satire in disguise, for it declared the satisfaction it would afford his imperial majesty to observe, that the care taken by the diplomatic body in France to observe, on all occasions, the strict principles of the law of nations was honourably appreciated by the chief of the French government. On the other hand, Mr. Livingston, the American minister, wrote a long and vehement condemnation of the conduct of England, not hesitating to affirm, that the papers *proved* Mr. Drake to be guilty; that his conduct, even if he exceeded his authority, was so identified with the intentions of his government, that it had a tendency to subvert social order, and throw nations back toward the state of barbarism. The ambassador of Sweden sent a letter, but it was so little satisfactorty to Bonaparte, that it was not published with the rest.

16th April. A subject of this nature and importance could not, in course, escape the attention of the British parliament, and accordingly, Lord Morpeth, in a very moderate and manly speech, mentioned the matter in the lower house. It was with pain, he said, he was compelled to advert to so disagreeable a subject; but the transactions that had lately taken place in France relative to it, rendered it necessary to rescue the character of the government and of the country from the infamous charges made by the French government against one of our ministers at a foreign court. To justify the act of violence which had been committed by the French government, it had been urged, that instructions had been given by our government to that minister, to encourage and excite the subjects of France to the commission of the most abominable crimes. As long as the charge against this country had been confined to the vehicles of the rancour and malevolence of the French government, the noble lord would have thought it wise to treat them with the scorn and silence such unfounded calumnies merited; but, in his opinion, the case was now altered. A publication had been circulated at Paris, purporting to be the correspondence between our minister, resident at Munich, and a Frenchman, resident in Paris. This publication had been communicated to all the foreign ministers at Paris; and from their replies, it would appear, that they had all, with the single exception of the Russian minister, prejudged the matter, on allegations unproved, and he trusted unproveable. He should not dwell upon the servility with which Europe bowed to the power of France, but he should wish to see that servility confined to the continent, and to have it proved to the world, that there was one country at least, which was neither to be awed by its menaces, nor aspersed by its calumnies. As to the charges which had, in this instance, been made, he trusted he should be justified in calling on his Majesty's ministers to prove to the

the world that they had not armed the hand of the aſſaſſin, that they had not aimed the dagger in the dark, but, on the contrary, that they had conducted their ſyſtem of hoſtilities in that fair, open, and manly manner, which belongs to legitimate warfare.

The chancellor of the exchequer (Mr. Addington) ſaid, he felt obliged to the noble lord for having afforded him an opportunity of repelling one of the moſt falſe and unfounded charges that had ever been brought againſt the government of any civilized nation. He truſted the houſe would not expect from him, on this occaſion, more than an expreſſion of that indignation, in which he was ſure every individual in the country participated, at the atrocious calumnies propagated by a tyrannical government, for the purpoſe of covering acts of the moſt outrageous and deſpotic nature. He could aver with the greateſt truth, that no inſtructions or authority inconſiſtent with the rights of independent nations, or with the eſtabliſhed laws by which civilized nations are bound, had been given to any miniſter, or to any individual, by his Majeſty's government. As to the conſtruction that had been put upon the publication, he truſted the houſe would not expect him to enter into it; and, with reſpect to the correſpondence ſo publiſhed, it was impoſſible to be particular, inaſmuch as no communications had yet been received on the ſubject from the individual concerned. He ſhould be as anxious as the noble lord, he ſhould even be more anxious, on the part of his Majeſty's government, to take the moſt efficacious meaſures to vindicate the offended honour of his Majeſty, for he could not but conſider the honour of his Majeſty, and of the country affected by ſo infamous a calumny.

When government had obtained more exact information on this ſubject, a circular letter, in his Majeſty's name, was addreſſed to all the miniſters of foreign courts in London. It began by obſerving, that the experience which all Europe muſt have had of the conduct of the government of France, would have induced his Majeſty to treat any charges which might have been brought by them againſt his government, with ſilence and contempt, if the very extraordinary and unauthorized anſwers which many of the miniſters of foreign powers had thought proper to return to a recent communication of the miniſter for foreign affairs at Paris, had not given to the ſubject of that communication a greater degree of importance than it could otherwiſe have poſſeſſed. The aſſertion, that the Engliſh government had engaged in or countenanced any plot of aſſaſſination was treated as an unfounded and atrocious calumny; an accuſation moſt falſely and calumniouſly advanced under the ſame authority againſt members of his Majeſty's former government in the laſt war; an accuſation inconſiſtent with his Majeſty's honour, and with the known character of the Britiſh nation; and ſo completely unſupported by even any ſhadow of proof, that it might juſtly be preſumed to have been brought forward at the preſent moment, for the ſole purpoſe of diverting

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verting the attention of Europe from the contemplation of that ſanguinary deed, which, in violation of the law of nations, and of the plaineſt dictates of honour and humanity, had been recently perpetrated by the direct order of the Firſt Conſul of France. The letter then vindicates the right of government, in time of war, to liſten to the complaints of thoſe ſubjects of France, who were diſſatisfied with their yoke, and to aſſiſt them in their deſigns of emancipating themſelves from it, ſo far as thoſe deſigns were fair and juſtifiable. The expediency of acting upon this right (even if the right were in any degree doubtful) would, in the preſent caſe, be moſt fully ſanctioned; not only by the actual ſtate of the French nation, but by the conduct of the government of that country, which, ever ſince the commencement of the preſent war, had maintained a communication with the diſaffected in his Majeſty's dominions, particularly in Ireland, and had actually aſſembled, on the coaſt of France, a body of Iriſh rebels for the purpoſe of aiding their deſigns againſt that part of his united kingdom. If any miniſter, the letter proceeded, accredited by his Majeſty to a foreign court, has held correſpondence with perſons in France, with a view of obtaining information of the projects of the French government, or for any other legitimate purpoſe, he has done no more than miniſters under ſimilar circumſtances have been uniformly conſidered as having a right to do, with reſpect to the countries with which their ſovereigns was at war; and much leſs than the miniſters and commercial agents of France in neutral countries can be proved to have done with regard to the diſaffected in parts of his Majeſty's dominions. But of all governments pretending to be civilized, that of France has the leaſt right to appeal to the law of nations. With what confidence can they appeal to that law, who, from the commencement of hoſtilities, have been in the courſe of conſtantly violating it? Inſtances were given in the detention of the Britiſh ſubjects in France, contrary to the expreſs promiſe of that government; their ſeizure of two veſſels, under circumſtances the moſt unwarrantable; and the proceedings with reſpect to the garriſon of Saint Lucie. The principal fort of that iſland was taken by aſſault, but the garriſon was allowed all the privileges of priſoners of war, and ſuffered to proceed to France upon an underſtanding that a proportionate number of Engliſh priſoners ſhould, in return, be ſet at liberty; yet, notwithſtanding this indulgence on the part of the Britiſh commander, to which, from the nature of the caſe, the French garriſon could not have the ſmalleſt pretenſion, not a ſingle Engliſh priſoner had been reſtored to this country. "Such," it was added, "has been the conduct of the French government with reſpect to the power with whom they are at war. What has been their conduct to thoſe with whom they have remained at peace? Is there a treaty they have not broken? Is there a neighbouring territory whoſe independence they have not violated? It is for the powers on the continent to determine how long they will tolerate ſuch unparalleled

ralleled outrages; but it is too much to ſay that if ſuch a courſe of proceeding on the part of any government can be ſuffered to continue without reſiſtance or control, there muſt ſoon ceaſe to exiſt that ſalutary ſyſtem of public law, by which the communities of Europe have for ages maintained and enforced the ſacred obligations of humanity and juſtice?"

31ſt March. In the mean time, the French government was uſing all its influence and activity in ſecuring the deſired effects from the diſcloſure of Mr. Drake's correſpondence. On receipt of Regnier's report, the Baron de Montgelas, miniſter of the Elector of Bavaria, announced it to Mr. Drake, with the addition, that the originals in Mr. Drake's own hand-writing were then before him. "His Electoral highneſs," he ſaid, "is deeply penetrated with grief at the diſcovery, that his capital has been the centre point in a correſpondence, which is ſo inconſiſtent with the miſſion with which his excellency Mr. Drake was inveſted at this court; and he owes it to his dignity and to the welfare of his ſubjects, to declare, that from this moment, it is impoſſible for him to have any communication with Mr. Drake, or to receive him at his court."

Some ſubjects of the Elector were arreſted as having been concerned in this ſuppoſed plot, meaſures of ſeverity were reſorted to with reſpect to emigrants, which were imitated at Stutgard and other places, and Mr. Drake was obliged to retire from his miſſion.

11th April. In furtherance of the ſame objects, Regnier ſoon publiſhed a ſecond report, in which he informed Bonaparte, that Mr. Drake was not the only agent of England whoſe political miſſion was merely the plauſible maſk of a hidden miniſtry of ſeduction and inſurrection. Mr. Spencer Smith was ſimilarly implicated. In the manner of his former report, Regnier recapitulated the ſubſtance, and made deductions from the letters annexed. In concluſion, he gave ſome advice, which he would not have ventured to give, had he not known that it was preciſely what his maſter wiſhed to receive, but it is too remarkable, both in import and expreſſion to be omitted. "Perhaps," he ſays, "I tranſgreſs the bounds of my functions; but I muſt tell you, with that truth which you love to hear, that France cannot ſuffer a hoſtile power to eſtabliſh, on neutral territory, accredited agents, whoſe principal miſſion is to carry diſcord to the boſom of the republic. You are at the head of a nation great enough, ſtrong, and brave enough, to obtain, as your right, an abſolute neutrality. You have conſtantly commanded me not to ſuffer that conſpiracies be framed in any part of our immenſe territory, againſt any exiſting government; and already, during the ſhort ſpace of time elapſed ſince I have been intruſted with the adminiſtration of the police, have I repeatedly annulled machinations which threatened the king of Naples and the Holy See; I have purſued as far as Straſburgh the forgers of Vienna Bank notes. All theſe facts have proved how ſincere your wiſh is to ſecure eſtabliſhed governments againſt every kind of propagandas and plots. Why ſhould you not have the right to demand

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an entire reciprocity from the ſtates of the Germanic empire? Why ſhould Munich, Stutgard, Ettenheim, and Fribourg, have the right of remaining the centre of the conſpiracies, which England never ceaſes to form againſt France and Helvetia?—Theſe objects deſerve your utmoſt ſolicitude, Citizen Firſt Conſul; and I dare to tell you ſo, becauſe this privilege belongs to the chief miniſter of juſtice, and the moſt ſerious attention in this reſpect forms part of your firſt duties.—It may be objected, I know, that England, as a friendly power, has a right to ſend miniſters to the Electors of Bavaria, Baden, and Wirtemburgh. But Engliſh diplomacy is compoſed of two ſorts of agents, whom all the continent well know how to diſtinguiſh. Such miniſters as Cornwallis and Warren, are never accredited but for honourable miſſions, to maintain a good underſtanding between nations, and to regulate the grand intereſts of policy or of commerce; whilſt the Wickhams, the Drakes, and the Spencer Smiths, are known throughout Europe, as the artificers of crimes, whoſe cowardice is protected by a ſacred character. I will ſay more: the preſence of theſe contemptible agents is very mortifying to the princes in friendſhip with France; and the Courts of Munich and Stutgard cannot ſupport, without diſguſt, Drake and Spencer Smith, whom numberleſs reaſons render ſuſpected of a very different miſſion from that which is announced by their official title. In conſequence of the demand that you have made of them, the Electors of Bavaria and Wirtemburgh have driven from their ſtates the impure remains of the French who are enemies to their country, and whoſe hatred has ſurvived the calamities of civil war, and the pardon which you have granted them. Let them equally drive away theſe artificers of conſpiracy, whoſe miſſion has no other object but to reanimate the inteſtine diſſenſions of France, and to ſow freſh diſcord on the continent. Ought not our neighbours to ſuffer an equal alarm with ourſelves at the return of political troubles, and of all thoſe horrors of war, which can be profitable only to that nation which is the enemy of every other? I demand, in the moſt earneſt manner, and every duty I owe you, Citizen Firſt Conſul, impels me to make the requeſt, that the cabinet may take ſuch effectual meaſures, that the Wickhams, the Drakes, and the Spencer Smiths, may not be received by any power in friendſhip with France, whatever may be their title or character; men who preach up aſſaſſination, and foment domeſtic troubles; the agents of corruption, the miſſionaries of revolt againſt all eſtabliſhed governments, are the enemies of all ſtates, and of all governments. The law of nations does not exiſt for them. I have fulfilled my duty, Citizen Firſt Conſul, in expoſing to your view the facts which prove, that Drake and Spencer Smith exerciſe upon the continent the ſame miſſion with which Wickham was charged during the laſt war. Your ſupreme wiſdom will do the reſt."

Among the papers annexed to the report, not one letter of Mr. Spencer

Spencer Smith was found; but that defect was to be supplied by a narrative of an adventurer, calling himself Colonel Rosey, who acting under the instructions of Mehée de la Touche, had drawn considerable sums from Mr. Drake, and some letters from the latter gentlemen. From these it appeared, that the English government had been duped of about 8000l. by these impostors, and the French had to triumph in their superior sagacity; but no discovery was made of any plot of assassination, or of any design but those which were avowed and vindicated in his Majesty's circular letter.

The attack on Mr. Spencer Smith was accounted for on grounds little honourable to the magnanimity of Bonaparte, and apparently founded on truth. His mission to the Elector of Wirtemburgh gave great offence, and was the subject of the abuse mentioned in this chapter, even before he had arrived at Stutgard, and this scurrilous attack was inserted not only in the Moniteur, but also in a paper published under French influence, and circulated in the dominions of the Elector, called Miroir de la France. Mr. Smith, from the moment of his arrival, was surrounded by the spies and agents of France. In the narrative of Rosey, a conversation was stated to have taken place between him and Mr. Smith, and between him and the Abbé Pericaud, whom he described as the secretary of the Ex-bishop of Se'ez, and to whom he ascribed sentiments of most rancorous hatred toward France. Mr. Smith, soon after the publication of the reports, quitted Stutgard, and on his arrival in London, the Abbé Pericaud gave an account of his conversation with Rosey, so probable as to be well entitled to belief, and at the same time so contradictory to that of Rosey, as to throw great doubt on all his narrative where conversations are related.

The enmity against England, which produced these reports, was not, however, confined to the publication of them. Chance threw into the hands of the enemy a victim, on whom their malice could be successfully exercised. Captain Wright, cruizing on board a corvette in the Bay of Quiberon, was becalmed, and taken by the French gunboats. He was a person in whose capture Bonaparte would for every reason rejoice. He had been the fellow prisoner in the Temple with Sir Sidney Smith, escaped with him, served under him in Egypt and Syria, and had already been named in the reports as the person who effected the landing of Georges, Pichegru, and their companions. This capture was deemed worthy of an express communication to the government, which was written by Julliem, general of brigade, prefect of the department of Morbihan, to the grand judge. This general obtained an interview with Captain Wright as he was marched through Vannes, with the intention, as he states it, of obtaining, by artifice, some admission or accounts relative to the traitors who might be aiding him on the coast, or of the accomplices in the conspiracy who might have secreted themselves aboard the vessel, to escape to England.

15th May.

England. Having himſelf ſerved in Egypt, Julliem knew Captain Wright, and thought he might make ſome uſeful diſcoveries, or, at leaſt, might endeavour to acquit himſelf, by avowing that it was by order of his government that he diſembarked on the French coaſt the ſuppoſed conſpirators, and might thus furniſh a new and authentic proof of the participation of the Britiſh cabinet in this tranſaction, and therefore ſent him off by the diligence, and under the eſcort of the gendarmerie. "Mr. Wright," Julliem proceeds, "is very reſerved and cunning, a fanatical enemy of the French, vain enough to conſider himſelf deſtined to play a conſiderable part, and ſo inſolent as to believe that his ſituation ſecures him from danger. But this may fail him, if he is placed in the alternative of throwing the blame of his miſſion upon his government, or of paſſing for an oſtenſible conſpirator, and ſo liable to juſtice. Although I wiſhed to conceal from him the motive of the extraordinary meaſure adopted towards him, he was not to be duped; and I have reaſon to believe, from my converſation with him, that he had ſtudied his part, and is determined to remain ſilent, on the principle that he ought only to render an account of his military exertions to his own government." The general had not miſcalculated the firmneſs of Captain Wright's mind, but he had eſtimated far too highly the generoſity of his own government, when he recommended that he ſhould receive no treatment unworthy a priſoner of war. The unfortunate victim, on his arrival in Paris, was impriſoned in the Temple, and reſiſting every temptation which was held out to allure him to make declarations injurious to his country, he was progreſſively tortured and mangled from day to day until his life was the ſacrifice of his virtue, honour, and conſtancy.

Another diſplay of the French government, and their total diſregard of every principle of the law of nations, was ſoon afterward made in the neutral territory of Hamburgh. Fouché, the miniſter of police, ſent to Bernadotte, the general of the army of Hanover, a letter, in which he ſtated that he had *material* proofs that Sir George Rumbold, the Britiſh agent at Hamburgh, was following the ſame courſe of ſpying and machination which had already excited the indignation of Europe againſt Drake and Spencer Smith, and therefore it was the expreſs command of Bonaparte, that Sir George ſhould be ſeized, and all the papers in his houſe ſecured. The proper communications, Fouché added, will be made as ſoon as the operation ſhall be complete, and Rumbold, with all his correſpondence, ſhall be within your lines. 30th Sept.

In purſuance of theſe inſtructions, a detachment of 250 French troops, under the order of Frere, was embarked in the night on board three boats at Harbourg, a little town belonging to the Electorate of Hanover, and ſituated on the left bank of the Elbe. As it is only a mile from Hamburgh, they ſoon landed at Hambergerberg, between that town and Altona, and a party of eighty men marched to Grindel, where Sir George Rumbold 24th Oct.

hold reſided. Grindel conſiſts only of a few houſes, and the family of the Britiſh miniſter was compoſed only of a man and maid ſervant. The party arrived at about one in the morning, ſurrounded the houſe, forced the door, and ſeized their captive, who could make no reſiſtance, carried him off, ſecured his papers, and all this with ſo little diſturbance, that at eight o'clock the fact was not known in Grindel. Sir George was hurried into a carriage, which drove to the bank of the Elbe, and conveyed immediately to Harburg, and ſubſequently to Hanover, in order to be taken to Paris. His proteſtations againſt this outrage produced no effect, and the only liberty he could obtain was that of ſending a ſhort account of this abandoned tranſaction to government.

As the French miniſter at Hamburgh was not apprized of the intended proceeding, the exclamations of the ſenate of that town againſt the violation of their rights could produce no effect. On receipt of the news, the Britiſh government addreſſed a note to the diplomatic body, appealing in ſtrong terms to their common feeling againſt the groſs injuſtice and violence of France. This ſtate paper varied in its form as it was applied to different ſovereigns, and the King of Pruſſia was particularly invoked, not only as a ſovereign, and in that character deeply intereſted in this outrage, but alſo by the ſtill greater intereſt he muſt feel on account of the nearneſs of the tranſaction to his own dominions, and of his quality as director of the circle of Lower Saxony, and guarantee of the Germanic conſtitution.

5th Nov.

It was believed that this ſovereign was preparing on this occaſion to ſhew ſome reſentment, but before his indeciſion could be rouſed into action, the occaſion had ceaſed. Sir George Rumbold, on his arrival at Paris, to which place he was conveyed with great ſwiftneſs, and under the eſcort of a large body of dragoons, was lodged in the Temple, until Fouché had finiſhed the examination of his papers. At the end of three days' cloſe confinement, an officer waited on him, with information, that he was to be ſet at liberty, nothing having been found to warrant the ſuppoſition that he was a party to Mr. Drake's conſpiracy. In vain he required the reſtoration of his papers; that could not be obtained; and when he required a perſonal interview with Talleyrand or Fouché, and warmly expreſſed his indignation at the treatment he had undergone, the officer coolly told him, he might think himſelf very fortunate in getting off ſo eaſily. He added, that he was not to ſtay ſo much as an hour in Paris, and he and his ſervant were immediately placed in a carriage, and conveyed to Boulogne. Here they waited five days, in expectation of a boat to convey them acroſs the channel, but none being found to perform this ſervice, Sir George was carried three hundred miles further to Cherbourg, where he was embarked in a boat, which meeting with the Britiſh frigate Niobe at ſea, put him on board, and being landed at Portſmouth moſt unexpectedly, and to the great joy

18th.

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of his friends, he arrived in London.

16th Nov. The French government did not limit their invaſions of this neutral territory to this act. A plan was formed for the ſeizure of Meſſrs. Thornton and Pariſh, two Engliſh merchants, who reſided at Ottenſen, a village cloſe to Altona. The Daniſh government being apprized of the plan, fruſtrated it by placing a ſuperior force in the neighbourhood, and patroles were ſubſequently placed to guard the banks of the Elbe. But in all theſe efforts, ſucceſs or diſappointment were the only things conſidered by the French government. The ſentiment of Europe, or the reſentment of injured nations, they had learnt to brave and to deſpiſe. Of the particular act in queſtion, no formal public vindication was attempted; but to give ſome employment to thoſe who were to defend the cauſe of France, a very abuſive and ſcurrilous anſwer to the Britiſh circular letter on the ſubject of Regnier's report reſpecting Mr. Drake was profuſely circulated, and authenticated by the ſignature of Talleyrand. That this was a mere device becomes very obvious, when it is recollected that Lord Hawkeſbury's note was publiſhed the 30th of April, and the French anſwer did not appear until after the 5th of November, although it was dated the 5th of September.

However atrocious theſe and other acts of the French government, no probability of an effectual reſiſtance to them was at this time apparent. It was clearly underſtood, that unleſs Auſtria, Ruſſia and Pruſſia made common cauſe in repelling the aggreſſions of France, the ſingle oppoſition of either was not likely to produce any permanent effect. The King of Pruſſia ſeemed to be rouzed for a moment by the ſeizure of Sir George Rumbold, but that temporary warmth ſpeedily ſubſided, and he relapſed into his former ſtate of ſelfiſhneſs and indifference.

The diet of Ratiſbon afforded an opportunity for theſe three ſovereigns to vindicate their own honour, and ſtand forward for the future ſecurity of their dominions; but there was evidently no common feeling or opinion among them, and each viewed with jealouſy or diſtaſte the proceedings of the other. The Emperor of Ruſſia preſented a manly and energetic note, on the 5th May. ſeizure of the Duke d'Enghien, being a duplicate of one which had been tranſmitted to the French government. He declared his poignant grief at the 22d April. event, which he viewed with the greateſt concern, as a violation of the tranquillity and integrity of the German territory. He never could have expected that a power which had undertaken, in common with himſelf, the office of mediator, and was conſequently bound to exert its care for the welfare and tranquillity of Germany, could have departed in ſuch a manner from the ſacred principles of the law of nations, and the duties it had ſo lately taken upon itſelf.

To this note Talleyrand returned a lofty anſwer. 16th. He treated the interference of the emperor as the effect of the prevalence of the enemies of France in his cabinet, which would now put in

in hazard the good understanding which was established with so much pains, and which appeared to be so well confirmed by the happy effects which it had produced. "The Emperor of Germany and the King of Prussia," it proceeded, "who undoubtedly are the two powers the most concerned in the fate of the German empire, have understood, that the French government was sufficiently authorized to arrest, at two leagues distance from her frontiers, French rebels, who conspired against their own country, and who, by the nature of their plots, as well as by the terrible evidence which corroborated them, had placed themselves out of the protection of the law of nations." The impossibility of making France afraid was then insultingly stated, and it was added, that as France did not meddle with the parties or opinions between which Russia might be divided, his Imperial Majesty could have no right to meddle with the parties or opinions between which France might be divided. The emperor was accused of maintaining at Dresden and at Rome, authors of plots, who might seek to abuse the privilege of their residence, for the purpose of disquieting the neighbouring states. The interference of Alexander with respect to the Duc d'Enghien, it was said, leads to this question:—If, when England planned the murder of Paul I. (supposing intelligence to have been received, that the authors of the plot were at a league from the frontier), would not pains have been taken to arrest them?

Two months elapsed before a reply was made to this paper, and then M. D'Oubril, the Russian chargé d'affaires, first complaining of it, as in all respects evasive, and by no means an answer to the note he had delivered, contrasted the dispositions and conduct of the Russian and French governments. Russia had on every occasion endeavoured to maintain peace and to mediate between France and those nations with which she had any disputes. The French government, on the contrary, thought itself competent to occupy those countries, and deprive them of their commerce, which in vain appealed to their neutrality; his Imperial Majesty was thereby alarmed, not indeed on his own account, since from the actual situation and power of his empire, his Majesty could remain a quiet spectator of those distressing scenes; but he was alarmed for the security of the other states of Europe. He saw, in spite of all his exertions and remonstrances, the danger increasing daily; French troops, on the one side, occupying the Adriatic; on the other, levying contributions on the Hanse towns, and menacing Denmark. The manner in which France affected to prescribe to other countries the mode of conduct they should adopt toward the emigrants, was strenuously decried. The emperor denied that he was the protector of conspirators, but at the present moment, when Portugal was obliged to purchase her neutrality; when Naples, to save her's, was compelled to contribute, at an enormous expence, to the main- 21st July.

tenance of the French troops on her own territory; when all Italy, especially those republics that had been promised independence and happiness; when Switzerland and Holland were considered merely as French provinces; when one part of the German empire was occupied, while in another part French detachments executed arrests in contempt of the sacred law of nations; at such a moment the emperor would leave to all the states alleged, nay, to the impartial opinion of the Cabinet of Saint Cloud itself, the decision of the question, which of the two, Russia or France, menaced the security of Europe? which of them acted on principles the most favourable to the independence of other states? which interfered most in the government and internal police of other countries, and practised the most arbitrary acts against them? The chargé d'affaires concluded by saying he was ordered to declare, that he could not prolong his stay at Paris unless the following demands were previously granted:

1. That, conformably to the 4th and 5th articles of the secret convention of the 11th of October, 1801, the French government should order its troops to evacuate the kingdom of Naples; and when that was done, that it should engage to respect the neutrality of that kingdom, during the present and any future war.

2. That, in conformity to the second article of the said convention, the French government should promise to establish immediately some principle of concert with his imperial majesty, for regulating the basis upon which the affairs of Italy should be finally adjusted.

3. That it should engage, in conformity to the 6th article of the convention aforesaid, and the promises so repeatedly given to Russia, to indemnify, without delay, the King of Sardinia for the losses he had sustained.

Lastly, 4. That in virtue of the obligation of a mutual guarantee and mediation, the French government should promise immediately to evacuate and withdraw its troops from the North of Germany, and enter into an engagement to respect, in the strictest manner, the neutrality of the Germanic body.

Talleyrand answered this letter by referring to an article in the same treaty which D'Oubril cited, by which the two contracting governments engaged not to suffer their respective subjects to maintain any correspondence, direct or indirect, with the enemies of the two states, or to propagate principles contrary to their respective constitutions, by fomenting any disturbance whatsoever; and that in consequence of this agreement, every subject of these powers inhabiting the states of the other, who should do any thing contrary to its safety, should be removed from the said country, and be transported beyond its frontiers, without having any claim to the protection of his own government. The promotion of French emigrants to places of honour and trust in Russia, and the behaviour of the Russian Embassador, M. Markoff, while at Paris, were cited as breaches of this article; and the writer asked, whether the 28th.

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mourning which the Court of Ruſſia aſſumed for a man whom the tribunals of France had condemned for having plotted againſt the ſafety of the French government, was a conduct conformable to the letter or the ſpirit of this article? France demanded the execution of this article in the treaty, alſo of the 9th article, by which Ruſſia engaged to guarantee the independence of the Seven Iſlands, and of the 2d article, the evident application of which ſhould have been, that inſtead of manifeſting ſuch a partiality for England, and of becoming, perhaps, the firſt auxiliary of its ambition, Ruſſia ſhould have been united to France, in order to conſolidate a general peace, to re-eſtabliſh a juſt balance in the four parts of the world, and to procure the liberty of the ſeas.

28th Aug. In reply, M. d'Oubril recapitulated all his complaints, noticed the evaſive manner in which they had been anſwered, and finally demanded his paſſports.

If this correſpondence alone could be viewed, the conduct of Ruſſia would appear to be wiſe and dignified, but there was nothing of correſponding energy in the proceedings of her government. While the progreſs of this correſpondence was unknown, the wavering conduct of Alexander occaſioned much ſurprize, and the haughtineſs of France ſeemed evidently to be formed on a conviction of his inability or unwillingneſs to ſupport his arguments with the requiſite force. But, in fact, as the principal ground of the emperor's complaint was the violation of the German empire, by the ſeizure of the Duc d'Enghien, the conduct of the princes of that empire was ſuch as to leave him almoſt without a pretext for interfering. The principal powers contented themſelves with coldly ſaying, that they had duly tranſmitted from the Diet the imperial note of Ruſſia to the Court of Baden, and entertained a well founded hope that the firſt conſul would of himſelf be inclined to give a full and ſatisfactory explanation on the ſubject. The Elector of Baden himſelf, while he expreſſed the livelieſt gratitude for the benevolent friendſhip of the emperor, could not ſuppreſs his profound grief, that the occurrence in queſtion, which took place on his territory, ſhould be likely to produce diſagreeable differences, that might be productive of the moſt dangerous conſequences to the peace of Germany. This important conſideration, added to a full confidence in the well intentioned ſentiments of the French government and its exalted head, made him moſt earneſtly wiſh that the repreſentations made to the Diet might have no further conſequences, and that thus the preſent anxiety might be diſpelled, ſince otherwiſe the tranquillity and welfare of the German empire, and probably, indeed, of all Europe, might be again diſturbed and endangered.

16th May. 2d July.

The King of Sweden alone appeared to be animated with a courageous reſolution to ſupport the principles of the law of nations, and make common cauſe with the Emperor Alexander. As Duke of Pomerania, he charged his envoy to enter his vote in the protocol of the Diet,

27th July.

Diet, by which he declared, that he could not learn without the greateſt anxiety and alarm, the events which took place in the Electorate of Baden in the month of March laſt, events by which the territorial rights of the German empire were flagrantly violated, and its future ſecurity expoſed to the greateſt danger. He conſidered full and ſatisfactory explanations due from the French government to the emperor and the empire.

This note, together with one which the King of Sweden had written ſix months before, recommending the erection of a ſtatue in honour of the Archduke Charles, excited the indignation of the French government, which was diſplayed in their uſual manner, by a paragraph of groſs ſcurrility in the Moniteur. This diſguſting piece of reproach contained every thing of contempt and malevolence which could hurt the feelings of a young and gallant ſovereign. He was taunted with the conduct of his anceſtors and immediate predeceſſors, and aſſured that his utter want of importance would ſecure him from the reſentment of France, whatever line of conduct he might chuſe to purſue.

7th Sept. Fired with indignation at this inſolence, the king iſſued a decree, prohibiting the introduction of French publications into his dominions, and on the ſame day tranſmitted a note to M. Gaillard, the French chargé d'affaires at Stockholm, ſtating his reſentment at what he termed the improper, the inſolent, and the ridiculous obſervations which *Monſieur Napoleon Bonaparte* had allowed to be inſerted in his Moniteur. In conſequence, he declared that all diplomatic intercourſe of every kind, both private and public, was immediately to ceaſe between the French legation at Stockholm and his government, but he would allow commerce to continue between the two countries.

Such proceedings, however ſincerely meant, and however loftily announced, were not calculated to abridge the power or lower the pretenſions of France, and undiſturbed by any plans which might be in agitation, Bonaparte executed and ratified a treaty with the reigning Count of Bentheim, by which that prince, on paying into the Hanoverian treaſury 800,000 livres, the ſum for which his territory had been mortgaged to the Elector of Hanover, was reinſtated and guaranteed by France, in the full poſſeſſion of his dominions. This new mode of plunder, and diſgraceful manner of cancelling a debt, occaſioned a proteſt from the King of England, delivered in the form of a note to the Diet of Ratiſbon; but no effect was produced, or probably expected. 22d May.

In fact, the time was now arrived when the Germanic body was no longer to be conſidered as united under one imperial head. The Emperor Francis ſuddenly iſſued a decree, by which his title of Emperor of Germany was changed for that of Emperor of Auſtria. He graced this abdication by a pretext, that he was following the example of Ruſſia in the laſt century, and France in the preſent day, 11th Aug.

day, in conferring on his family an hereditary imperial title; but the events of late years had taught all obſervers to conſider this as a mere pretext. This event was hailed with undiſſembled joy by France and Pruſſia; and when it was announced to the Diet of Ratiſbon, it excited no animadverſion, except from the King of Sweden, who conſidered this change ſo inſeparably connected with the compoſition of the German empire, that it was not to be laid before the Diet merely as a notification, but as a ſubject for deliberation, in the diſcuſſion of which all the members of the Diet might expreſs their opinions as authorized by the conſtitution. No tribute could have been more flattering to Bonaparte than this conceſſion, which made the ſovereign, hitherto conſidered as the firſt in Europe in point of dignity, not only more recent in the creation of title than himſelf, but even recording Bonarparte's example as one of the motives of his conduct.

If from the powers which retained their independence the attention is turned on thoſe which, under the appearance of alliance, were forced into war, or under the ſemblance of neutrality, were compelled by France to contribute to the charges of it, the view is ſtill more odious and afflictive. Spain, which whatever might be its nominal condition, was conſidered as, in fact, a mere engine in the hands of France, was allowed to retain, till near the cloſe of the year, the name and appearance of neutrality, while it was known that the treaſure of the country flowed into the coffers of Bonaparte, and that its government was devoted to the intereſts, or rather blindly obedient to the commands of France. The people ſaw with anxiety this portentous ſtate of vaſſalage, but their opinions had no influence, and the courſe of events ſoon led to thoſe hoſtilities which, from the beginning of the war, many had conſidered as inevitable. The progreſs of this diſpute and the firſt acts of violence will be related in the next volume.

As a natural friend to Great Britain, Portugal was expoſed to all the rancour of French inſolence, and all the enormities of French exaction. At an early period of the year, General Laſnes, the French miniſter at Liſbon, was ſaid to have received orders of recal, in conſequence of ſome complaints which he made of ill treatment, and about the ſame period, Lord Strangford, a nobleman celebrated for his acquaintance with the literature of Portugal, was appointed embaſſador from England. It was ſoon, however, announced, that the Court of Liſbon had inſured a neutrality, by an expreſs treaty, concluded in the preceding year, and it was no ſecret that the price of this neutrality was a very large annual ſtipend to France.

While Italy, as the dominion of Bonaparte, was generally engaged in unimportant efforts againſt England as a common enemy, great exertions were made to induce the King of Naples to join in the ſame deſigns; but although ruin and dethronement were the probable conſequences of giving offence to France, compliance with theſe demands was reſolutely

with-held. The preſence of Lord Nelſon in the Mediterranean with a fleet, gave occaſion to France to expreſs doubts of the ſincerity of Naples in its neutrality, and as a teſt, it was propoſed that the King ſhould give up three fortified places to Bonaparte's troops, and it was ſaid that a further demand was made of the Neapolitan ſhipping to augment the French navy. To enforce theſe requiſitions, was ſuppoſed to be one chief cauſe of the miſſion of Lucien Bonaparte into Italy; but by whomſoever propoſed, or however ſupported, the effort failed, and the King of the two Sicilies remained inflexible.

Holland, which had been for ſo many years the victim and ſport of thoſe who were invited to deliver her from the imaginary oppreſſion of her old paternal government, was now rapidly approaching to that ſtate in which the very name of independence is loſt. France purſued toward her that mode of conduct which was calculated to produce a deſire even of tranquil ſlavery, as leſs galling than a pretended freedom, ſubjected to hourly oppreſſion. While the country was exhauſted by efforts to co-operate in the war, and by exactions rigorouſly enforced for the purpoſe of proſecuting it, the French government was inceſſantly reproaching that of Holland for its coldneſs and inſincerity in the common cauſe, and claiming exertions which it was known the wretched ſtates could not make, and ſupplies which it was evident they could not contribute. Too much ſeparated by faction to join in univerſal co-operation, and too much diſpirited for any vigorous effort, the people ſeemed to await their future deſtiny in ſtupid torpor. The French, as they felt, treated them with more ignominy than any of the moſt enſlaved countries. Their towns and cities were ſubjected to all the exceſſes of military inſolence, and wherever an armed force directed its way, the ſcenes exhibited were not thoſe of a mere paſſage through a friendly territory, but of a town taken by aſſault. Fatigued with the repetition of theſe ſcenes, many of the families which could realize their property retired into France and Flanders, where they thought protection would be the reward of ſubmiſſion, and notwithſtanding an unſubdued national hatred, thoſe who wiſhed for the welfare of their country, began to talk of an incorporation with France as the beſt means of attaining that object. Before the end of the year, it was generally believed that a new conſtitution for the united ſtates had been ſettled at Paris; but when its announcement was expected, it was put off, and Schimmelpenninck was ſummoned to Paris.

A colony of this power fell into the hands of Great Britain, early in the ſummer. In purſuance of a plan concerted between Major General Sir Charles Green and Commodore Hood, a force of about 600 men was embarked at Barbadoes, and part of them landed at the Warappa Creek, about ten leagues to the eaſtward of the Surinam river, where the enemy occupied a poſt. At the ſame time, another body was landed, under Bri- 25th April to 13th May.

Brigadier-general Hughes, and took poſſeſſion of Braam's point, where a battery of ſeven guns defended the entrance of the river Surinam. The governor of the colony was then ſummoned, but refuſing to capitulate, preparations were made for an attack on the principal town, which was rendered difficult both by its poſition, and the care which had been taken to arm both ſides of the river. After ſome diſappointments and failures, a paſſage through the woods was diſcovered, which enabled the aſſailants to reach the rear of Frederici, one of the principal batteries, and having gallantly ſecured this poſt, they proceeded to fort Leyden, which, after a determined reſiſtance, fell alſo into their hands. Theſe great points being ſecured, a general diſembarkation was effected, and ſome days were ſpent in preparations for an effectual attack, which were rendered uſeleſs by the Dutch commander accepting, with ſome ſlight modifications, the terms of capitulation he had at firſt rejected. The inhabitants did not diſguiſe their opinion that their capture was a deliverance, and openly teſtified their happineſs at exchanging precarious ſafety and certain oppreſſion for freedom of perſon and ſecurity of property.

17th Jan. The French obtained a momentary poſſeſſion of the Britiſh ſettlement of Goree, which they aſſailed with a large body of troops formed at Cayenne, and reinforced at Senegal, and compelled Colonel Fraſer of the African corps to ſurrender. The reſiſtance was ſpirited, and if the Britiſh commander had had a force at all comparable with that of the enemy would moſt probably have been effectual, as the Engliſh loſt 19 men in killed and wounded, and the enemy 75. In two months the iſland was recaptured by a force under Captain Dickſon of the Inconſtant, and ſo amply garriſoned, and ſupplied as to be conſidered in perfect ſafety. 15th March

In the Indian ſeas, the French had the advantage of making numerous captures without any adequate retaliation. Immediately on the king's meſſage being ſent to parliament announcing the probability of hoſtilities between the two countries, intelligence was forwarded by the French government to India, and received long before any communication arrived from England. The tranſport which carried the papers was brought to by an Engliſh frigate, and taken to the Engliſh fleet before Pondicherry, but the governor-general of India, unapprized of the ſtate of affairs in Europe, gave orders for her releaſe. In conſequence of the information he obtained, vice-admiral Linois withdrew from Pondicherry where the Engliſh fleet lay, to the Iſle of France, and having there received intelligence of the declaration of war, of which the Engliſh were ſtill unapprized, he put to ſea on a cruiſe, with ſix frigates, beſides corvettes and other light veſſels, and eight cutters armed in the country. His efforts were crowned with great ſucceſs, he captured ſeveral very valuable Indiamen, and at Bencoolen deſtroyed or compelled the Engliſh to de-

ſtroy a great many veſſels. Encouraged by this good fortune he joined the Dutch force at Batavia, and in hopes of capturing the China fleet, put to ſea with a very ſtrong force, conſiſting of the Marengo of 80 guns, the Semillante and Belle Poule of 44 each, a cutter and brigantine of 18, and a corvette of 28 guns. He met the fleet as heavily and as richly laden as he could deſire, but the captains, although only of merchant veſſels, ſhewed a diſpoſition to reſiſtance which he neither deſired nor expected. After manœuvring for four and twenty hours, and making ſome attempts to cut off a part of the convoy, which were feebly projected and eaſily fruſtrated, he was ſurprized to find the merchant ſhips bearing down on him, and they actually compelled him to forego his purpoſe, and ſeek refuge at Batavia, where he ſold his prizes to the natives for 133,000 piaſtres. This ſignal inſtance of bravery in the Britiſh captains was conſidered as highly honourable to them, and beſide the applauſe of the whole public, they received from the committee of merchants, valuable tokens of approbation and gratitude.

13th Feb.

In conſequence of the tranſactions of this year, Saint Domingo ceaſed, for ſome time at leaſt, to have any connection with Europe. After the ſurrender of general Rochambeau, Deſſalines proclaimed the independence of the colony; he was firſt appointed governor for life, and afterward, in imitation of Bonaparte, emperor, while the iſland was deprived of its modern name, and reſtored to its original appellation of Hayti.

Jamaica was agitated by diſputes between the governor and the repreſentative body, occaſioned by a demand, forwarded by lord Hobart, for the iſland to contribute a certain ſhare toward its own defence, a meaſure to which the planters would by no means be brought to agree. A correſpondence, of ſome length, and conſiderable heat, paſſed between their agent, and the Britiſh government during Mr. Addington's adminiſtration, and on that gentleman's retreat from office, a memorial was laid before his ſucceſſor, in hopes of inducing him, not only to withdraw the requiſition for further aid, but alſo to grant the colony ſome indulgences and allowances with reſpect to commerce.

In England, the year elapſed with few events to create emotion or merit detail. The threats of invaſion, frequently repeated, while the execution of them was never attempted, loſt their effect with their novelty, and, although a formidable armed force was ſtill maintained, and great exertions were uſed to repleniſh the ranks of the army, according to Mr. Pitt's new plan, ſtill the apprehenſion of invaſion was almoſt annihilated, and the poſſibility of ſuch an event began to be doubted. The reviews and parades of the Boulogne and other flotillas were heard with contemptuous apathy, and a failure in an attack on one of their greateſt aſſemblages was regarded with ſome deriſion, but all the force of party could hardly impart to that deriſion any portion of ill humour.

A project having been formed and communicated to government for deſtroying

2d Oct.

the

the flotillas of the enemy even under their own batteries; the execution of the task was confided to Lord Keith, and such was the anxiety of ministers to witness its effects, that lord Melville accompanied the admiral on the expedition, while Mr. Pitt and lord Harrowby, from the heights opposite Boulogne, were spectators of the scene. The plan, in its general outline, was to destroy the French flotilla belonging to that port, and which amounted in number to about 200, by fireships, and newly devised machines, some of which resembling large coffers, and others barrels, were to be towed into proper stations, and then, being left to themselves, would explode by means of machinery contained within them, which acted like a clock, was moved by a pendulum, and would strike fire at a regulated moment. Although the construction of these machines was not known to the French, still the preparations for attack gave them to understand that their flotilla would be attacked by fireships, and accordingly, although the assault was conducted with great skill and courage, the enemy had made such judicious arrangements that their vessels could at pleasure be withdrawn from the positions where danger threatened, and thus very little damage was sustained. The batteries kept up a vigorous but ineffectual fire on the English boats. Lord Keith was of opinion that the explosion of the machines shewed, that, under more favourable circumstances, they might be rendered eminently useful. Admiral Bruix, and the French writers treated the affair as a horrible and cowardly attempt which had failed in the most disgraceful manner; the British public, after the first moments of irritation, occasioned perhaps by some absurd and hasty accounts, which announced signal and extensive success, viewed the failure with good-humoured derision, and nick-named the attack, from the machines employed, "the Catamaran Expedition."

In closing the view of domestic transactions, it may be proper to mention the election for Middlesex, which was occasioned by the decision of the committee of the House of Commons on the petition of Mr. Mainwaring. As soon as this determination was made known, Sir Francis Burdett announced his intention again to offer himself as a candidate. The freeholders who opposed his principles held a meeting, and after much consideration, resolved, as Mr. Mainwaring was disqualified by the vote of the committee, to support his son George Boulton Mainwaring, Esq. As soon as this determination was known, the engines of abuse were unsparingly set at work, and no mode of invective which could be painful to the feelings or injurious to the interests of the candidate was forborne. But, on this occasion; the assailants were not, as they had been before, unresisted. The views, conduct, and connexions of the popular candidate were displayed with a boldness and vigour the more offensive, because founded on truth. The sheriffs of this year, Mr. Alderman Shaw, and Sir William Leighton, avoided a great error into which their predecessors had fallen, and, instead of relying for advice on the attorney who acts in Middlesex as their

under-ſheriff, and whoſe party-leaning was well known, they engaged as aſſeſſor Mr. Knowlys, a gentleman of long ſtanding and high reputation at the bar, and who had recently been appointed common-ſerjeant of the city of London.

23rd July. The election began with the ſame tumult, violence, and inceſſant abuſe from an hired mob which had diſtinguiſhed the laſt, and it ſoon became evident that the ſame means were to be reſorted to, for the purpoſe of obtaining a return, in defiance of the ſenſe and votes of the real freeholders. The ſame agents who had been proved on the late inveſtigation to have been guilty of all the acts by which the return had been obtained, were employed again, the ſame houſes opened, the ſame ſpecies of voters tendered, and as a conſummation of impudence and infamy, the voters for ſhares in the Iſleworth mill were again brought forward to perjure themſelves in droves, but the ſheriffs, deſpiſing the clamours and threats with which they were aſſailed, reſolutely refuſed to admit them on the poll. Still the continual efforts which were made during fifteen days, kept expectation in ſuſpence; on the day before the laſt, Mr. Mainwaring had a conſiderable majority, but on the laſt day, every exertion was made which unprincipled reſolution verging on deſpair could ſuggeſt, and the number for Sir Francis Burdett, at three o'clock, approached that of his competitor. At that hour the poll was cloſed, but as ſome votes tendered for each of the candidates had been objected to, and their caſes could not be argued before three o'clock, a long diſcuſſion took place before the ſheriff for the purpoſe of aſcertaining whether they were or were not intitled to be put on the poll. It was at length decided that they ſhould be polled, and accordingly ten for Sir Francis Burdett, and four for Mr. Mainwaring were added, the effect of which would be to give to Sir Francis Burdett a majority of one. The final declaration was, however, adjourned to the following day, when a requiſition being ſigned by ſeveral freeholders, demanding that the poll ſhould be declared as it ſtood at three o'clock, the point was very ably debated on the one ſide by Mr. Plumer, the counſel for Sir Francis Burdett, and on the other, by Mr. Pigott, for the freeholders, when, at length, the ſheriff decided in favour of the requiſition, and Mr. Mainwaring was declared duly elected by a majority of five.

CHRONICLE.

CHRONICLE.

JANUARY.

Decr. 31ſt. THE tides in the river Thames this day were uncommonly high; that in the afternoon was the higheſt, and exceeded in height any tide for ſeven years paſt; it flowed till near half paſt four, and then ſtood about eight inches higher than the uſual ſpring tides, but was not ſo high, by near ſix inches, as the great tide in February 1791. The tide of this morning fell ſhort of that in the afternoon, not more than three or four inches; and much damage was done on the banks of the Thames, by the filling of warehouſes and cellars. Weſtminſter-Hall would have been again inundated; but, ſince 1791, a new floor has been laid upon arches laid on the ſtone of the old floor, which has raiſed it out of the reach of tides. It is curious to remark the poſition of the ſun, moon, and neareſt planets, with reſpect to the earth at this juncture, as they tend to confirm the remark of ſome aſtronomers after the tide of 1791, on the poſition of the moon and planets at that time. "That extraordinary high tides may be previouſly determined, and might be ſet down in our almanacks, with nearly as much certainty as eclipſes and other phenomena." That ſome of the effect was owing to the ſtrong S. W. winds which had prevailed for ſome days previous to Saturday laſt, is not improbable: the effect may have in ſome degree been heightened alſo by the late floods which there prevailed.

Durham, Jan. 8. Yeſterday about 2 o'Clock in the morning, Mr. Salven's cotton manufactory, which compriſes a very extenſive range of building, near Elvet church, was diſcovered to be on fire. Theſe premiſes have long been admired by ſtrangers, on entering the town, for their ſtupendous ſize, and containing exactly as many windows as there are days in the year. The Durham volunteers were immediately roufed from their beds, and with the greateſt alacrity beat to arms; their example was followed by the Lanarkſhire Militia, quartered here. As faſt as the military aſſembled, they repaired to the ſpot where the fire was raging with incredible fury; both officers and privates uſed their greateſt efforts to extinguiſh the flames, by carrying buckets of water, to aid the few fire engines which were collected from different parts of the town; nothing, however could avail. It being now near four

o'Clock, the conflagration had gained too much power to admit of any controul; its blazes were ſeen for nearly 20 miles round the country, particularly at Gateſhead Fell, Harnſterly, and Houghton le Spring, which had a grand and awful effect. At 7 in the morning, nothing remained of the ſtupendous building but the ſhell, the greateſt part of which fell to the ground in the courſe of the day. It is underſtood that only 6000 pounds is inſured on the premiſes; the loſs ſuſtained will amount to upwards of 20,000 pounds.

13th. Francis Smith, officer of Exciſe, was indicted at the Old Bailey, for the murder of Thomas Millwood, by ſhooting him.

Mr. John Lock, wine merchant, in Hammerſmith ſaid, that on the night of the 3rd of January, about half paſt ten o'clock, as he was going to his own houſe, in company with a Mr. Stow, he met the priſoner, who informed him that he had ſhot a man, believing him to be a pretended Ghoſt that infeſted Hammerſmith. There had been a rumour of ſuch a circumſtance. The watchman coming up, they all went into Limekiln-lane, where they found the deceaſed lying. Mr. Stow and the witneſs conſulted together what was beſt to be done, and they ſent for the High Conſtable. They obſerved the head of the deceaſed, and that a ſhot had entered the lower part of his left jaw. The witneſs told the priſoner the conſequence of what he had done. He ſaid he did not know the individual. It was an extremely dark night. He ſeemed very much agitated; ſaid he had ſpoken to the perſon twice, but received no anſwer.

Croſs-examined—There had been a rumour of a Ghoſt for five weeks previous, but the witneſs had not ſeen the figure himſelf. Several parties had gone out for the purpoſe of diſcovering it. It was publicly known and talked of. Its dreſs had been deſcribed, and much reſembled the dreſs of the deceaſed. He was all in white, and his trowſers reached down to his heels. The miſchievous perſon who had been in the habit of terrifying the neighbourhood, was dreſſed ſometimes in white, ſometimes as if in the ſkin of a beaſt. The witneſs obſerved the priſoner to be in wonderful trepidation. He ſaid, that when called to, the deceaſed, inſtead of anſwering, marched up to him, which increaſed the priſoner's fear. The lane was very dark; ſo much ſo, that, though narrow, it was impoſſible to ſee a perſon at the oppoſite ſide of it. The priſoner wiſhed to ſurrender himſelf immediately, but the witneſs adviſed him to go to his lodgings in the firſt inſtance, that they might ſee what was to be done. The witneſs has known the priſoner ſome time. He is of a very mild diſpoſition, a man of humanity and generoſity, and eſteemed by every perſon in the place.

William Girdler, a watchman at Hammerſmith, ſaid, that on the night of the 3rd of January, about half paſt ten o'clock, he met Mr Smith at the corner of Beaver-lane who told him he was going to look after the Ghoſt. The witneſs ſaid, that he would come and meet him, ſo ſoon as he called the hour that they would ſearch the lane for his

him, and take him if they poſſibly could. They agreed on a watch-word, by which to know each other. The one was to ſay, "Who comes there?" and the other toanſwer, "Advance, friend." They then ſeparated. Shortly after this, as the witneſs was coming towards Black-Lion-lane, he heard the report of a gun. He was not ſurprized at the circumſtance; as it frequently occurs during the night time, and he therefore took no notice of it. In a minute or two, however, the ſervant of Mrs. Honour, who keeps the White Hart, came up and informed the witneſs that Mr. Smith wiſhed to ſee him. When he came to the priſoner, he informed him that he had hurt a man. The witneſs ſaid, he hoped not much; and the priſoner replied, he was afraid very bad. Mr. Lock and Mr. Stow then came up, and they all went to the corner of Black Lion-lane, where they found the deceaſed lying on his back, quite dead with a wound in his left jaw, apparently by a ſhot. They then carried the deceaſed to the Black-Lion. The priſoner told Lock and Stow that he would deliver himſelf up immediately.

Ann Millwood, ſiſter to the deceaſed, being called, ſhe ſaid that ſhe lived in her father's houſe. On the 3rd of January, between ten and eleven o'clock at night, her brother came in. He had been to ſeek his wife, who was at a friend's in the neighbourhood. The witneſs and her mother was then going to bed. She lighted up the fire, however, and her brother ſat down for about half an hour. The watchman having then called the hour, ſhe reminded her brother to go for his wife, who ſhe was afraid was ſtaying too late. He accordingly went away, and ſhut the door. The witneſs went to the door a minute or two afterwards, and heard a voice exclaim, "Damn you, who or what are you? Speak, elſe I'll ſhoot you." And immediately the report of a gun was heard. The witneſs cried out, "Thomas," meaning her brother. No perſon anſwered, and the witneſs ſaid to her mother, that ſhe believed her brother had been ſhot. Her father and a gentleman who ſtaid in the houſe, paid no credit to her apprehenſions; but the witneſs declared that ſhe would ſee after her brother, though it ſhould coſt her her life. She accordingly ran out, and about half way between her father's houſe and the houſe to which the deceaſed was going, ſhe found him lying dead on the ground. No perſon was near him at the time. She did not believe that any animoſity ſubſiſted between the priſoner and her brother; they hardly knew each other.

Mr. Flower, ſurgeon, ſaid that he ſaw and inſpected the body of the deceaſed, and found that he had received a gun-ſhot wound in the left ſide of his lower jaw, ſeemingly from ſmall ſhot, No. 4. The ſhot had penetrated the vertebra of the neck, and injured the ſpinal marrow. He examined the brain, and found it had received no injury. The witneſs entertained no doubt that the wound which he ſaw was the cauſe of the perſon's death. The face was much diſcoloured, and the jaw-bone broke.

The priſoner was now called on for his defence, who, being informed that his Counſel could not ſpeak

for him, ſaid, "I can only declare, that I went out with a perfectly good intention: after calling to the deceaſed twice, and receiving no anſwer, I became ſo agitated that I did not know what I was about; but I ſolemnly declare that I am innocent of any malicious intention againſt any perſon whatever."

The mother-in-law of the deceaſed was called to prove that the deceaſed had once before been taken for the Ghoſt, in conſequence of his white dreſs, and that ſhe therefore adviſed him to wear a great coat.

A number of reſpectable witneſſes gave the priſoner an excellent character; one gentleman, who had known him for fifteen years, ſaid his life had been marked by ſingular acts of humanity and benevolence.

As to the defence made by the priſoner, his Lordſhip thought it rather remarkable, that the priſoner ſhould have gone out, under the perſuaſion that it was a mere man whom he expected to meet, and yet, in his defence, ſhould alledge that he was ſo completely agitated, as not to know what he was doing. His character, however good, his Lordſhip was afraid could not avail him. It was his Lordſhip's painful duty to ſay, that nothing occurred in this caſe which could take it out of the legal definition of *Murder*.

The priſoner ſeemed much affected during the trial. At the concluſion of the Charge to the Jury, he was obliged to retire for a few minutes into the air.

The Jury retired for an hour and five minutes, when they found a verdict of MANSLAUGHTER!

The Lord chief Baron reminded the Jury, on the oath they had taken, that this was a verdict that they could not give. The priſoner could not be found guilty of Manſlaughter. Their verdict muſt be, Guilty, or not guilty, of *Murder*.

Mr. Juſtice Rooke, Mr. Juſtice Lawrence, and the Recorder, ſtated their concurrence in this opinion.

The Jury then deliberated a few minutes in their box, and returned their verdict—GUILTY OF MURDER.

The Recorder immediately pronounced the Judgment of the Court ſentencing the priſoner to be executed on Monday next, and his body to be diſſected and anatomized, according to the ſtatute.

When the Jury returned the verdict of Guilty, the Lord Chief Baron ſaid he would immediately report the caſe; and a reſpite was ſent to Newgate in the courſe of the evening.

[Smith has ſince been pardoned on condition of a year's impriſonment in Newgate.]

17th. At a meeting of the Society of Antiquaries, a letter from Mr. Jackſon was read, on the ancient *Utica*, which was next in extent and magnitude to Carthage, and in the ſame Gulph. Here Mr. J. viſited the ſubterraneous vaults, in which the cielings were covered with bats of enormous ſize, called by Virgil *harpies*, which being diſturbed left their places, and nearly extinguiſhed the flambeaux; and, but for a lanthorn, the curious viſitors might have been loſt in the dark. In the ſame place Mr. J. found foxes, burrowing in the under-ground ruins.

ruins. The air in these caverns was oppressive; but by firing pistols was much cleared, and became more respirable.

15th. This day, two gentlemen, of the name of Gordon, brothers, and one of them in deacon's orders, dined with Mrs. Lee, a lady of considerable property, in Bolton row, Piccadilly; and in the evening, having sent out her footman, they endeavoured to force her from her house. She made much resistance; and on being assisted by her two female servants, one of the gentlemen drew a pistol and threatened to shoot them, while the other succeeded in forcing the lady into a post-chaise in waiting at a short distance, which instantly drove off. The next day, a hue and cry was raised by the friends of the Lady; and the Bow Street officers apprehended one of the gentlemen, who had returned to Bolton row for Mrs Lee's clothes. The pursuit was of course continued; and on Thursday night (the 19th.) Miller, the officer, arrived with Mr. Lauden Gordon and Mrs. Lee, whom he had traced to Gloucester. On a further examination, it appeared that Mr. L. G. ordered his house-keeper on Sunday to prepare him linen for travelling, and to hire a chaise for Uxbridge. On Tuesday evening, a letter was brought to Mrs. L's maid in Bolton Row, by a young man, who said that it came inclosed to him from his mother, who keeps an Inn at Tetsworth, Oxfordshire, and where, it appeared, they had stopped on Sunday night; but, from their strange behaviour to each other, much astonishment was excited, especially as the lady remained while her gown and stockings were washed. Mrs. L's. letter, there is reason to believe, was written privately, and in great haste; the words were very few and nearly thus: "No clothes, no money; death, or compliance!" Another examination took place on Friday the 20th: Mrs. L's deposition was first taken privately; and afterwards on being confronted with the Gordons, she stated that she had been acquainted with them about fourteen years, and that their acquaintance was renewed about two months ago. The Gordons were again brought to Bow Street on the 27th; and after a long examination, the parties were bound over to prosecute at the next assizes for Oxfordshire, the offence having been committed in that county. Mr. Lockhart Gordon then applied to the magistrates for permission for his brother to be committed to Tothill-fields Bridewell, with him; which request was readily complied with, both by the magistrates and Mr. Parkin, there being now no reason for their being kept separate; they will therefore remain in that prison until the next Old Bailey Sessions, when they will be removed to Newgate, and afterwards, by an Order of Court, be taken to Oxford for trial.

Mrs. Lee (late Rachael Fanny Antonina Dashwood) has no children. She was married, about 1794, to Matthew Allen Lee, Esq. and after the marriage, a settlement was made of her property by the Court of Chancery, by which nearly the whole of her property was vested in the trust of Mr. Parkin and three other gentlemen, who were authorized to pay a certain sum to Mrs. Lee for her

own ſole and ſeparate uſe; and in 1795 a ſeparation took place, when it was agreed that Mrs. Lee ſhould receive 1000 pounds per year for her life, which has been paid to her ever ſince that period, ſhe continuing to live ſeparated from her ſaid huſband, who is ſtill living.

In Chancery. Lady Auguſta Murray, v. *His Royal Highneſs the Duke of Suſſex and others.* This bill was filed by Lady Auguſta Murray, praying, amongſt other things, that the Defendant Mr. Coutts, might be reſtrained, by an injunction of the court, from his paying to His Royal Highneſs the Duke of Suſſex a ſum of 4000 pounds per annum, part of an annual penſion of 12,000 pounds ſettled upon His Royal Highneſs; and which ſum of 4000 pounds had been ſettled by deed upon Lady Auguſta, in conſideration of her educating and maintaining the children ſhe already had, or might have, by his Royal Highneſs. It alſo ſtated, that Mr. Coutts received the 12000 pounds under the authority of a power of Attorney from the Duke of Suſſex, who was at preſent at Liſbon, and not of the juriſdiction of the Court. The motion was reſiſted, upon the ground that Mr. Coutts was merely authorized to receive this money under a letter of Attorney, and accountable to his conſtituent alone for the application of it. The Lord Chancellor ſaid, that he never recollected a ſimilar caſe, where the grantor of the deed was not before the Court, and who, if preſent, might be ſet up many objections, which might perhaps be fatal to the exiſtence of the inſtrument. His Lordſhip ſaid, it was impoſſible in this ſtage of the cauſe, to grant the injunctions prayed; but that he ſaw no objection to reſtrain Mr. Coutts from receiving the money at all at preſent; and if the plaintiff choſe to make any other motion, he ſhould certainly hear it; aſſiſted by the judgments of the Rolls and the Lord Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas.

27th. A large portion of the excavated cliff, a little to the eaſtward of the Royal Creſcent, at Brighton, fell down with a moſt tremendous craſh, forming thereby a frightful chaſm acroſs the main road quite up the adjacent corn-field. This accident took place in the early part of the day, which luckily rendered it leſs dangerous in its conſequences. A conſiderable part of the cliff, near Southwich, to the weſtward of the town, has likewiſe fallen in ſince the above, in conſequence of which it has been judged expedient to remove the road further to the northward.

An immenſe aſſemblage of reptiles, inſects, and ſtuffed animals, all in a high ſtate of preſervation, the produce of Cayenne, and its vicinity, the Weſt-Indies, were lately ſold by auction, at a broker's warehouſe, near the Steel-yard. Several of the ſnakes were 10 feet and upwards in length; and there were ſome ourang-outangs, nearly 6 feet in height. Many of the ſpecimens of the quadrupeds were abſolutely unknown to the naturaliſts of this country. This curious cargo, which was captured by one of our privateers, was addreſſed to the Firſt Conſul: and when ſold fetched the high price of 3000 guineas. Nearly ſix years had been employed in making the above collection.

A beautifu

A beautiful teſſelated Roman pavement was lately diſcovered by ſome workmen, who were employed to dig in Leadenhall-ſtreet, oppoſite the India-houſe, in this metropolis. The entire pavement is judged to have been a ſquare of nine feet, in the centre of which is a circle of four feet, which circle contains a Bacchus, holding in his hand a thyrſus, or wand, and riding on a tyger. The figure is adorned with a purple robe, and the attitude of the animal is peculiarly grand and ſtriking, his head looking at the figure on his back, one of his fore feet raiſed, ſtepping well forward, and the tail extended. One piece of the pavement, of about four feet by two, has been raiſed uninjured, through the attention of ſome antiquarian gentlemen that were preſent. An urn in good preſervation, has been likewiſe brought out, containing a quantity of bones, among which a finger and jaw-bone were plainly diſcernible.

Died.—At Aberſedie, in Perthſhire, at the very advanced and well authenticated age of 111, John Stewart, tinker, who retained his faculties in full vigour, and earned a ſubſiſtence by his labour, till his death, which is generally thought to have been haſtened by the feſtivities of the ſeaſon. His children are all long ſince dead; but he has left a widow, whom he married laſt ſummer.

At Grantham, aged 100, Mrs. Dewick.

FEBRUARY.

6th. This morning about 9 o'clock, Captain Fitzgerald, of the marines, came to the Northumberland coffeehouſe, where he was well known and occaſionally lodged, to aſk for a bed. On being ſhewn to his chamber, he deſired he might not be diſturbed till ſix in the evening, ſtating that he had been up the whole of the preceding night. When the waiter went to call him at the appointed time, he found the Captain, though yet warm, quite dead. A neighbouring ſurgeon was inſtantly ſent for by the maſter of the houſe, who opened an artery, but without effect. The Coroner's Jury, after a very minute inveſtigation of the circumſtances, pronounced a verdict of "Died by the Viſitation of God." He had dined on the 5th at the Northumberland coffee houſe, in company with a friend, in apparent health and ſpirits. He was a native of Ireland, and is ſuppoſed to have been about 33 years of age.

A very ſevere ſhock of an earthquake was felt at the Hague; which phenomenon was alſo obſerved at Rotterdam, Haarlem, Schiedam, and Maaſslins. In the laſt of theſe cities, the chandeliers of the Reformed Church were in motion during the time of Divine Service, ſo as to be frequently removed between two and three feet from their uſual poſition. The direction of this motion was from Weſt to Eaſt.

Bath, Feb. 9. The Harmonic meeting was very brilliantly attended at Bath on Wedneſday evening; after which, nearly 600 perſons of the firſt diſtinction ſat down to an elegant ſupper, Lord Clarina in the chair. Afterwards various of the moſt admired glees and canzonets were ſung by the

amateurs, &c. of the club. The French General of Brigade, Boyer, was introduced by a ſubſcriber's ticket; and in conſequence of ſome current reports of that foreigner's conduct, a buz went round the tables, ſome queſtioning, and others defended the propriety of his introduction; which at laſt broke out into a more open diſcuſſion, when ſome warmth was expreſſed on either ſide. In conſequence ſeveral ſongs in ridicule of Bonaparte were ſung; and, at the concluſion, after "God ſave the King," had been encored, the aſſembly gave three enthuſiaſtic cheers, peculiarly expreſſive of their attachment to their ſovereign. It is due, however, to the foreign captive to ſay, that the whole of his conduct on that evening, proved that the polite attentions which he has received at Bath have not been improperly beſtowed. He laughed heartily at the lyric ridicule againſt the Chief Conſul, and ſaid "he ſhould have joined himſelf in the cheers of loyalty to the King of England, but for fear ſuch admiration of the national feeling might be miſrepreſented.". Being aſked, whether, in his opinion, a deſcent would be attempted in England? he ſaid, "Unqueſtionably, but he was convinced, that if the troops of France were as well informed of the preſent ſpirit and temper of the country, even the chief Conſul himſelf would have but few followers." Speaking of his own ſituation, he remarked, "it had been made ſo enviable, that moſt of his own countrymen in Paris would gladly exchange their liberty for the captivity which he enjoyed." He concluded by ſtating, "that he had been very cruelly repreſented as having given the orders under which a conſiderable body of Turks had been murdered in Egypt; declaring upon his honour, that he was at that time ſerving under General Deſſaix in Upper Egypt, and that this atrocious deed was perpetrated by General Bonne, who afterwards loſt his own life at the ſiege of Acre."

11th. The ſun was this day viſibly eclipſed. The following were the particulars for London:

	H.	M.
Beginning of the eclipſe	10	27
Greateſt obſcuration -	11	39
End of the eclipſe - -	12	55
Digits eclipſed - -	8 d.	36 m.

About half paſt ſix o'clock it blew a moſt terrible ſtorm, and rained the whole morning, and during the eclipſe, particularly, it rained a torrent.

13th. Miſs O'Hara was ſeized with a fit in Drury Lane-Theatre at 9 o'clock in the evening of Saturday the 11th. She was taken to Carpmeal's houſe in Bow-Street, where ſhe was treated with every attention. Two medical men, Meſſrs. Rivers and Hunt, were called, whoſe aid was, however, without effect; ſhe expired this morning at 4 o'clock. Lady Ely, and ſeveral other faſhionables called on Sunday to make their enquiries. She was a beautiful and accompliſhed woman, and had ſcarcely attained her 22nd year.

At the Guildhall ſeſſions, Mary Brown, alias Monday, was tried upon a new indictment for child ſtealing; ſhe is the woman who was tried at the Old Bailey for ſtealing a child, twenty-two days old, from Mary Johnſton, in St. Andrew's Workhouſe, on the 16th of Auguſt 1802; but was acquitted

ted in consequence of a flaw in the indictment.—The prisoner endeavoured to prove an alibi, but she was found guilty; and her sentence was deferred till next session, in order to give her an opportunity of restoring the child, or discovering those who employed her. The Recorder observed, that if she did not make such discovery, her punishment would be exemplary.

14th. Found dead on the coach box, (supposed to have received a mortal blow from another coachman in a dispute for precedence) while waiting at the Opera house for his lady, Thomas Simmons, coachman to Lord Walsingham. On the 17th his body was conveyed to an undertaker's in Mount street, for the purpose of having the head opened, that it might be ascertained whether the marks of violence which appeared on his face had been the cause of his death. In order that the poor man's friends might be completely satisfied, Lord Walsingham undertook to pay every expence attending the operation, and employed two surgeons and two apothecaries on the occasion. The principal operator, was Mr. Lynn, who, after inspecting every part about the head, was convinced, as well as the other gentlemen of the profession present, that the deceased had not died from the blow which appeared on his head and face. However, as the gentlemen had proceeded so far, they were desirous of finding out the true cause, and for that purpose opened the chest, when it soon appeared that he had broken a blood vessel, which had completely inundated the heart, and had occasioned his death. The coachman suspected of striking the deceased absconded.

His Majesty became so much indisposed at the Queen's House, as to require the close attendance of Sir Francis Millman, Dr. Heberden, of Pall Mall, and Dr. Dundas, of Richmond, during the whole day. At Twelve o'clock, the following Bulletin was issued and shewn to the nobility and gentry who came to enquire after his Majesty's health.

Feb. 14, 1804.

"His Majesty is much indisposed to-day."

A Coroner's inquest was held on the body of Mr. Lacey, attorney of Bread-street-hill, who the preceding evening cut his throat with a razor in a dreadful manner. By the evidence given before the Jury, it appeared that the unhappy gentleman had lately been visited with several severe attacks of the gout in his head; in one of the paroxysms of which, it is supposed he committed the lamentable act. Verdict—*Lunacy.*

16th. Mr. Aslett was put to the bar of the Old Bailey; and the Judge (Baron Hotham,) after recapitulating the counts of the indictment on which he was convicted, reported the opinion of the Twelve Judges; the majority of whom had determined that the embezzlement of the bills by the prisoner had subjected him to the penalty of the act of the 15th Geo. II.; or in other words, that he was guilty of felony as laid in the indictment. Mr. A. was then removed from the bar. He was dressed in black, and bowed respectfully to the Court.—[Mr. A. has since received sentence of death.]

Colonel

18th. Colonel Picton, late governor of the iſland of Trinidad, appeared before the Lord Chief Juſtice, and gave bail, himſelf in 1000l. and two ſureties in 500l. each, to anſwer to an indictment upon which a bill was found the laſt day of Term, by the Grand Jury of Middleſex, for the infliction of tortures on Louiſa Calderon, a free Spaniſh girl, under fourteen years of age.

26th. With the moſt heartfelt ſatisfaction did many thouſands this day join, in the numerous churches and chapels of this widely extended metropolis, including the limits of the Bills of Mortality, in a form of prayer and thankſgiving to Almighty God, upon the proſpect of his Majeſty the King's recovery from his dangerous ſickneſs.

Some workmen who were lately employed in digging a foundation in Sewel's lane, in Scotch-ſtreet, city of Carliſle, diſcovered, juſt time enough to prevent a fatal accident to themſelves, a well, which upon further inveſtigation by the plumb line, proved to be twenty-ſeven feet deep, of which ſpace about twenty-four feet were filled with water. On draining the ſaid well, ſeveral valuable remains of Roman antiquities were taken up, amongſt which were two braſs ſacrificial vaſes; one of them eleven inches in height, and twenty-one in circumference; ſeveral bones, horns, &c. were likewiſe found at the ſame time. Theſe antiquities are of incalculable value, both from their extreme rarity, and from the elegance of the workmanſhip. The Latin name of the vaſeis *præfericulum* and it is believed to have been appropriated to the purpoſe of holding the incenſe, &c. uſed in the ſacrifice. Many that have been brought from Greece and Sicily are in high eſtimation with the curious, for the grace and elegance of the workmanſhip, and the beauty of the relief, in the ornaments. The Grecian veſſels are principally of fine clay or bronze. The vaſes we are here treating of are ſuppoſed to be the firſt that have been ever diſcovered in Britain; as there is but one ſuch a ſculptured veſſel among all the altars found in this country, and that is a beautiful Roman altar, diſcovered at Ellenboro', and which is now in the poſſeſſion of Lord Viſcount Lowther: The laſt mentioned altar has the following inſcription: "*Genio loci, Fortunæ reduci Romæ æternæ, et Fatæ bonæ.*" It is particularly deſcribed by Cambden and Horſley, with a number of obſervations on the inſtruments ſculptured on its ſides, which inſtruments are the præfericulum, the patera, the axe, and the knife. The metal which the vaſes recently diſcovered are formed of, appears to be a compoſition of refined braſs, capable of receiving a very high poliſh, and ſo very flexible that it allowed the artificer to form them remarkably thin. At the top and bottom of the vaſes, they have unqueſtionably been turned and finiſhed in a lathe. As there is no accompanying altar or inſcription, it is difficult to aſſign exactly at what time of the empire theſe ſacred veſſels were uſed. The only guide is the elegant ſculpture of the handles, which conſiſts of four tiers of groupes of figures, of admirable workmanſhip, and all apparently illuſtrative of the ceremonials of ſacrifice. The uppermoſt repreſents two perſons holding

or

or preparing a cow or bullock for the act of ſacrifice; the next a perſon taking hold of a bear for the ſame purpoſe; the third a prieſt attired in his robes, ſtanding at an altar, and holding ſomething on it; the lower one, which is the moſt beautiful, repreſents on the one ſide, a man cloathed in complete armour, holding a knife, as if about to ſacrifice a ſheep, or a lamb, which another perſon below holds up for the ſame purpoſe; and on the other ſide ſtands the prieſt, with another knife or ſword, attending the ceremony, &c. &c.

DIED.—Aged 84, *Mrs. Charlotte Lennox*, a lady who has long been diſtinguiſhed for her genius and literary merit. She was the *protegeé* of Dr. Johnſon, and the friend of Richardſon and Mrs. Yates. Mrs. Lennox publiſhed, in the year 1752, "The Female Quixote," and "Memoirs of Harriet Stuart." In the former of theſe novels, the character of Arabella is the counterpart of Don Quixote: and the work was very favourably received. In the following year ſhe publiſhed "Shakſpeare Illuſtrated," in 2 vols, 12mo. to which ſhe afterwards added a third. This work conſiſts of the novels and hiſtories on which the Plays of Shakſpeare are founded, collected and tranſlated from the original authors; to which are added critical notes, intended to prove that Shakſpeare has generally ſpoilt every ſtory on which his Plays are founded, by torturing them into low contrivances, abſurd intrigues, and improbable incidents. In 1756, Mrs. Lennox publiſhed, "The Memoirs of the Counteſs of Berci, taken from the French," 2 vols. 12mo; and "Sully's Memoirs," tranſlated, 3 vols. 4to; which have ſince been frequently reprinted in 8vo, and are executed with no ſmall ability. In 1758, ſhe produced, "Philander, a Dramatic Paſtoral," and "Henrietta," a novel of conſiderable merit, 2 vols. 12mo; and, in 1760, with the aſſiſtance of the Earl of Cork and Orrery, and Dr. Samuel Johnſon, ſhe publiſhed a tranſlation of "Father Brumoy's Greek Theatre," 3 vols. 4to; the merit of which varies materially in different parts of the work. Two years after, ſhe publiſhed "Sophia, a Novel," 2 vols. 12mo, which is inferior to her earlier performances; and, after, an interval of ſeven years, ſhe brought out, at Covent Garden theatre, "The Siſters, a Comedy," taken from her novel of Henrietta, which was condemned on the firſt night of its appearance. In 1773, ſhe furniſhed Drury-lane theatre with a comedy, intitled, "Old City Manners;" and has only written, we believe, ſince that time, "Euphemia, a Novel, 1790," 4 vols. 12mo; a performance, which by no means deviates from the creditable line in which ſhe always moved. Her father was a field-officer, lieutenant governor of New-York, who ſent her over at the age of 15 to a wealthy aunt, who, unfortunately, on the arrival of her niece, was out of her ſenſes, and never recovered them; immediately after which, the father died, and the daughter from that time ſupported herſelf by her literary talents, which ſhe always employed uſefully. Her latter days have been clouded by penury and ſickneſs; calamities which were in a conſiderable degree alleviated by the

the kindneſs of ſome friends, who revered alike her literary and her moral character. Among theſe it would be unjuſt not to mention the names of the Right Hon. George Roſe and the Rev. Wm. Beloe. But the moſt effectual balm to her wounded ſpirit aroſe from the aſſiſtance ſhe has received from *The Literary Fund Society*, by whoſe timely aid, her only ſon was, a few years ſince, enabled to fit himſelf out for an employment in the Anglo American States; and by whoſe bounty the means of decent ſubſiſtence have, for the laſt twelvemonth, been afforded to the mother.

At Wallace-town, Ayr, Jane George, aged 110 years and 10 months. This woman was born at Edinburgh, never had any illneſs, retained her faculties to the laſt, and died without a ſtruggle. She attended the late Earl of Eglintoun in his infancy, and has enjoyed a penſion from that noble family ever ſince. In her 47th year ſhe had a ſon, who is now 64 years of age.

Aged 106, Mr. J. Mellor, of Lane-end; his remains were attended to the grave by thirty of his friends and acquaintances, whoſe united ages amounted to 1296!

At Kingſton, at the advanced age of 109 years, George Gregory, ſuppoſed to be the laſt of the crew of the Centurion, which ſhip circumnavigated the world with Lord Anſon; and what is more remarkable, he never had a day's illneſs ſince he went to ſea, which was in the year 1714, when he was impreſſed in the Downs out of the Mary brig, belonging to North Shields.

MARCH.

This day, at a hunt near Kinſwood, Northumberland, 3d. the fox being hard preſſed, took ſhelter in a cleft of a high rock. The hunters provided themſelves with ſpades, &c. and wrought for a conſiderable time, until they were on the point of reaching the fox, when one of them putting in a leaver, gave a ſhock to the rock, which was near forty feet high, and it immediately gave way, and three men that were at the top, with ſome hundred tons of the rock, were hurled together down the precipice. The ponderous load ſhivered ſeveral trees in its way, and two of the men were almoſt covered with the fragments; the third was hurled to the bottom, and in the act of recovering his feet, when a large piece of the rock, which followed, knocked him down and buried him. The former two were taken out much bruiſed; the third was in appearance lifeleſs; but ſome ſigns of life returning, a ſurgeon was ſent for, and he is now in a fair way of recovery.

This day the Grand Jury at Oxford found a true bill 5th. againſt the Rev. Lockhart Gordon and Mr. Laudoun Gordon: it conſiſted of ſeveral counts, and charged them with having "to the great diſpleaſure of Almighty God, the diſparagement of Rachael Fanny Antonina Lee, and the evil example of his Majeſty's ſubjects, forcibly carried away and defiled her, contrary to the Statute."

The priſoners were put to the bar on Tueſday morning, and Mr. Mills, for the proſecution, opened the caſe, by deſcribing it as the moſt

moſt violent and extraordinary outrage that had ever been ſubmitted to a jury; and adverting to the ſtatute of Henry VIII. ſhewed that the crime of the priſoners amounted to felony without benefit of clergy.

Mr. Mills in concluſion ſaid, that Mrs. Lee was the natural daughter of the late Lord le de Spencer, who left her property to the amount of 70,000l. She ran away with Matthew Allen Lee, Eſq. and was married to him at Haddington, in Scotland; but parting with him, ſhe retired with 1,200l. per annum, with power to will away the moiety. She had become acquainted with the Gordons from having been at ſchool with their mother at Kenſington, and her intimacy was renewed in December laſt. On Sunday the 15th of January they dined together, and carried off Mrs. Lee.

The events that followed being gone through by Mr. Mills, the witneſſes were called.

Mrs. Weſtgarth, with whom the priſoners lodged in Alſop's buildings, proved the extreme embarraſſment of their affairs. She had hired the chaiſe by their order.—Janet Daviſon proved the forcibly carrying off of her miſtreſs, which was ſtrengthened by the corroborating evidence of William Martin, Sarah Hunt, and others.—Two poſtboys were next called. One of them ſaid, that Lockhart threatened to ſhoot him if he did not make haſte. There was no force uſed whatever; the lady laughed when ſhe got into the chaiſe.

Mrs. Lee was laſt called. She very ſtrongly denied her acquieſcence in being taken away, and ſaid ſhe had frequently adviſed them to deſiſt. She ſaid, that in various parts of the tranſaction ſhe was ſo much agitated as not to know what was going forward.

Mr. Abbot aſked her, if, when ſhe left her houſe, ſhe had not a ſteel necklace about her neck, to which was ſuſpended a bag with camphor in it? Whether it was not cuſtomary with ſome people to wear ſuch a thing as an amulet, or charm, to ſtifle paſſions, more particularly the paſſion of love? This ſhe admitted. He then aſked her, if ſhe did not remember throwing it out of the chaiſe window on ſome part of her journey, with ſuch an expreſſion as this—"*I have no more need of this charm; I have given myſelf up; and now welcome pleaſure?*"

Mrs. Lee: "I had my common-dreſs ſteel necklace which I uſually wear—I threw it out of the window—I can't ſay when—nor can I ſay that it was before we came to Uxbridge.—I ſaid that was my charm againſt pleaſure—I had no occaſion for it now; at that moment I gave myſelf up.—I afterwards expoſtulated. I believe the word charm alludes to the medical property of camphor—I wore it as a ſedative—it is ſuppoſed to calm the paſſions and quiet the nerves. I went up ſtairs at Tidworth; the chamber-maid aſked me when I would be in bed, or when the gentleman ſhould come up? I ſaid in 20 minutes. I was then under the impreſſion that my life was in danger from Lockhart, and alſo of ſome ſerious ſcuffle at the inn, in which blood might be loſt. I recollect inquiries were made as to the health of Laudoun—Don't recollect giving advice that the ſheets ſhould be well aired.—When I thought it inevitable, I

gave myſelf up.—My demeanour might be ſuch from deſperation, as to give Laudoun an idea that he might approach my bed."

Mr. Abbot aſked her if her notions of religion were not *ſceptical?* She anſwered Yes, and that ſhe had not been to church for ſeveral years.

Here the trial ſtopped, when Judge Lawrence entered into a converſation with Mr. Abbot, and the Counſel on the part of the proſecution, who admitted that no compulſion was uſed to bring her into the county of Oxford, ſhe having declared her free conſent when ſhe threw away the charm. The trial here ended. Several queſtions, which were put by the Counſel to Mrs. Lee, are omitted for obvious reaſons.—*Acquitted.*

Dublin, March 8. This day the Earl of Hardwicke, accompanied by ſeveral of the great officers of ſtate, laid the foundation ſtone of the new Bank of Ireland, on the ſcite of the late Houſe of Commons, in College Green.

10th. This evening died the Right Hon. Thomas Pitt Lord Camelford, aged 30. His Lordſhip conceiving himſelf affronted by Mr. Beſt, a gentleman of Wimpole-ſtreet, and ſome haſty expreſſions taking place between them on Tueſday evening at the Prince of Wales's Coffee-houſe in Conduit-ſtreet, a meeting was appointed for the next morning in the grounds of Holland Houſe, Kenſington. When the parties, with their ſeconds, &c. had arrived at the place agreed on, Mr. Beſt endeavoured to appeaſe his Lordſhip, and to divert him from the purpoſe of fighting a duel. Lord C. would hear of no accommodation whatever, and each took his ſtation. His Lordſhip firſt fired, and miſſed. Then Mr. Beſt fired, and ſhot his Lordſhip in the right breaſt; he was conveyed to Mr. Ottey's, in the neighbourhood of Holland Houſe, where he expired at the time above mentioned. The ball had fractured the fifth rib, paſſed through the right lobe of the lungs, and lodged in the canal for the paſſage of the ſpinal marrow through the ſixth vertebra of the back. In the right ſide of the cheſt there were upwards of ſix quarts of extravaſated blood, which compreſſed the lungs ſo much as totally to prevent them from performing their office. His remains have been depoſited in the vault of St. Anne's Church, until they can be ſent to Switzerland, to be buried between three trees, on a ſpot named by his Lordſhip, in the Canton of Berne.

The Coroner's Jury have returned a verdict of—*Wilful Murder againſt ſome Perſon or Perſons unknown.* It appears, that Lord Camelford, taking all blame to himſelf, refuſed to name his antagoniſt or the ſeconds; and in a written paper he has expreſſed his hope that no proſecution might take place; or that, in caſe of neceſſary conviction, a petition to the King for mercy may be preſented, as his laſt requeſt.

It is ſtated by the Rev. Mr. Cockburne, in a pamphlet reſpecting Lord Camelford, that his Lordſhip, on his death-bed, expreſſed the warmeſt contrition for his paſt irregularities, and earneſtly exhorted one of his friends to lead a life of peace and virtue. The principal reaſon that induced his Lordſhip to perſiſt in fighting Mr. Beſt was, that as the latter was deemed

deemed the beſt ſhot in England, to have made an apology would have expoſed his courage to ſuſpicion.

Lately, at a garden at Swine, in Holderneſs, in the occupation of a Mr. Heſſeltine, a few ancient ſilver and copper coins were found, turned up by the gardener, with his ſpade, one of which is preciſely of the ſame kind as the one figured in the cuts of Roman coins, in Camden's Britannia, p. 95, No. xviii. and to which he alludes in his notes upon them, page 104, in the following words: "XVIII FLAVIUS CONSTANTINUS MAXIMUS AVGUSTUS, the great ornament in Britain, ſtamped this coin in Conſtantinople, as we are taught by theſe characters underneath, CONS with this GLORIA EXERCITUS; that is, *the Glory of the Army*, to curry favour with the ſoldiers, in whoſe choice in thoſe days, and not at the diſpoſal of the emperor, was the ſovereign rule and government." It ſhould be obſerved that the figures repreſenting the head of Flavius, on one ſide, and two men in armour, with bows and ſpears in their hands, ſtanding on each ſide two banners; on the other ſide, are remarkably legible, conſidering the very great antiquity of the coin, which is upwards of 1350 years old. There was formerly an abbey at Swine; a circumſtance which may probably account for the diſcovery of ancient coins in that pariſh.

Ireland.—Lately, three boats laden with proviſions arrived at the Grand Canal Harbour, in James's-ſtreet, Dublin, from Carrick-on-Shannon, in the county of Leitrim. In this paſſage they had to paſs through ſixty-five miles of that part of the river Shannon, which is called the Great Shannon, above Banagher, and likewiſe through ſixty-one miles of the Grand Canal. Theſe are the firſt veſſels that ever arrived in Dublin, after a mediterranean voyage through the heart of the kingdom, by the above grand communications. There are now upwards of one hundred miles of the Shannon open for navigation, from Banaghar, through the city of Limerick, to the Atlantic ocean —ſo that Ireland may now boaſt of having upwards of one hundred and ſixty miles of internal river navigation, communicating with the capital, near the centre, by means of the above 61 miles of the Grand Canal.

22d. At two in the morning, a fire broke out in a cottage at Kempsford, Glouceſterſhire, inhabited by an induſtrious labourer, named Poole, his wife, and five ſmall children. The houſe was completely enveloped in flames before the family were alarmed. The mother, after eſcaping with difficulty, returned, and penetrated three times ſucceſſively through the fire to ſave her children, in which ſhe fortunately ſucceeded; but, ſhocking to relate, ſhe was herſelf ſo much ſcorched in the attempts, as to ſurvive only a few hours. The poor man and two of the children are ſo much burnt as to leave but little hopes of their recovery.

26th. Mr. Light, a reſpectable farmer, of Sondley, in Shropſhire, and a man of great property, being at Newport, approached a waggon loaded with lime, which was paſſing through the town, and, taking off his hat, placed his head cloſe to one of the wheels, which paſſed over him, and cruſhed him

him to death inſtantaneouſly. We have not heard any reaſon aſſigned for the commiſſion of this ſtrange and melancholy act.

A melancholy accident lately occurred at Docking, Norfolk. Thomas Callaby, who had been only a few days diſcharged from Bethel Hoſpital, Norwich, (and who appeared to have recovered his ſenſes,) went to bed on Saturday the 7th inſt. apparently compoſed and eaſy; but about two o'clock in the morning he aroſe from his bed, under pretence of being thirſty, when he ſecured a caſe knife, which he hid in his ſhoe, and about four o'clock the ſame morning ſtabbed his wife in a dreadful manner; cut the throat of his grandchild, about three years of age, and alſo ſtabbed his daughter, the mother of the child. The maniac was at length confined by his neighbours, to whom the alarm was given by his ſon, who eſcaped from the houſe, or the event might have been much more dreadful. The child is ſince dead, but his wife and daughter are likely to recover. The above unhappy man was a ſervant of Mr. Duſgate, of Summerfield, and had formed the horrid deſign of murdering Mrs. Duſgate and her child, by ſeereting himſelf in a lane where they were accuſtomed to walk in fine weather, but this intention was happily fruſtrated by their being accidentally prevented from walking in the lane that evening.

Lately, the remains of the largeſt perſon ever known in Ireland, at leaſt ſince the days of Phil Macoul, the famous Iriſh Giant, were interred in the church-yard of Roſeunallis, in the Queen's county. The coffin, with its contents, weighed fifty-two ſtone. It was borne on a very long bier, by thirty ſtrong men, who were relieved at intervals. The name of this extraordinary perſon is ſaid to have been Roger Byrne, who lived at or near Burros, in Oſſory, and is reported to have died of no other diſeaſe, but a ſuffocation, occaſioned by an extremity of fat that ſtopped the play of the lungs, and put a period to his life, in the 54th year of his age. He was thirteen ſtone heavier than the noted Mr. Bright, of Maldon, whoſe waiſtcoat incloſed ſeven large men. Byrne was a married man; his widow is a very ſmall woman, by whom he left four boys.

A gentleman in the neighbourhood of Stockbridge has lately had great havock committed among his ſheep by dogs, which aſſembled with ſingular regularity, on different nights, to worry and deſtroy the harmleſs flock. No leſs than fifty-nine ewes were killed in one night; but fortunately the offenders were detected, nine of them, (ſuppoſed to be the whole *gang*) have been taken, and all hung up together. Moſt of the ewes had lambs by their ſides, none of which were hurt.

28th. An alarming fire broke out this morning in a diſtillery of Meſſrs. Calvert Clarke, and Co. at Vauxhall. It happened by the burſting of the great ſtill, which contained 10,000 gallons of waſh, which inſtantly was inflamed, and threatened the immenſe eſtabliſhment, as well as the neighbourhood, with ruin. It was very near the ſecond ſtill, which was charged with a quantity of ſpirit above proof, the exploſion of which would have communicated to 400 tons of manufactured gin, almoſt

equal

equal in ſtrength to ſpirits of wine. The preſence of mind, courage, and activity of the two men attending the ſtill, ſaved the deſtruction of the whole, by throwing a quantity of grains into the ſtoke-hole and ſmothering the flames. But for this prudent act, 400 tons of ſpirit, upon which the duties have been paid, with all the premiſes, would have been deſtroyed. They are inſured for between 50 and 60,000l. in the Britiſh and Imperial fire offices: the actual damage is eſtimated at from 12 to 15,000l. as half the waſh ran into a barge, which lay cloſe to the houſe.

Died.—At his houſe in Great George-ſtreet, Weſtminſter, Gen. Sir William Fawcett, K. B. Colonel of the 3d regiment of dragoon guards, and Governor of Chelſea College. He was of a very ancient and reſpectable family; and born at Shipden-hall, near Halifax, in Yorkſhire, which, for many centuries, had been in the poſſeſſion of his anceſtors. He was brought up at a free ſchool in Lancaſhire, where he was well grounded in claſſical learning, and became alſo a remarkable proficient in the mathematics. He always felt the ſtrongeſt predilection for the army, which his mother and neareſt relations conſtantly endeavoured to diſſuade him from; but finding all their arguments ineffectual, they either bought, or he had an enſigncy given him, in Gen. Oglethorpe's regiment, then in Georgia; but the war being then going on in Flanders, he gave up his enſigncy, and went there as a volunteer, furniſhed with letters from the late Marquis of Rockingham and Mr. Laſcelles (afterwards Lord Harewood) to the commander and ſeveral others of the officers. This ſtep was at the time far from unuſual for young men of ſpirit, of the firſt rank and fortune, to take. He entered as a volunteer, but meſſed with the officers, and was very ſoon preſented with a pair of colours. Some time after he married a lady of good fortune and family, and, at the preſſing intreaties of her friends, he moſt reluctantly reſigned his commiſſion; which he had no ſooner done, than he felt himſelf miſerable, and his new relations finding that his propenſity to a military life was invincible, agreed to his purchaſing an enſigncy in the 3d regiment of guards. When he was a lieutenant in the guards, he tranſlated from the French, "The Reveries; or, Memoirs upon the Art of War, by Field Marſhal Count Saxe," which was publiſhed in quarto in 1757, and dedicated "To the General Officers." He alſo tranſlated from the German, "Regulations for the Pruſſian Cavalry," which was alſo publiſhed 1757, and dedicated to Major General the Earl of Albemarle, Colonel of the King's own regiment of dragoons. And he likewiſe tranſlated from the German, "Regulations for the Pruſſian infantry," to which was added, "The Pruſſian Tactics," which was publiſhed in 1759, and dedicated to Lieutenant General the Earl of Rothes, Colonel of the 3d regiment of foot guards. Having attained the ſituation of adjutant in the guards, his abilities and unremitting attention ſoon became conſpicuous; and, on the late Gen. Elliot's being ordered to Germany in the ſeven years war, he offered to take him as his aid-de-camp,

which he gladly accepted. He was ſoon promoted to a company in the Guards with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in the army, and became military-ſecretary to, and the intimate and confidential friend of, Lord Granby. The many eminent and honourable ſituations he has ſince held are too well known, both in England and Germany, to be here mentioned; and the manner in which he performed the duties of his ſeveral offices will long be gratefully remembered by his country, as well as by every individual who had buſineſs to tranſact with him.

At Exeter, aged 100, Mrs. Mackenzie, mother of Lieut. Col. M.

Aged 104, Mrs. Anne Kent, of Tottenham, a very pleaſing perſon, appearing to be about 80 years of age.

Lately, at Littleton, near Wells, Samuel Curtis, aged 107.

APRIL.

3d. At Taunton aſſizes, Alexander Daviſon, Eſq. of Saint James's Square, and two others, were convicted of bribery at the Ilcheſter election.

5th. At the Weſtminſter ſeſſions, Mary Edwards and Mary Ann Edwards, mother and daughter, were indicted for feloniouſly ſtealing a quantity of wearing apparel, the property of Mr. Rogers, of Manchester Buildings, Weſtminſter. It appeared, that on the 2d of March, about half paſt one o'clock, the child from whom the clothes were taken was decoyed from the door of her father's houſe, and was not heard of until late in the afternoon of the ſame day; when ſhe was found naked on the flight of ſteps leading to the water, on the Surry ſide of Weſtminſter Bridge. On ſearching the houſe of the priſoners, in Brooke's-court, Lambeth, the child's bonnet and ſhoes, with other parts of her apparel, were found. Both were found guilty, and ſentenced to be tranſported for ſeven years.

16th. This night a fire broke out near Sun Tavern Fields, Shadwell, in the rope ground and warehouſes of Mr. Cornwell. The warehouſes were filled with cables, pitch, and other combuſtible matter, to a very great amount: of courſe the flames burnt with great fury, and extended themſelves with extraordinary rapidity. They ſoon communicated to the deal-yard of Mr. Miles, all of which were inſtantly in a blaze. The immediate ſcene of the conflagration was inacceſſible to the engines, and the volume of fire ſo great, as to afford no hope that they could, if within reach, make any impreſſion upon it. In this extremity, the firemen turned their attention to the neighbouring houſes, and exerted themſelves to cut off all communication between them and the burning premiſes. They played the engines upon the dwelling houſe of Mr. Cornwell; but all their energy, it was feared, would not be able to ſave it, as the wind blew the flames directly upon it. A more dreadful fire, or a more awful ſpectacle, has not been ſeen for many years in London. The damage is eſtimated at 20,000l. Happily no lives were loſt.

18th. The celebration of High Maſs, and a ſolemn *Requiem* for the late Duke d'Enghein, took place

place this morning, at the French chapel, in King-ſtreet, near Portman-ſquare. The Biſhop of Montpelier aſſiſted on this moſt ſolemn occaſion, as did the venerable Archbiſhop of Narbonne, the Biſhops of Arras, Avranches, Nantz, Angoulême, Noyon, Rhodes, and Uſez. Of perſons of diſtinction, there were preſent beſides, Monſieur, Duke de Berry, Duke d'Orleans, Duke de Montpenſier, Comte Beaujolois, Marquis de Liverot, Earl and Counteſs of Kenmare, Dowager Marchioneſs of Donnegal, and Lady Char. Browne. The Prince of Condé intended to have been preſent; but his health and feelings would not permit him.

As Mr. Cleaver, painter, of Rottingdean, was returning home from Brighton, where he had been keeping his holidays, he inadvertently miſſed the foot track, near Black Rock, and was precipitated down the cliff, a perpendicular height of 54 feet, where he lay from Tueſday night till Thurſday morning, when he was found by the Rev. Mr. Woodward, alive, and without any broken bones, but with his eyes cloſed, and a ſtone ſo hard clenched in one hand, that it was not extricated without great difficulty; his temple exhibited a bruiſe, and he laboured under the total loſs of his ſpeech and ſenſes. Hopes were, however, for ſome time entertained of his recovery, having been removed back to Brighton, and placed under medical care. This young man languiſhed until the Thurſday following, and then expired.

Scolopax, or the woodcock.—Of all the different ſpecies hitherto diſcovered of the genus belonging to the order of *Grattæ*, one of the moſt extraordinary was a few days ſince ſhot by the game keeper of the Rev. Mr. Stephens, of Ludgvan in Oxfordſhire, in an incloſure near the parſonage houſe, called Cooper's Croft. The head, tail, and the extremity of the wings are of a milk white, the bill and legs of a light yellow, and the body of a browniſh aſh colour. It is altogether as elegant in its ſhape, as ſingular in its ſpecies. The celebrated Mr. Pennant has deſcribed this bird as very rarely ſeen in the Hebrides. The bird has been carefully preſerved, and forwarded to the Leverian Muſeum.

Colonel Harwood applied to the Court of Chancery for an injunction to reſtrain the further negociation of a promiſſory note for 4,000l. given by him to Mr. Horne Tooke. It appeared from Colonel Harwood's ſtatement, that the note had been given as an accommodation note to Mr. Horne Tooke; but by the latter's account, that an agreement had been entered into between them, to ſhare reciprocally the bounty of Mr. Edward Tooke, deceaſed; and that the note was the voluntary gift of Colonel Harwood, in diſcharge of his honour and good faith. The note was to be laid out in the purchaſe of annuities for the lives of Mrs. Tooke and her two daughters; but Mr. Tooke changed the diſpoſition, by purchaſing of Sir Francis Burdett, Bart. an annuity of 400l. upon his own life, for 2,400l. and taking a bond for the 1600l. the reſidue of the note, which he conceived would be more eligible, and ultimately more beneficial to his family. The Chancellor, after taking a comprehen- 28th.

ſive view of the caſe, ſaid it would beſt anſwer the equity and juſtice of the caſe, if Colonel Harwood brought the money into Court; and after ſome material queſtions were diſcuſſed, the Court would finally diſpoſe of it. The money was then ordered to be brought into Court within two months, and there abide the final iſſue. It was at the inſtance of the above-mentioned Mr. Edward Tooke, that Mr. John Horne aſſumed the name of Tooke; a coolneſs, however, afterwards took place between them, ſubſequent to which Colonel Harwood and Horne Tooke entered into the agreement above-mentioned, to divide whatever ſhould be left to either of them by Mr. Edward Tooke.

29th. A young ſeaman, named Stoddart, was purſued by the preſs-gang down the Broad Chare, in Newcaſtle, when, to eſcape them, he jumped into the Tyne, and attempted to ſwim acroſs the river to Gateſhead. One of them threatening to fire at him if he did not return, the fright and exertion took away his ſtrength, and he was drowned.

By the Court of King's Bench, Alexander Davidſon, Eſq. John White Parſons, and Thomas Hopping, gents. for bribery and corruption at the late Ilcheſter election, have been ſentenced to twelve months confinement in the priſon of the court.

Died.—At Geneva, in an advanced age, after a ſhort illneſs, Monſ. Necker, formerly miniſter of Finance in France. Madame Stael Von Holſtein, now reſiding at Berlin, is his only child, and inherits all her father's property, which is calculated to amount to five millions of livres. Since the death of his wife, in 1796, he regarded life with diſguſt, and paſſed regularly every day ſome hours by the ſide of the coffin containing the corpſe of Madame Necker. He deſired, in his will, that both their bodies ſhould be buried together in a vineyard upon his eſtate.

12th. At the Vicarage, Newcaſtle, aged 45, the Rev. Joſeph Dacres Carlyle, B.D. vicar of Newcaſtle-upon-Tyne, chancellor of Carliſle, profeſſor of Arabic in the univerſity of Cambridge, and chaplain to the biſhop of Durham; a man of eminent abilities and learning, and genuine goodneſs of heart. Of his proficiency in oriental literature, and his correct and elegant taſte, the world has already had a favourable ſpecimen in his Tranſlations of Select Pieces of Arabic Poetry: but religion, as well as literature, has ſuſtained a ſevere loſs in his death; ſince it will at leaſt ſuſpend the correct edition of the Arabic Bible, which he had undertaken at the requeſt of a moſt reſpectable ſociety compoſed of many eminent perſons (amongſt whom the biſhop of Durham is one of the moſt active) and for which every preparation had been already made in this town; and muſt put an entire ſtop to his great and favourite project of giving a complete edition of the New Teſtament in Greek, which was to contain not only the various readings collected by Mill, Bengelius, Wetſtein, Grieſbach, and Matthaei, but alſo thoſe of more than thirty Greek manuſcripts which he had collected during his reſidence and travels in the Turkiſh empire, together with a new and accurate collation of the Syriac and other ancient verſions.

With

With his Diſſertation on the Troad, and Obſervations made during his Tour through Leſſer Aſia, Syria, and Egypt, the public may hope to be gratified. During the ſhort period of his reſidence at Newcaſtle, his extreme ſufferings from a painful and diſtreſſing malady have prevented his engaging in general intercourſe; but the few friends who have had the happineſs occaſionally to viſit him, have ſeen enough of the extent of his acquirements, the vivacity of his converſation, and the ardour of his literary purſuits, to render the unlooked-for event of his death a ſubject of their moſt ſincere regret.

Aged 101, the relict of Mr. Peet, formerly of Broad-lane, Nottingham.

Aged 103, which ſhe completed in January laſt, Mrs. Margaret Holmes, of Sunderland-bridge, near Durham. She retained all her faculties, and conſtantly made her own bed till within a few days of her death.

At Gateſhead, near Newcaſtle, Mrs. Anne Parkin, aged 104.

MAY.

4th. The ſtorm this afternoon was attended with more awful circumſtances in the neighbourhood of Bath than ever accompanied any elemental convulſion of the ſame nature within the memory of the oldeſt inhabitants. Tropical deluges may equal, perhaps, the violence of the rain; but in continuance it exceeded the cuſtomary duration of tempeſts in the neighbourhood of the Line. Unprecedented examples of devaſtation appeared, when the torrents ceaſed to fall; roads torn up, gardens deſtroyed, and conſiderable portions of land removed from their ſituation. Among theſe phænomena may be reckoned—a vaſt body of earth from the ſummit and declivity of Beechen-cliff, which fell "with hideous ruin and combuſtion" (for it is doubtful whether it was occaſioned by the action of the electrical fluid or water), loaded with buſhes and trees in the fields below; the diſlocation of almoſt half an acre in a field belonging to the Rev. R. Warner, at Hanging-land; and a ſlip of nearly the ſame magnitude in a field on the Prior Park eſtate. We hear of only one life loſt (the fatal conſequence of imprudence), the gardener of Mr. Langton, at Newton, who was drowned in attempting to croſs at the bottom of Penny-quick-lane. Much damage was ſuſtained in the pariſh of Combhay.

A moſt awful and tremendous ſtorm of thunder and lightning was alſo experienced the ſame night, in the counties of Lancaſhire and Cheſhire; and the damage ſuſtained is almoſt incredible. The thunder was ſucceeded by immenſe torrents of rain and hail. Not far from Warrington, on the Cheſhire ſide, a bolt fell, which did great injury, and by which one perſon in particular ſuffered ſeverely in his property. At Bolton and its vicinity the people experienced a moſt dreadful tornado; and it is ſuppoſed that a water ſpout muſt have burſt in that neighbourhood, the river Irwell having ſwelled to ſo great an height as to ſweep away many buildings, and large quantities of houſehold furniture, &c. The duration of the ſtorm was upwards of two hours. At Houlton-park a

ball of fire fell with ſuch force as to ſplit in ſhivers and tear up an aſh tree which had long been admired for its ſtrength and beauty. Several bridges have been thrown down.

7th. A Court Martial was held on board the Illuſtrious, on the armourer belonging to the Leda, for having thruſt a red-hot iron into the left ſide of a ſeaman belonging to the ſame ſhip, which occaſioned his death in about five minutes. The armourer is condemned to be hanged.

13th. The following melancholy occurrence took place at Durley, about two miles from Biſhop's Waltham. Between one and two this morning, a rookery belonging to Mr. Edward Houghton was entered by ſome men armed with bludgeons, for the purpoſe of ſtealing rooks, when they were hailed by a perſon of the name of Millet, ſtationed there to protect the rookery, who endeavoured to perſuade them to deſiſt and go away, which they obſtinately refuſed. Millet then left them, and returned with Mr. Houghton and his brother-in-law, Mr. Peter Barfoot; a ſcuffle enſuing, one of the men, named James Weſt, received a wound from Mr. Barfoot with a knife, which occaſioned his inſtant death; another of them, Dowſe, was wounded. The coroner's inqueſt has ſince ſet on the body of Weſt, and, after an inveſtigation of two days, returned a verdict of—wilful murder. Mr. Barfoot is in conſequence committed for trial.

A notice appeared in this night's gazette from the governor and company of the Bank of England, ſtating, that with the approbation of his Majeſty's moſt honourable privy council, they have cauſed dollars to be ſtamped at Mr. Bolton's manufactory, with his Majeſty's head and inſcription, "Georgius III. Dei Gratiâ Rex," on the obverſe; and Britannia, with the words, "Five Shillings Dollar Bank of England, 1804," on the reverſe; which they propoſe to iſſue inſtead of the dollars which have been lately ſtamped at his Majeſty's mint at the Tower; the latter of which now in circulation will not be current, nor will be received at the Bank at the rate of 5s. each after the 2d day of June next; in the mean time they may be exchanged for the dollars with the new ſtamp, or for bank-notes, after the rate of 5s. for each dollar.

A beautiful coinage of half-guineas has been delivered from the mint. In this impreſſion the head of his Majeſty is ſomewhat ſmaller than in others, and the wreath is twined round it more in the Roman form. The reverſe is like that of the laſt coinage; the legend, *Fidei Defenſor, Britanniarum Rex.*

25th. The ſolemnity which this day pervaded the metropolis and its environs was ſuch as ſuited the moral obligation individuals were called upon to perform. The ſober ſilence of the ſtreets was only interrupted by the bell of the pariſh churches, calling the inhabitants to prayers. The pauſe produced by a ſuſpenſion of the buſy round of trade, and ſhut up ſhops was, however, leſſened by the early appearance of the volunteers gaily dreſſed in their uniforms, who, purſuant to orders, proceeded in all directions to their reſpective churches, which were numerouſly attended, and diſplayed awful grandeur,

deur. The new form of prayer uſed upon this occaſion appeared to be fervently attended to; and gratitude filled the boſoms of the different congregations towards the Divine Being, for his Majeſty's reſtoration to health. In ſhort, a general ſenſe of morality and loyalty was every where conſpicuous. Many of the volunteers, after the afternoon ſervice, proceeded to their drill grounds, where they devoted the remainder of the day to improvement. To diſcriminate particular corps, or perſons who performed ſo ſolemn a duty, would be invidious.

William Cobbett, a political writer, was tried in the Court of King's Bench, on an information for a libel on the Earl of Hardwicke, Lord Redeſdale, and other officers of ſtate in Ireland. He was found *Guilty*.

26th. Another action was tried in the ſame Court, brought by Mr. Plunkett, Solicitor General in Ireland, againſt the above Mr. Cobbett, for a libel.—Damages, 500l.

Lately as ſome workmen were digging a cellar in St. Alban's-row, in Carliſle, they diſcovered two vaults, which had every appearance of being repoſitories of the dead. The workmen only removed a few of the upper ſtones of the vaults, leaving the remains of the dead in the cells in which, probably, they had remained for many ages. Intermixed with the earth which came out of the cellar, they found human bones, pieces of burned wood, and two circular pieces of braſs, part of an iron chain, and a quantity of molten lead. From the marks of fire diſcoverable in ſome of theſe reliques, it is conjectured that at the diſſolution of religious houſes in the reign of Henry VIII. this place, which then contained a ſacred edifice dedicated to St. Albion, has been reduced by fire; and from the remains of the vaults, the ground on which the cellar is ſunk, was probably a cemetry to that religious houſe.

According to a recent enu- 31ſt.
meration, it appears, that in the metropolis there are 346 places of worſhip, viz. 112 pariſh-churches, 58 licenſed chapels and chapels of eaſe, 19 for foreign proteſtants, 12 for Roman catholics, 133 meeting houſes and methodiſt chapels of various ſects diſſenting from the eſtabliſhed church, ſix quakers' meeting houſes, and ſix Jews' ſynagogues.

Died.—At Baltinglaſs, county of Wicklow, in Ireland, Capt. Corry, of the militia. Laſt September he went out rebel hunting there, and had with him a caſe of ſcrew barrelled ſteel piſtols. One of them he loſt, and after ſome time it was found, but in ſo ruſty a ſtate that it could not be unſcrewed, and the powder ſo damp that it could not be diſcharged. However, it was thought every precaution had been taken, by picking the powder out of the touch-hole; and from that time it became a ſtanding jeſt to ſnap the piſtol at different perſons without effect. An enſign in the regiment, ſon of the commander, and the moſt intimate friend of Captain Corry, preſented the piſtol at him, when it went off, and lodged the contents in the lungs of the captain, who languiſhed till the next day, and then died in great torture, in the 23d year of his age, univerſally lamented.

2d. Interred, in St. Andrew's church yard, Dublin, aged 115 years and 10 months, William Mitchell, a revenue officer, born in Londonderry, July 1, 1689. He had been for ſometime in America when it belonged to England, and was one of thoſe ſuffering loyaliſts who loſt his property by the war; on which account he was recommended to an employment in the revenue by Lord Townſend.

At Walmſley Ford, near Blackburn, aged 103, Mr. Richard Heaton, farmer: within the laſt two years he was able to go on foot from his own houſe to Preſton and back again in one day, a diſtance of not leſs than 29 miles.

JUNE.

4th. On the celebration of the Anniverſary of his Majeſty's birth at Jerſey, the public joy experienced a ſudden interruption by a dreadful accident, which, but for the ſignal intervention of Providence, and the bravery of an individual, would have proved the deſtruction of the whole town. At noon, the forts on the iſland, and the artillery in the new fort on the large hill, fired a royal ſalute, by order of the governor. After the ceremony, a corporal of the Invalid Company of Artillery received the matches, and locked them in the magazine at the top of the hill, which is bomb proof; it contained 209 barrels of powder, a quantity of loaded bombs, caiſſons full of cartridges, and other combuſtibles. About ſix in the evening the ſentries obſerved a ſmoke iſſuing from an air-hole at the end of the magazine, and immediately ran from the fort to give the alarm of fire; when Mr. P. Lys, the ſignal officer on the hill, alſo obſerving the ſmoke, came towards it, and meeting two brothers, named Touzel, who were employed by him as carpenters, endeavoured to prevail on them to break open the door. One of them, however, refuſed, and went in ſearch of the keys; but the other, named Edward, having requeſted a ſoldier, named Ponteney, to aſſiſt him, he acquieſced, and they agreed to ſacrifice their lives. Touzel then proceeded to break open the door with an axe and a wooden bat; when, finding the magazine on fire, he ruſhed into the flames, and threw out heaps of burning matches. At length, by the intrepidity of this man in particular, the fire was ſubdued before the ſoldiers or inhabitants could reach the top of the hill. Captain Leith, and the ſoldiers of the 31ſt regiment, then proceeded to inſpect and empty the magazine, leſt any ſparks ſhould remain undiſcovered; when, wonderful to relate, they found two wooden caiſſons filled with ammunition attacked by the fire, and one containing powder-horns, cartridges, &c. was nearly half burnt through; an open barrel of powder was alſo ſituated under ſome of the beams which were on fire, and ſupported the roof.

A few days ſince, a private in the Army of Reſerve, quartered in the Iſle of Wight, being about to be puniſhed for a miſdemeanor, informed the commanding officer, that her ſex rendered it improper for her to undergo military chaſtiſement. She was ordered to be taken to the hoſpital and examined; when ſhe proved to be a female, though ſhe had ſerved, unſuſpected, in

in the ranks for upwards of four months.

One of the greateſt prodigies at preſent in this kingdom, if not an extravagation of nature, is Mr. Samuel Lambert, of Leiceſter, and maſter of the county jail there, who weighs not leſs than forty-five ſtone, twelve pounds, which is about half a hundred weight more than what the famous Bright, of Malden, weighed, who, as appears from authentic teſtimonies, could button ſeven men within his waiſt-coat. Mr. Lambert had often objected to being weighed; but, getting into a poſtchaiſe by a preconcerted plan of ſome of his friends, he was taken over a weighing machine, where it was aſcertained with great facility, to his no ſmall mortification.

The fiſhermen at Mevagiſſey have lately caught, in their mackarel drift nets, two large fiſhes, for one of which they obtained the ſum of 23l. and for the other that of ſeventeen guineas. The latter meaſured 24 feet in length, and was of the ſpecies called by the fiſhermen a bottle-mouth. Its liver only produced 120 gallons of pure oil.

19th. Mr. Hawes, of the White-Chapel Volunteers, was killed by the following accident. After the review on the preceding day, in Hyde Park, riding a reſtive horſe on the way to Ilford, an old man croſſed the road almoſt under the noſe of the horſe, when Mr. H. checked the animal as much as he could, and the man paſſed unhurt, but Mr. H. fell a ſacrifice to his humanity, for the horſe rearing up, he was thrown, and received a kick on the head, which fractured his ſkull. He was taken to the Coach and Horſes on the Ilford road, and every poſſible aſſiſtance given him, but he died the next morning. On the 24th his remains were interred in White-Chapel burial ground, attended by the whole military corps, conſiſting of 500 men, who manifeſted much ſorrow on the premature death of ſo valuable a young man.

23d. This day at Hanſlope, Bucks, was experienced one of the moſt tremendous ſtorms, of thunder and lightning ever remembered by the oldeſt inhabitant living. It ſeemed to gather in the W. S. W. with moſt aſtoniſhing rapidity, where it hung for a conſiderable time in ſilent and gloomy horror; when, on a ſudden a dreadful peal of thunder burſt over us with a tremendous roar, which was ſucceeded by others ſtill more loud and awful. In fact, the whole artillery of the ſkies ſeemed to be let looſe at once; and the lightning that accompanied it at intervals was the moſt vivid we ever ſaw. The elements ſeemed in one continued blaze; even Nature's ſelf ſeemed to recoil, and dreaded to abide the ſhock. About half paſt eight o'clock the ſtorm was (if poſſible) more dreadful; and, while the affrighted villager was ſeeking for ſhelter in the humble cot, or ſupplicating a Power Supreme, we were alarmed by the falling of the ſpire, and of our venerable and ancient church, which was laid in ruins with a moſt awful and tremendous craſh. This beautiful Gothic ſtructure, which the Architect ſeemed to have muſtered all his ſkill to complete, and which was 186 feet high, was in a few minutes laid in a confuſed

heap

heap of ruins, and deprived the inhabitants of this parish of its well attended and sacred place of worship. At the two mills upon the road between Chester and Parkgate, the lightning threw down the chimney of a cottage occupied by James Hampton, removed the roof on one side near a foot, and dashed a clock into more than an hundred pieces. Two men and a woman in the same cottage were thrown down; the heel of one of the men's shoes was completely torn from the quarter, and the foot immediately swelled. At Halton, near Fordsham, it struck the vane, and entered the chapel, and split and damaged many of the pews. Fortunately the congregation had just quitted it. It also entered the house of Mr. Eaton, and broke to pieces several bedsteads. Mr. Hooton, a private in the 6th company of the West London Militia, was struck blind by the lightning as he stood on guard in High-street, Woolwich. The firelock is supposed to have attracted the electric fluid.

27th. Admiral Berkely obtained a verdict, with 1000l. damages in the court of Exchequer, against the publisher of a periodical paper, entitled, "The Royal Standard and Political Register," for a libel on his professional character. The libel stated, that the admiral, when Captain of the Marlborough, in the memorable action of the 4th of June, was a *shy cock*; than which, according to the evidence, nothing could be more false, as he displayed the utmost courage and bravery, during the conflict between the two fleets.

30th. The old houses which choaked up the passage from Palace yard to the church yard of Westminster, and prevented the view of the North Side of Henry the seventh's chapel, are taken down, and the space they occupied is to be railed in. This will add very considerably to the grandeur of that antient and most interesting edifice; and every man of taste, and lover of the antiquities of his country, would rejoice to see the low shabby buildings at the South West corner of the entrance front undergo a similar fate. An opening from Old Palace yard, towards St. Margaret's church would render the whole one of the finest pieces of Gothic scenery to be met with.

DIED. At Egleston Abbey, after a short illness, possessing her faculties to her death, Esther Laine, aged 105, servant in the families of Sir Thomas Robinson, and Colonel Morrett, of Rokely.

17th. In his 100th year, which he had attained without experiencing a day's illness, Mr. Benjamin Overton, weaver of Stamford, in Lincolnshire.

JULY.

2d. This day the Middlesex election committee reported that Sir Francis Burdett was not duly elected; that Mr. Mainwaring was duly elected, but that he committed acts of treating, whereby he was incapacitated to serve in Parliament upon such election. A new writ was in consequence ordered to be issued.

A matter

11th. A matter of very conſiderable importance came on to be tried at the Quarter Seſſions at Bedford. An Overſeer of the Poor of the pariſh of Lidlington in that county, was indicted for diſmiſſing a woman from his ſervice, ſhe being, at the time of ſuch diſmiſſal, *actually in labour*, without making any proviſion for her relief. It came out in evidence, that both the maſter and the miſtreſs of the woman, the overſeer and his wife, were well acquainted with the ſtate in which ſhe was; that they refuſed to receive her back into their home, upon her entreaty to be ſo received; and that the Overſeer ordered one of his labourers to walk with her as far as Ampthill, a diſtance of three miles and upwards, and there to leave her at the firſt public houſe. The Jury found a verdict of *Guilty*; and the Court ſentenced the Overſeer to an impriſonment of two months, and a fine of 20l.

12th. In the court of King's Bench, William Draper Beſt, Eſq. Serjeant at Law, was indicted for an aſſault on Rebecca, the wife of James Miniſie.—The Counſel for the proſecution ſtated the caſe to the Court; in which he obſerved, that Miniſie the proſecutor of this indictment, was formerly a man of ſome conſideration, but misfortune had reduced his ſtation in the world. About nine years ago, his wife being intitled to ſome reverſionary property, an intercourſe took place between the defendant and them upon that ſubject, and from that time ſhe had been in the habit of calling upon the Serjeant at his chambers.

Mrs. Miniſie being called, ſtated, that in conſequence of having received a letter from Mr. Serjeant Beſt, by his appointment ſhe went to his chambers on the 23d of April, 1802; but inſtead of buſineſs reſpecting her eſtate, as ſhe expected, he told her it was a letter of gallantry; that he wiſhed her to live with him, and preſſed her to make him happy. He ſaid he ſaw that her huſband's circumſtances made her uneaſy; but he would remove that by getting an appointment for him which he had often promiſed. She told him ſhe did not expect to hear of ſuch a propoſition from him; that he already knew her ſentiments upon the ſubject; and that there were many conſiderations, and ties of duty and morality, which forbade ſuch a connexion. The Serjeant was not ſatisfied, but uſed violent language, and aſſaulted her, by thruſting his hand up her clothes.

It appeared in evidence, that ſubſequently to the ſuppoſed offence the learned Serjeant had been required by the Plaintiffs to lend them a hundred pounds; which, together with a denial on the part of the Plaintiff, that he had ever touched Mrs. Miniſie's perſon, or even approached her with ſuch intention, and ſeveral other circumſtances, lead Lord Ellenborough to remark, that it appeared to be a wicked conſpiracy to extort money from Mr. Beſt.

Mrs. Miniſie was croſs-examined by Mr. Garrow; and from her anſwers, and the teſtimony of Counſellor Alley, who had been conſulted on the part of the proſecutor, the Jury (without wiſhing to hear any evidence on the part of the Defendant) declared their minds to be fully made up upon the ſubject; in conſequence of which Lord Ellenborough

borough ſaid, that he ſhould not trouble them with any obſervations; and the Jury immediately pronounced a verdict of *Not Guilty*.

16th. This day the Freeholders in the intereſt of Mr. Mainwaring, Jun. met at the Crown and Anchor, to conſider on the beſt means of exempting him from expence, &c. and, after ſome introductory ſpeeches, a ſubſcription was opened, which amounted to 5,525l. On imparting this information to Mr. M. Jun. he candidly declared, that unleſs the ſubſcription amounted to 10,000l. he ſhould decline the conteſt. The buſineſs of the meeting was then deferred till Tueſday. On that day the ſubſcriptions were increaſed, and at the preſſing ſolicitations of his friends, Mr. M. conſented to ſtand the conteſt.

17th. A very afflicting circumſtance occurred about twenty minutes before ſeven o'clock in the morning. Two houſes, Nos. 33 and 34, Dunk-ſtreet, near Great Garden-ſtreet, Mile-end, New Town, ſuddenly fell to the ground, and buried in the ruins thirty-five perſons. Both the houſes were let out to poor people with ſmall families. As ſoon as the neighbours recovered from the alarm which ſo diſmal an accident occaſioned, they ſet to work to clear away the rubbiſh, with the laudable intention of ſaving as many lives as poſſible. A perſon of the name of Richards was the firſt who relieved ſome of the unfortunate ſufferers from their dreadful ſituation. The confuſion of cries under the ruins rendered it almoſt impoſſible at firſt to diſcern the exact ſpot where they lay. At length he found one Royſton, his wife, and ſon, who had occupied a room up ſtairs; they were all much bruiſed, and were ſent immediately to the London Hoſpital. He next found four children, two of whom were ſeriouſly injured, and ſent to the ſame hoſpital; the other two had the good fortune to be ſcreened from the ruins by a piece of timber, and eſcaped unhurt; they were ſent to Mile-end Workhouſe to be taken care of. On ſearching further, Richards found a female child, about nine months old, between two pieces of timber unhurt; the little innocent was lying on its back, playing with its clothes, unconſcious of any danger. She greeted her deliverer with ſmiles, and was ſent alſo to the Workhouſe. Further aſſiſtance arriving the ſearch was continued with great ardour: a man named Box, his wife, and three children, were traced by their cries, to the cellar, where they were dragged from the window, unhurt. It appears that this family had occupied the ground-floor, and had fled into the cellar for ſafety, on firſt hearing the craſh. Two old women were found, one of ninety, the other of eighty; they occupied a back room up two pair of ſtairs. The former had been confined to her bed ſeven months; neither of them received the leaſt injury. The moſt diſtreſſing part of this ſpectacle was a poor woman, who had lain-in on the preceding Sunday; who, as well as her child, was materially injured. Before nine o'clock, ſuch exertion as had been uſed, that the whole of the perſons were found who were ſuppoſed to be miſſing; and however miraculous it may appear, not one of

of them was dead, and but a few had any broken limbs. A widow and her daughter, who dwelt in a back room up two pair of ſtairs, were among thoſe who were moſt hurt, as were alſo a man and his wife who occupied a garret. When the accident happened nearly all the people were in bed, conſequently when they were taken from the ruins they were entirely naked, and had not a rag to put on, except what they obtained from the humanity of their neighbours. It was a fortunate circumſtance, that the party-wall between the two houſes did not give way, as in that caſe many perſons muſt have inevitably periſhed.

18th. About nine o'clock, whilſt the troops at Eaſtbourne were performing their accuſtomed exerciſe, on the right of the lines, an alarming fire broke out in the centre of the camp. It commenced in the temporary meſs-room erected for the officers of the 48th regiment, and as the fabric was compoſed chiefly of wood and ſtraw, it was ſoon reduced to aſhes. Fortunately, the fire ceaſed where it commenced. This accident excited a lively ſenſation in the ſurrounding country, and along the coaſt. The fire and alarm beacons, on all the different hills, were immediately ſeen on fire, and a conſiderable alarm muſt have been the conſequence.

23d. The numerous tenantry of Mr. Coke, of Holkham this day preſented him with a ſuperb vaſe, as a teſtimony of eſteem for his judicious and liberal conduct as a landholder and occupier. The cup is extremely elegant, and anſwers to the deſcription of its emblematical devices. It weighs 700 ounces, and from the beauty of the workmanſhip coſts as many pounds ſterling.

The Middleſex election commenced this day. So early as ſix o'clock vaſt crowds of ſpectators lined the way along Piccadilly and the road to Brentford. About ſeven Sir Francis Burdett ſet out for that place in his carriage and four, preceded by ſeven outriders, carrying large banners of blue ſilks, on which were written, in letters of gold, "Burdett and Independence." The baronet was hailed in every quarter by the vociferations of the mob. About ten, George Boulton Mainwaring, eſq. arrived at the huſtings in a chariot and ſix, with two poſtillions in ſcarlet livery, trimmed with ſilver, followed by ten carriages filled with his friends, all of whom wore ſky blue favours. The colours of Sir Francis Burdett are dark blue and orange. Mr. Mainwaring and his friends were in many inſtances ill uſed by the rabble in the intereſt of his opponent, who threw ſtones and otherwiſe annoyed his reſpectable party. Peter Moore, eſq. member for Coventry, propoſed Sir Francis Burdett to the electors for the repreſentation of Middleſex; and was ſeconded by Mr. Knight. Mr. Mainwaring, was afterwards propoſed by Alderman Sir William Curtis, and the nomination ſeconded by Colonel Wood. Each candidate endeavoured to addreſs the populace; but ſcarcely any thing of what was advanced by Mr. Mainwaring could be heard above the inceſſant hiſſing. The ſhew of hands of courſe was much in favour of Sir Francis, when a poll was demanded by the friends of the oppoſite

poſite candidate, which at the cloſe on Monday evening ſtood thus: for Sir Francis Burdett, 611, for Mr. Mainwaring, 528.

26th. This day Mr. Pitt, attended by Mr. Long, Mr. Huſkiſſon, and Mr. Spurges Bourne, dined with the company of Grocers. On his appearance a rapturous burſt of applauſe took place. The company then ſat down to a moſt ſumptuous dinner. After a patriotic ſong and toaſt or two, the maſter of the company ſaid, "That he roſe, not to expreſs the honour he had of having the Chancellor of the Exchequer, but the Right Honourable William Pitt, a brother Grocer, at his right hand, and to drink his health with three times three." A ſpontaneous burſt of applauſe ſucceeded throughout the company, which being ſubſided, Mr Pitt ſaid, "He thanked his brother Grocers for the honour they had done him, and in return drank their healths:" which was received with rapturous applauſe.

27th. Died. At Cork, Mr. O'Brien, the celebrated Iriſh Giant. His body was interred, on the 31ſt at the church of Saint Embar; the concourſe of people who attended the funeral was ſo great and ſo clamorous as to oblige the mayor to have the attendance of ſeveral peace officers. Mr. O'B. had a ſmall property in the county of Kerry, of about 150l. a year, which had been mortgaged, and to clear which he exhibited himſelf as a ſhow for ſome years paſt; the property was nearly cleared, and he had determined to retire to his native place, after exhibiting himſelf at Kinſale, to which place he was about to go at at the time he was taken ſuddenly ill at Corke.

Warſaw. 30th. The Count de Liſle (Louis XVIII,) who was to quit this city the 26th of this month, did not ſet out until this day for Groduo. A buſineſs which would have aſtoniſhed the city of Warſaw, if, unfortunately, it had been carried into execution, had delayed the departure of that prince. He has had complete proof that ſome individuals who now inhabit this city have ſought not only his life, but that of his family and ſervants. No leſs than an attempt has been made to poiſon them all with arſenic. The Count de Liſle has received all the proofs, and drawn up a *proces verbal*, and the whole has been put into the hands of Juſtice.

A diſpute having taken place between the Vice Preſident of the American Congreſs, (Colonel Burr,) and General Hamilton, of New York, a meeting was agreed on, and a duel fought on the 11th of July, at Heboken, near New York; the ſeconds were P. P. Vanneſs, Eſq. and Judge Pendleton. General Hamilton was ſhot through the body; and having been carried acroſs the Ferry, to the houſe of Col. Bayard, he expired there the following day at two o'clock in the afternoon. The diſpute is ſaid to have originated from a difference in political opinion; General Hamilton, profeſſing himſelf inimical to the ambition of Bonaparte, and Col. Burr eſpouſing the part of Mr. Livingſtone, in his partiality towards the French Government. It appears, that the ſentiments of the former had more weight with the

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American Government, as he himſelf had received the appointment of Miniſter at Paris, in the room of Mr. Livingſtone, and was on the point of ſetting out on his embaſſy to that capital. The above occurrence has produced a deep and wide ſpread ſenſation throughout America. All ranks and claſſes have met, to adopt meaſures moſt proper to expreſs their grief, and to teſtify their ſenſe of the eſteem and affection in which the general was held. One of the accounts ſays:—"There was ſomething extremely affecting in that part of the funeral ceremony previous to committing the body to the grave. Mr. Morris, the Governor of New York, from a ſtage erected in the portico of Trinity church, pronounced to the immenſe concourſe in front an extemporary funeral oration. Four of the ſons of General Hamilton, the eldeſt about ſixteen, and the youngeſt about ſix years old, accompanied him; and the effect of his manly oratory, while, encircled by the ſons, he pronounced an encomium upon the departed parent, is deſcribed as irreſiſtibly impreſſive upon the feelings of the ſorrowing multitude who liſtened to it."

A man of the name of Samuels, ordered for execution at Botany Bay, for burglary, was thrice hung up, by virtue of his ſentence, and each time the cord broke. On the fourth attempt to carry the law into effect, the Provoſt ordered it to be ſuſpended, and haſtened to communicate to the Governor the particulars of the extraordinary ſcene he had witneſſed, the conſequence of which was, that a reſpite was granted to the man who had ſo repeatedly trembled on the very verge of eternity, and for the preſervation of whoſe life ſo many ſignal events may be almoſt ſaid to to have miraculouſly occurred.

Died.—At Hammerſmith, aged 70, R. Macfarlane eſq. author of the Hiſtory of the Reign of George the third, and other works. His death was occaſioned by the bruiſes which he received from a carriage that had run over him during the late election, and which he ſurvived but a ſhort time.

At Paris, in the 74th year of his age, François Ambroiſe Didot, the celebrated printer. At the age of 73, Didot read over five times, and carefully corrected before it was ſent to the preſs, every ſheet of the ſtereotype edition of Montagne, printed by his ſons. At four o'clock in the morning he was purſuing his fatiguing occupation. About eighteen months ſince, he projected an alphabetical Index of every ſubject treated upon in Montagne's Eſſays. He had collected all his materials, at which he laboured unceaſingly; and perhaps too ſtrict an application to his favourite ſtudy accelerated the death of this eminent artiſt and benevolent man. 10th.

In St. James's Market, aged 100, Mr. Smith, butcher.

Aged 102, Mrs. Mary Biſhop, of Newport Street, Worceſter. 15th.

Aged 102, Mr. Whincop, of Lynn. 19th.

AUGUST.

About five o'clock this afternoon, as Mr. and Mrs. Jones, and their child, about fifteen months old, of Park Place, Ken- 5th.

Kennington lane, were coming down the river in a boat with a ſail, for their amuſement, the boat heaved ſuddenly to one ſide, oppoſite Somerſet houſe, and the child was thrown from its mother's arms into the river. The father plunged into the river to ſave it, and, after much exertion, handed it to Mrs. J. into the boat, when, being exhauſted, he ſunk and diſappeared. Mrs. Trotter, wife of Mr. T. of the Navy Office, perceived the accident from her window, and ordered that every aſſiſtance ſhould be given. A medical aſſiſtant of the Humane Society, attended immediately, and ſucceeded in reſtoring the child to life. The body of Mr. Jones was not found till Wedneſday noon, the 8th, when it was taken up by two watermen at London Bridge, through which it was ſeen to paſs by a perſon from the balluſtrades. Mrs. Jones is far advanced in pregnancy.

8th. Intelligence was received at the Eaſt India Houſe of a brilliant action having taken place between the homeward-bound China fleet, under the command of Captain Dance, as ſenior commander, and the French ſquadron under the command of Admiral Linois, conſiſting of an 84 gun ſhip, three frigates, and a brig.

The poll for the county of Middleſex was this day cloſed; but the official declaration of the numbers was adjourned till the following day, that due conſideration might be had of ſeveral votes which having been objected to on one ſide or the other, had been poſtponed for further conſideration.

One of the late French papers gives the following *accurate* picture of the preſent ſtate of England:—"pound of bread coſts, in London, 9d; a pound of meat 2s. and 2s. and 6d; and the worſt wine ſells as high as 15s. a bottle. Their ſtreets and high roads are thronged with moſt numerous, ragged, and ſtarved beggars; ſo much ſo, that the King has not dared to hang a highwayman, or the magiſtrates to ſhut up a beggar, for theſe laſt twelve months. General illuminations took place when Bonaparte was proclaimed Emperor. In every houſe in England his portrait is found; and in Ireland the peaſants and mechanics have mounted national cockades in expectation of their *deliverer*. Both in the ſtreets of London and Dublin, ballads are ſung in his honour; and the people call for him as for a ſaviour, and ſay, that if he landed alone, and it was known, in a week he would have an army of a million of Britons. Such is the ſituation of the Bank of England, that when lately an Engliſh frigate captured one of our coaſting ſhips, which had on board 20,000 dollars, a Bank Director went expreſs to Portſmouth to borrow that money, at the immenſe intereſt of $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. in the month When this tranſaction was known, the people roſe in a maſs in Southampton, through which province it was to paſs, and, to prevent its being plundered by the ſtarving inhabitants, 5000 dragoons were neceſſary to eſcort it to the capital, which they effected; though not without cutting down ſeveral hundred of their countrymen, who attempted to ſeize this enormous treaſure."

After long conſultation, and hearing counſel on both ſides, the Sheriff declared Mr. Main- 9th.

Mainwaring to be duly elected. The numbers on each day's poll were as follows:

	Mainwaring.	Burdett.
1st day	528	611
2nd day	399	361
3rd day	311	265
4th day	257	187
5th day	193	192
6th day	152	102
7th day	146	204
8th day	108	108
9th day	109	93
10th day	106	99
11th day	98	55
19th day	70	72
13th day	109	150
14th day	136	137
15th day	106	187
	2828	2823

Majority in favour of Mr. Mainwaring, 5.

13th. A moſt alarming riot took place among the labourers at Poplar, who were principally Iriſhmen. The diſpute originated, in which was the beſt province, and produced the beſt men. Connaught or Munſter. From words they proceeded to blows; and, there being ſeveral hundreds of them armed with bludgeons, it became a meaſure of ſafety to call in the civil power, who took two of the principal rioters into cuſtody, and the reſt diſperſed. When brought before the Magiſtrates, they expreſſed much contrition for the error they had been led into, and made promiſes of future good conduct; upon which, the Magiſtrate, after giving them ſome proper admonitions, diſcharged them.

As Mr. Sadler, an Attorney, from London; on his paſſage to Margate in the packet Boat. Though repeatedly reminded of the dangerous ſituation he had placed himſelf in, he perſevered in ſtanding before the main-maſt. A friend who accompanied him had juſt ſpoken to him, and he replied, "Never fear, I will take care of myſelf;" and at that moment the jib changed its direction, and ſwept him into the ſea. The waves ran ſo high, that though the boat was inſtantly launched by the ſailors, and every exertion made, no perſon could venture into it, as it drove againſt the veſſel in ſuch a deſperate manner as obliged them to let it go, and it was inſtantly daſhed to pieces. Mr. S. fell upon his back, and floated for ſome time. It is ſuppoſed he was ſtunned by the blow he received from the jib; but as ſoon as he recovered, and began to make an exertion, he ſunk and was ſeen no more. Not the leaſt fault attaches but to the unfortunate gentleman, who would not be adviſed by thoſe who ſaw his danger. His body was picked up on the 15th by a Whitſtable drudger, and taken to Whitſtable.

14th. The Committee of the patriotic Fund held a meeting at the Merchant Seamen's office, over the Royal Exchange; when it was reſolved that a ſword and a vaſe, each of 100l. value, with an appropriate inſcription, ſhould be given to Captain Dance, who acted as Commodor to the fleet of ſhips arrived from China. A ſword and a vaſe of the ſame value were alſo voted to Capt. Timins, of the Royal George; and a ſword of the value of 50l. was ordered to be preſented to each of the other Captains of the Indian fleet that beat off

Admiral Linois' ſquadron. A ſword of 50l. value was alſo voted to Lieutenant Fowler, of the Royal Navy, for his ſervices; and a letter was written to Captain Timins, to obtain the name and an account of the family of the ſeaman who was killed and the ſeaman who was wounded on board his ſhip.

15th. The Directors of the Eaſt India Company, with a moſt liberal gratitude for the noble ſervice performed by the Chineſe fleet, voted to the commanders, officers, and ſeamen, the following ſums, for their gallant conduct in beating off the French ſquadron under Admiral Linois, in the Chineſe ſeas:—

Captain Dance, 2000 guineas, and a piece of plate value 200 guineas; Captain Timins, 1000 guineas, and a piece of plate value 100 guineas; Captain Moffatt, 500 guineas, and a piece of plate value 100 guineas.

To Captains H. Wilſon, Farquharſon, Torin, Clarke, Meriton, Wordſworth, Kirkpatrick, Hamilton, Farrer, Pendergraſs, Brown, Larkins, and Lockner, 500 guineas, and a piece of plate value 50 guineas, to each.

To chief officers, 150 guineas; to 2d ditto, 125 guineas; to 3d and 4th ditto, 80 guineas each; and to 5th and 6th, 50 guineas each.

Purſers and ſurgeons, 80 guineas each.

Mates, boatſwains, gunners, and carpenters, 50 guineas each.

Midſhipmen, 30; other petty officers, 15 guineas each.

Seamen, ordinary ſeamen, and ſervants, ſix guineas each.

To Lieutenant Fowler, paſſenger in the Camden, for the ſervices rendered Captain Dance, 300 guineas for a piece of plate.

The whole will amount to nearly 50,000l.

The value of the fleet which they preſerved, we learn, on an eſtimate made by the ſupercargoes, including the private as well as the public inveſtments, appeared to be above 8,000,000l. ſterling.

Captain de Courcy, of his Majeſty's ſhip Plantagenet, who convoyed from St. Helena the China fleet, has been preſented, by the Court of Directors of the Eaſt India Company, with the ſum of 500 guineas, for the purchaſe of a piece of plate.

A Coroner's Inqueſt was held at the ſign of the Hoop and Grapes public-houſe, adjoining Queen-ſquare, Weſtminſter, on the body of Miſs Mary Champante. From the depoſitions given, it appeared, that the deceaſed came in a coach to Buckingham-gate about half paſt twelve o'clock on Monday; the rain at that time fell in torrents. Upon paying the coachman, he remonſtrated with her upon quitting the coach in ſuch a heavy ſhower. She replied, that ſhe ſhould ſoon be wet enough; and immediately proceeded to the Park, where, getting over the high railing, ſhe precipitated herſelf into the canal. Several perſons ſoon after repaired to the ſpot, and endeavoured to ſave her. She was taken out, and carried to the above public-houſe, but life had irrecoverably fled.

Mr. Whitrow, a partner of the deceaſed's father, "Champante and Whitrow," wholeſale ſtationers, in Jewry-ſtreet, Aldgate, ſaid, that the father of the deceaſed could not attend, his feelings having been ſo affected. The deceaſed was Mr. Champante's ſecond daughter,

daughter, and in the 21ſt year of her age. On Monday morning laſt ſhe returned from Chelſea by the ſtage. She was there on a viſit. She ran, on her return, to her father, who ſat writing at his deſk, to communicate ſome trifling affair to him. He, being buſy ſettling ſome accompts, deſired her, rather haſtily, to withdraw; which check had ſuch an effect upon her, that ſhe ran out of the houſe, having told the ſervant-maid that ſhe would deſtroy herſelf! She went out when it rained very heavy. The maid imagined ſhe went to Mr. Whitrow's houſe, which was juſt oppoſite; inſtead of which, ſhe turned round George-ſtreet, into the Minories, where ſhe took a coach, and drove as above ſtated. The coroner returned a verdict, that the young lady was "*Deranged in her mind, and, in a fit of inſanity, drowned herſelf;*" which verdict was ſigned by the Jury. Miſs Champante is deſcribed as of an admirable form, tall in ſtature, her ſkin of the pureſt white, her cheeks of a lovely vermillion hue, her hair auburn; in ſhort, as poſſeſſing all the moſt attractive charms of her ſex. She wore a white muſlin gown, chip hat, with a pink handkerchief over it, a red coral necklace, with gold locket, and pink coloured ſilk hoſe, marked M. C.

25th. *York Races.*—Mrs. Thornton againſt Mr. Flint, 500 gs. each, p. p. 1000 gs. bye—four miles. Never did we witneſs ſuch an aſſemblage of people as were drawn together on the above occaſion; 100,000 at leaſt; nearly ten times the number appeared on Knaveſmire than did on the day when Bay Malton ran, or when Eclipſe went over the courſe, leaving the two beſt horſes of the day a mile and a half behind. Indeed expectation was raiſed to the higheſt pitch, from the novelty of the match.

About four o'clock Mrs. Thornton appeared on the ground, full of ſpirits, her horſe led by Colonel Thornton, and followed by Mr. Baker and Mr. H. Boynton:—afterwards appeared Mr. Flint. They ſtarted a little paſt four o'clock. The lady took the lead for upwards of three miles, in a moſt capital ſtyle. Her horſe, however, had much the ſhorter ſtroke of the two: when within a mile of being home, Mr. Flint puſhed forward, and got the lead, which he kept. Mrs. T. uſed every exertion; but finding it impoſſible to win the race, out of humanity to her horſe, ſhe drew up, in a *ſportſmanlike* ſtyle, when within about two diſtances.

The race was run in 9 minutes and 59 ſeconds.

DIED.—9th. Found dead in his bed at Loweſtoffe, of which he was vicar, aged 83, the Rev. Robert Potter, of Emanuel College, Cambridge, B. A. 1741; M. A. 1784, and prebendary of Norwich. His firſt preferment was the vicarage of Scarning, Norfolk. As a claſſic ſcholar he was a character of the higheſt diſtinction. The literary world is highly indebted to him for excellent poetical verſions of the three Greek tragedians. In 1774, he publiſhed a volume of poems, moſt of which had before appeared ſeparately. Many of them are very pretty compoſitions, particularly a beautiful farewell hymn to the country, in imitation of Spencer. Three years

wards, his tranſlation of Æſchylus made its appearance in a quarto volume, and has ſince been reprinted with the addition of notes, in two volumes, 8vo. Of the excellence of this tranſlation, it is ſcarcely poſſible to ſay too much; many of the parts are ſo exquiſitely beautiful as to leave us in doubt, whether any poet could have accompliſhed the taſk with greater ſucceſs. In 1781, he publiſhed his tranſlation of Euripides in quarto; and in 1788, that of Sophocles, in the ſame ſize. Theſe laſt productions are, upon the whole, inferior to his firſt, yet they are both excellent performances, and ſuperior to thoſe of Dr. Franklin, and Mr. Woodhull. Beſides theſe very laborious works, Mr. Potter publiſhed in quarto, in 1783, "An Enquiry into ſome Paſſages of Dr. Johnſon's Lives of the Poets;" in 1785, in quarto, "A Tranſlation of the Oracle concerning Babylon, and the Song of Exultation from Iſaiah," chap. xiii and xiv; and in 1802, "A Sermon on the Thankſgiving for the Peace." By his death the republic of letters has loſt one of its beſt and moſt unaſſuming ornaments. His manners were ſimple, and his life exemplary. He was a ſcholar of the Old School, and nothing tempted him to relinquiſh divine and polite literature. His works are not numerous, but they are valuable, and will find their way to poſterity. The only temporary effuſion of his pen, was a pamphlet in defence of his brother poet Maſon, againſt the criticiſms of Johnſon. A great portion of his life was dedicated to the tranſlating of the three Greek tragic poets, to whom he is the firſt who has done ample juſtice in our language. He had the peculiar felicity of transfuſing their loftineſs, and preſerving their ſimplicity, without running into bombaſt, or deſcending into ſervility. His tranſlations are juſtly admired by thoſe who are well verſed in the originals, of the charms of which they convey the moſt gratifying idea to the Engliſh reader. It was not till he had completed his laſt tranſlation, that of Sophocles, that Mr. Potter obtained any preferment in the church higher than that of vicar of Loweſtoffe. He had been a ſchool-fellow of Lord Thurlow, and had conſtantly ſent his publications to that great man without ever ſoliciting a favour from him. On receiving a copy of the Sophocles, however, his Lordſhip wrote a ſhort note to Mr. Potter, acknowledging the receipt of his books from time to time, and the pleaſure they had afforded him, and requeſting Mr. Potter's acceptance of a prebendal ſtall in the cathedral of Norwich, which, with his vicarage, rendered him comfortable during the remainder of a life honourably devoted to thoſe purſuits which beſt become a profound ſcholar and a true Chriſtian.

At Titley, in Herefordſhire, aged 101, Mary Preece. Her huſband died about a year ago, aged 90; they had been married 66 years, and both retained the uſe of their faculties till the laſt.

28th. At Dover in America, aged 120, a black man named Pompey.

SEPTEMBER.

12th. This morning about two o'clock, a young lady of great perſonal accompliſhments, and daughter of a reſpectable merchant in the city of London, in a fit of deſpair, threw herſelf out of a two pair of ſtairs window at her father's houſe, and was literally daſhed to pieces. On the fatal news being communicated to her family, her mother, with whom ſhe had ever been a favourite, inſtantly ſnatched up a knife which lay near her, and horrid to relate, ſtabbed herſelf in ſuch a manner that her life is deſpaired of, and the unfortunate father lays under the influence of mental derangement.

The heat of this afternoon was exceſſive. The thermometer, in the ſhade, ſtood as high as 80 degrees of Fahrenheit's ſcale, and the ſtreets were nearly as clear of pedeſtrians as at 12 the preceding night.

Mr. Greathead, the inventor of the life boat, has been preſented with a gold chain and medal by the King of Pruſſia, in conſequence of the valuable diſcovery.

15th. At Burlington, a perſon of the name of Croſbie, an inhabitant of Grayſtock in Cumberland, went amongſt many others to an entertainment given by the Duke of Northumberland, where he ate and drank ſo immoderately, that he was no longer able to ſuſtain it; and, after lingering for ſometime, notwithſtanding every medical aſſiſtance, was at laſt relieved from his excruciating agonies by the friendly interpoſition of death!

Nothing, according to the Paris journals, has ever equalled the preparations for the approaching coronation. It is aſſerted that upwards of 3,000,000 ſtrangers will be preſent on that occaſion, of whom 200,000 are foreigners. Apartments, it is added, have already been engaged for 2,000,000 of viſitors, amongſt whom are reported to be two kings, and ten inferior ſovereign princes. A jeweller on the quay d'Defevre has mortgaged all his landed property to purchaſe diamonds, to the amount of 1,200,000 livres (50,000l.); and 1200 new carriages have been finiſhed by the coachmakers on the Boulevards alone, while double that number have been ordered from Simons, of Bruſſels. There have been 2300 petitions preſented to the Prefect of Police, for leave to open new coffee houſes; and eighteen new theatres have already been licenſed for the time of the carnival. Out of ſeveral hundred petitions to open gaming houſes, forty-four have been granted; and ladies of a certain deſcription have been allowed to receive reinforcements of ſeveral thouſands from the country!!! In ſhort, *vive la joie* is to be the order of the day; and thus are the French people to be rewarded for their ſufferings during a revolution of ſixteen years.

The French papers ſtate that Sir James Crawford, who had leave to drink the waters of Aix la Chapelle for two months, having broke his parole, that privilege has been taken from all Britiſh priſoners. Their confinement at Verdun is conſequently much more ſtrict than it uſed to be: they are very narrowly watched, and a gens d'armes is placed in the apartments of ſome

of them who are of the greateſt rank. Sir James Crawford has publicly diſavowed having by his return to England, forfeited his honour. He obſerves, that, "*when he quitted France, he was bound by no tie whatever to remain there.*" He had remained, till a conſiderable office, reſerved a twelvemonth for his acceptance, was given away to another; and till the life of his lady was endangered by her affliction.

The department of Mont Blanc has been laid waſte by inceſſant rains for three months, which have intirely ruined the corn and vine harveſts. Houſes have been carried away, and many thouſand head of cattle, with upwards of 200 perſons, have periſhed. Since the falling of the water, immenſe hordes of wolves have been allured by the ſmell of the carcaſes, and have often fallen upon the living inhabitants. The laſt dilly from Paris, containing eight inſide and ten outſide paſſengers, drawn by eight horſes, was ſurrounded by upwards of fifty of theſe animals, who killed two horſes and one of the poſtillions; the diligences are conſequently obliged to be eſcorted by troops.

17th. A ſtriking inſtance of remorſe of conſcience, which exemplifies the avenging hand of God againſt murder, has juſt added to the many ſimilar impreſſive leſſons, in the voluntary ſurrender of a woman, who, this day, appeared before a magiſtrate of the hundred of Longtree, in Glouceſterſhire, and confeſſed, that eight years ago ſhe had murdered her baſtard infant, by cutting its throat, and throwing it into a brook; and declared, that ſuch was the intolerable miſery of her mind till ſhe had divulged the dreadful ſecret, that ſhe was inevitably compelled to conſign herſelf over to the miniſtration of the law, to anſwer for the horrid deed which embittered every moment of her exiſtence. She was committed to priſon, and remanded for another hearing, till after inquiry ſhould have been made into the ſad event.

21ſt. At Gateſhead a young woman died in conſequence of taking poiſon. She had always declined giving any account of herſelf; but it appears ſhe was ſeduced from her parents, who reſide at Grantham, by a perſon belonging to one of the ſtage coaches travelling ſouth, who kept her at Gateſhead. Coroner's verdict—Lunacy.

Part of his Majeſty's Spaniſh flock, under the direction of Sir Joſeph Banks, was lately diſpoſed of by public ſale at Richmond. At an early hour, a great number of gentlemen and breeders aſſembled at the pens of ſheep intended for ſale. The auctioneer opened the buſineſs in a ſhort ſpeech, ſtating that his Majeſty had been graciouſly pleaſed to permit the rams and ewes to be diſpoſed of in this manner, after the examples of the auctions at Woburn and Holkham, on the preſumption of its being the moſt probable method of placing the beſt individuals of the improved breeds in the hands of perſons moſt likely to preſerve and ſtill farther to improve them. The firſt 24 lots conſiſted each of a ſingle ſhearling ram. The firſt lot was knocked down to Captain Alac Arthur, at 150l. and the laſt lot, to Mr. Freeman, of Fawley, near Henley, at 42 guineas. The intermediate

termediate lots fetched from ſix to twenty-ſeven guineas. The next twenty-one lots conſiſted of 21 rams and ewes, which fetched conſiderable prices. The ſale ended about a quarter paſt four o'clock, when Sir Joſeph Banks ſtated, that the prices at which the ſheep had been ſold exceeded his Majeſty's and his own expectations and wiſhes on the ſubject. He added, that from the eagerneſs exhibited that day in bidding, he had no doubt but his Majeſty's intention of placing the ſheep in thoſe gentlemen's hands, who would appreciate their value, and attend to the increaſing the breed, would be fully anſwered. The purchaſers were alſo informed, that the ſheep might remain three days, or longer, in his Majeſty's paſture, if it ſuited their convenience: but ſuch was the eagerneſs of the buyers to bear off their lots, that ſeveral carts appeared immediately in the field for that purpoſe; and one gentleman took away the ſheep which he had purchaſed in his chaiſe. This ſhew and ſale of ſheep is intended to be annual, and next year a larger number of ewes will be offered for ſale, his Majeſty's flock having now arrived at the number intended to be kept.

Yorkſhire.—Six or ſeven weeks ago, a woman went to Bridlington, and ſold a lovely boy, with a delicate, ſoft, fair, ſkin, to a chimney-ſweeper for eight guineas: the child, it is thought, cannot be more than four years old, and had been taken up a chimney by an elder boy, and left there. As might be expected, he fell down, and bruiſed his legs terribly againſt the grate. His air and manner were ſo different from the ſituation he was in, that the inhabitants of Bridlington were in an uproar about it: the lower kind of people ſaid it was a ſhame to keep ſuch a child to ſo mean an employment; and, poor as they were, he ſhould be welcome to ſhare with their own children. The Miſs Stricklands, of Boynton, hearing of the child, went over, and were ſo much intereſted with him, and ſo perſuaded that he had been ſtolen, that, as the chimney-ſweeper was glad to part with him, they took him home with them; and he is with them ſtill. Soon after he got to Boynton (Sir George Strickland's ſeat), a plate, with ſomething to eat, was brought him; he was quite delighted when he ſaw the ſilver fork, and ſaid, Papa had ſuch forks as thoſe; the carpet too in the drawing-room he ſaid was like papa's. The houſekeeper ſhewed him a ſilver watch; he aſked what ſort it was,—Papa's was a gold watch; he then preſſed the handle, and ſaid, "Papa's watch rings; why does not your's?" Sir George, on being told of this, ſhewed him his gold repeater; the child preſſed the ſpring, and when it ſtruck, jumped about the room, ſaying, "Papa's watch rings ſo." At night, when he was going to bed, he ſaid he could not go to bed till he had ſaid his prayers; he then repeated the Lord's Prayer almoſt perfectly. The account he gives of himſelf is, that he was gathering flowers in his mama's garden, and the woman who ſold him came in, and aſked him if he liked riding? He ſaid, "Yes!" and ſhe told him he ſhould ride with her, and ſet him on a horſe; after which they got into a veſſel, and

the ſails were put up, and "*away we went.*" He has no recollection of his name, or where he lived; but it ſeems to have been in the country. He ſtarted whenever he heard a ſervant of Sir George's called *George*, and looked as if he expected to ſee ſomebody he knew: on enquiry, he ſaid he had an uncle George whom he loved dearly. Sir George has had the child advertiſed; but it is ſuppoſed that his friends may have concluded he was drowned.

The ancient village of Reculver, in Kent, (the Regulbium of the Romans,) has received ſerious injury from the high tides of the autumnal equinox. The wind blowing ſtrong from the north-weſt, and the tide being at the full, the cliff, on which were two houſes, gave way, and with the houſes, was precipitated in ruins on the beach, carrying with it the exterior walls of three adjoining houſes. One of them was an ancient building oppoſite to the public-houſe, which was ſuppoſed to have been the remains of a monaſtic edifice. Part of the church-yard has been waſhed away.

Vipers have been unuſually numerous in the corn-fields of Suſſex during the preſent harveſt. A few days ſince, a young woman received a bite on the ancle from one of thoſe reptiles, while labouring in a barley-field, at Beeding; and, notwithſtanding ſurgical aſſiſtance was obtained ſoon after the accident, ſhe died on the ſecond day.

Some days ago, Mr. Thomas Allen, of Eddentine, in the pariſh of Colwall, Herefordſhire, who had thrown together a large quantity of furze and fern in the corner of a field, to rot for manure, during the late warm weather, killed fifteen or ſixteen old ſnakes near the ſpot; this circumſtance led him to ſuſpect that there were many more ſheltered in the mixture, which induced him to remove it; when, to his great aſtoniſhment, he diſcovered a number of young ones, and a great quantity of eggs, and, by a vigilant exertion, killed 150 young ſnakes!

29th. Notices have been given, that applications are intended to be made to Parliament, for leave to bring in Bills for making a road under the river Thames, from the pariſh of St. Mary, Rotherhithe, to the pariſh of St. Dunſtan's, Stepney, &c. and for ſupplying with Thames water Camberwell, Bermondſey, Rotherhithe, Deptford, Lambeth, Newington, Walworth, Kennington, Stockwell, Clapham, Peckham, and Dulwich.

DIED.—2d. At Ingateſtone, Eſſex, Thomas Brand Hollis, Eſq. F. R. A. SS. and formerly M. P. He was the only ſon of Timothy Brand, Eſq. who died in 1734, aged 51, of the Hyde in Ingateſtone, where he built a very good houſe, and was ſheriff of Eſſex in 1721, by Sarah daughter of Thomas Mitchell, Eſq. of Rickling; by whom he had alſo two daughters: one married 1744, to Richard Grindall, Eſq. ſurgeon, ſeparated from him, and died of the ſmall-pox 1781. Mr. Brand made the Tour of Europe with the well-known Mr. Hollis, who died in 1774, and left him his fortune and his name. Their taſtes were congenial, but not their principles; for whereas Mr. H. would hardly have accepted of a ſeat in parliament, his friend applied *his* fortune

tune to acquire a ſeat for Hindon, and was convicted of bribery, and confined in the King's Bench ſeveral years. Early in the adminiſtration of Lord North, and conjointly with the Duke of Richmond, he was inſtitutor of the Conſtitutional Society, of great celebrity in thoſe days. He has left his eſtates in Dorſet and Eſſex to his friend Dr. Diſney. Mr. Brand Hollis's ſiſter kept his houſe, and he has left her 600l. a year for life. Mr. Thomas Hollis, having quarrelled with his couſin Timothy, made a will in Mr. Brand's favour; and when Mr. Harriſon, the ſolicitor of the Million Bank, who drew it up, went, at a late hour, to inform Mr. B. of his good fortune, he was long in gaining admittance, and when, after frequent knocking, he had gained it, was met by the maſter of the houſe and his ſervants armed for reſiſtance as againſt houſe-breakers. Mr. B's library and collection of antiques are left to the Britiſh Muſeum or Antiquary Society.

At Philadelphia, at the houſe of Samuel Wheeler, Eſq. in the 100th year of her age, Ruth Wood, a native of that place.

OCTOBER.

1ſt. This afternoon, about four o'clock, a man, in an outrageous paroxyſm of inſanity, went into the Goat public-houſe, near Vauxhall, and, entering a room, he there gave himſelf ſeveral wounds with a ſmall knife; he next ſallied forth, bloody, and entered the bar, where he found a young woman, a ſervant of the houſe, alone, whom he inſtantly ſtabbed twice in the throat, and knocked down; on her attempting to riſe, he plunged the knife into her ſhoulder. On quitting the bar, he ſeized an old man in the tap-room, and ſtruck him ſeveral times, but the knife falling from his hand, the poor man eſcaped without any material injury; going out of the door, to depart, he made an attempt to ſtab the landlady, and ſtruck a perſon in converſation with her; but they both providentially eſcaped. One Joyce, in attempting to ſecure the maniac, was ſtabbed by him in the ſhoulder, and compelled to let go his hold; the diſordered man, ſtill at liberty, ranged about the road, endeavouring to ſtab every perſon that came in his way; but at length he was taken by ſtratagem. His name is M'Kay, a ſurgeon's mate in the navy. He was ſent to St. Thomas's Hoſpital, with little hopes of recovery.

3rd. This morning about half paſt three o'clock, a fire broke out, in the houſe of Mr. Storr, a hatter, in Union-ſtreet, Weſtminſter. It commenced in the ſecond floor, which was inhabited by a very infirm old lady, who was accuſtomed to burn a candle in her room during the night, which, it is ſuppoſed, by ſome accident, ſet fire to the curtains. The whole of the houſe was in flames in a very ſhort time; and, it not being poſſible to procure water for near an hour, they communicated to the two adjoining houſes; one of which was occupied by Mr. Godfree, an upholſterer, and the other, by Mr. Windſor, a ſhoemaker. Notwithſtanding every exertion of the firemen, after water had been procured, the three houſes were completely

completely consumed. It was found impossible to save the poor old lady in whose apartment the fire commenced. She was seen, in a most pitiable state, for a long while at the front window; but at length fell down and was burnt. Her name was Freeman: she was a maiden lady, upward of 70 years of age. Ann Toley, an apprentice to Mrs. Storr, about 16 years of age, and Elizabeth Mills, a servant girl, likewise about 16 years old, who lodged in the third story, threw themselves out of the window. The former died; but the latter is likely to recover.

4th. Margery Wood was fully committed to Shepton Mallet Bridewell, for the murder of her infant. She is a most deplorable looking object, about 45 years of age, but her looks bespeak her much older. Her confession is ample, circumstantial, and most pitiable; and the agonies of her mind, since the perpetrating the horrid deed, must have been truly acute and deplorable. She carried the little innocent, naked, covered only with her apron, through the streets of Bath, for a month after her delivery; and at last took the diabolical resolution of cutting its throat, and throwing it into the river. Some minutes before it sunk, it held up one of its little hands, apparently praying for the protection of its unnatural mother; who, at that moment (she says) would have given worlds to preserve it: it sunk, and left her a prey to the ceaseless tortures of a guilty conscience, tortures which may be conceived, but cannot be expressed.

6th, A bricklayer and his man were employed, some days ago, to repair the villa of Captain Duncan, of Leesom-row, near Fulham; and as they proceeded to strip off the old tiles, they found a large silver cup, containing 700 guineas, the coinage of George I. a great number of antique rings and valuable trinkets. The honest tradesman and his companion immediately informed their employers.

A farmer, at Hampton, 11th. for a wager of 25 guineas, rode his poney, a beast under 14 hands high, 90 miles on the western road, in twelve hours and a half. The rider weighs at least 14 stone, and the beast performed the extraordinary feat in three quarters of an hour less than the given time. A number of the *cognoscenti* in those matches were present, and they were deeply taken in by the extraordinary performance of the poney.

A singular accident hap- 13th. pened at the New Church, Dagenham, Essex. The Society of Cumberland Youths were invited to open the new peal of bells, which they performed in the morning, by ringing 7008 changes of Oxford treble-bob royal in four hours and forty-nine minutes; but in the evening, Mr. Channon, master of the society, wished to oblige the inhabitants of the village with another peal; when unfortunately his leg got entangled with the rope, which drew him to the next loft, and, falling on his head, he was killed on the spot; the upper part of the skull being beat in so that the brains oozed out through the cavities.

At about a quarter past 18th. seven the Rt. Hon. Dowager Lady Dacre was taking her usual solitary walk near her house at

Lee,

Lee, between Lewiſham and Eltham, in Kent; when a ruffian came up near the church, preſented a piſtol, and, with horrid imprecations, demanded her watch. She told him, if he would take the piſtol away, ſhe would give it him. As ſoon as he got the watch, he put the piſtol again to her ladyſhip's breaſt, and demanded her purſe. This ſhe alſo gave: it contained ſix guineas, with which he departed. Ever ſince the death of the late Lord Dacre, his amiable widow has made it an invariable practice to viſit his tomb at a certain hour in the evening. No company, no engagement, no inclemency of weather, neither ſtorms nor hurricanes, have ever prevented her from executing this pious office. It was on one of theſe occaſions, that the ſacrilegious wretch took the opportunity of perpetrating this crime.

A plan has, it is ſaid, been propoſed and adopted by government, for conſtructing a canal of large dimenſions between Shorncliff-battery and the river Rother, near Rye, and juſt under Pleydon-heights, which combines the defence of the moſt vulnerable parts of the Kentiſh coaſt againſt invaſion, with great public utility. It is to be flanked throughout with batteries, and the batteries are to be of ſuch breadth and depth as to admit trading and armed veſſels of 200 tons burthen. It will act as a catch-water drain, and greatly relieve the levels below from the highland water. By means of it the produce of the country may be carried at a comparatively ſmall expence to the ſea-coaſt, and it will afford a ready means of conveying ſhingle and beach to the interior of the country, for making and repairing of roads, which throughout this diſtrict are very bad. It will be of infinite uſe to the county of Kent, ſhould the projected canal from Yalden Lees, on the Medway, to Canterbury, with a branch by Tenterden to the Rother, be carried into effect. The line of canal has lately been ſurveyed, and has been found to be not only practicable, but one of the eaſieſt lines ever diſcovered in the kingdom. Its ſummit is about 100 feet above the level of the ſea, and is nearly 50 miles on one level. From Canterbury a canal on one level has been projected, to communicate with the ſea at St. Nicholas' bay, in the iſle of Thanet, capable of carrying ſea-built veſſels, ſo that, by joining theſe two canals, the whole interior of the county will have a ready and eaſy navigation to the ſea-coaſt at Canterbury, Chatham, Rye, and Hythe. It will alſo, by means of the river Rother, open a navigation into an important part of the county of Suſſex, at Robertſbridge, from whence the timber and other articles may be conveyed at a cheap rate to his Majeſty's dock-yards at Chatham, and on the Thames. It will probably be the means of bringing about the improvement of the harbour of Rye, ſo long in contemplation. The old harbour of Lympne will alſo be opened, and it is not unlikely that the attention of government may be drawn, ſooner or later, to Hythe, and a good harbour eſtabliſhed there.

22d. A fire, attended with moſt calamitous circumſtances, broke out in one of the ſtables at the Spotted Dog inn, at Chelmſford.

ford. Several hundred Hanoverian ſoldiers halted that night in the town and its vicinity, and from the great numbers billeted on the inn-keepers, they were compelled to lodge them in ſtables and out-houſes. Thoſe quartered at the Spotted Dog had retired to a ſtable allotted them, with their pipes, and, it is ſuppoſed, that the fire dropping from one of them, communicated to ſome looſe ſtraw, which ſet the premiſes in a blaze. By the activity exerted by all ranks on the occaſion, the conflagration was prevented from extending beyond the premiſes; 12 of the ſoldiers periſhed, whoſe dead bodies were dug out on Tueſday. A number of horſes belonging to royal waggon train were in the ſtables, all of which were removed but two, and they were burnt to death. One other unfortunate Hanoverian died the next morning from the injury he received, and ſeveral others continue in a doubtful ſtate; but, contrary to report, not one remains unaccounted for. The coroner for the county held an inqueſt on the bodies on Wedneſday, but could not obtain any ſatisfactory evidence of the cauſe of the fire. It was ſtated, that on its firſt breaking out, it raged very fiercely, from the quantity of ſtraw in the ſtable, in which no leſs than ſeventy of the men were lodged; that the unfortunate men inſtantly ruſhed to the door of the ſtable where the fire began, but finding it latched by a common iron latch on the outſide (which is lifted up by putting the finger through a hole in the door), and they not knowing, or in their great hurry and confuſion not attempting to open it in that way, were for a time prevented from making their eſcape. Every one muſt have periſhed in the flames, had not the corporal of the detachment, to whom the alarm of fire had been given, ran down to the ſtable, and extricated them from their diſtreſſing ſituation. The jury, after retiring for a conſiderable time, returned a verdict of—accidental death. Their mangled remains were interred with military honours. Every attention was paid by the Commander in Chief, and the Duke of Suſſex, to the ſolace and comfort of the ſurvivors.

Cardinal Maury has written to the Archbiſhop of Paris, declaring himſelf entirely devoted to the preſent Dynaſty, as well as to the principles of government lately adopted in France.

25th. Hyde Park exhibited a triumphant diſplay of military reſources of this great Metropolis, and confirmed the hopes which were formed laſt year of the zeal, activity, and diſcipline of its brave and loyal Volunteer Defenders.

Soon after nine the following regiments made their appearance in the Park, and took ground oppoſite Groſvenor Gate:—The Honourable Artillery Company, Lieut. Col. le Meſurier, with the company of Yagers, commanded by Captain Beſſell, were on the right; two field-pieces were attached to the regiment; the 4th Loyal London, Lieut. Col. Price; the 7th Ditto, Major Pratt; the 8th Ditto, Col. Canning; the 5th Ditto, Col. Smith; the 2d Ditto, Ditto.

The regiments marched into the *alignment* by companies, and having taken open order, awaited the arrival of the reviewing general.

The

The Earl of Harrington attended about half paſt ten, and was received with the uſual honours. The troops preſented arms, and the officers ſaluted, while the different bands played, and the drums beat. General the Earl of Harrington then paſſed in front and rear of the brigade, and afterwards placed himſelf oppoſite the centre. The light companies and yagers were ſent out, and ſkirmiſhed, while the line advanced and fired ſeveral vollies. After this the light troops were called in by the bugles, and the whole commenced firing by companies, from the centre to the flanks. Each regiment formed cloſe column in rear of the grenadiers, and marched in the ſame order to the centre battalion; they then performed the principal of the 19 manœuvres, particularly the change of poſition, and forming new alignments, executing every movement with the utmoſt preciſion and exactneſs: above all, they deſerve every praiſe for the manner in which they charged. Theſe evolutions occupied them till near two o'clock, when the line wheeled backwards on the left into columns, paſſed the general in review, and quitted the ground in quick time. Every regiment muſtered extremely well, and the whole appeared to amount to about 3000. While they were retiring, the three regiments of the Hon. the Eaſt India Company marched in through the gate at the end of Oxford-road, and occupied their ground. It was a glorious ſight to behold ſo numerous and fine a body of troops, compoſed ſolely of perſons employed by a mercantile company. If their trading ſhips are, as they have recently ſhewn themſelves, invincible by ſea, their land forces promiſe equal protection to their vaſt concerns. The three regiments amounted to near 3000, and they were joined by the 3d Loyal London, Lieut. Col. Kenſington, who muſtered 580. This formidable brigade marched by companies into line, with ſix field-pieces in the centre. The Earl of Harrington reviewed them, as he had done the former brigade, and having taken his ſtation, attended by his aid-de-camps, Generals Groſvenor and Burrard, Lord Peterſham, Colonel Jenkinſon, Colonel Gaitſkill, and ſeveral officers of volunteer corps, the light troops were ordered forward as before, and the line advanced. Nothing could be more ſteady than their march in ordinary time: not a file was out of his dreſſing, but the whole preſerved the utmoſt order. They were ordered to commence independent firing; and the fire was ſo rapid and well kept up, that the brigade was in a few minutes totally obſcured by the ſmoke. The artillery-men loaded and fired thrice every minute. The brigade then performed all thoſe manœuvres which it is impoſſible to deſcribe without repetition. It was near duſk before they paſſed the reviewing general, and marched towards the city. Upon the whole, ſuch an army as appeared in the field in the courſe of the day, muſt be a theme of exultation not only to the inhabitants of the firſt city in the world, but to the people in general of the only free country in Europe. There were thouſands of ſpectators, and among them many perſons of diſtinction. It was a ſplendid

ſplendid ſcene, and exceeded every thing of the kind ſince the Grand Review before his Majeſty.

27th. Henry Perfect, *alias* the Rev. Mr. Paul, *alias* the Rev. Mr. Bennet, was indicted at the Middleſex Quarter Seſſions, for obtaining, at different times, twelve pounds fifteen ſhillings, by falſe pretences, from the Earl of Clarendon. It appeared from his lordſhip's teſtimony, that, in the character of a clergyman, the priſoner had written to him, to implore aſſiſtance for a diſtreſſed lady, named Grant, reſiding at Harlowe, in Eſſex, who was repreſented as the daughter of a gentleman in the Weſt Indies, newly married to a proud young Scotchman, who deſerted her. Several other letters, ſigned Mrs. Smith, came to his lordſhip. The priſoner wrote in three different hands, and carried on his plan of fraud for a conſiderable time, until at laſt the whole was diſcovered; and at the priſoner's lodgings, when taken up, copies of the different letters, with the anſwers to them, were found. The Jury pronounced a verdict of *guilty*, and the priſoner was ſentenced to ſeven years' tranſportation.

30th. An Exciſe officer, named Littlejohn, was found dead in a vat of ſtrong beer, in a ſtate of fermentation, in the brewhouſe of Mr. Thornton, at Horſham. It came out in evidence before the Coroner's Jury, on a view of the body, that the deceaſed went to the brewhouſe on Monday night to make his accuſtomed ſurvey; and that, in leaning over the veſſel, the azotic gas, ariſing from beer in ſuch a ſtate, might ſuffocate him, and cauſe him to fall into the liquor: they therefore returned a verdict of—*Accidental Death*. The veſſel contained about ſixteen barrels of beer, which, by Mr. Thornton's directions, was thrown into the common ſewer.

31ſt. A diſtreſſing event happened in Newington church-yard, Surry. John Rickets, the ſexton, was employed digging a grave for the remains of a lady in the Kent road; and the coffin was juſt entering the church yard, preceded by the miniſter, when the whole maſs of earth on each ſide the grave fell in, and covered the unfortunate delver in a depth of ſix feet, juſt as he was getting out with his pick-axe and ſhovel. Within five minutes after the accident happened, a number of perſons ran to aſſiſt the poor man, and began to remove the earth; their endeavours were, however, much retarded by the concourſe of ſpectators who ruſhed to the brink of the grave, and near an hour elapſed before they diſcovered the body, which being taken out, means were uſed by a profeſſional gentleman to reſtore animation; but every effort proved ineffectual, and the body was borne away lifeleſs, on a ſhutter, amidſt the diſconſolate cries and complaints of a diſtreſſed wife and five children, who were witneſſes of the afflicting ſcene.

Died.—30. At his apartments in the Britiſh Muſeum, the Rev. Samuel Ayſcough, one of the librarians of that noble inſtitution, and late vicar of Endham in Kent, to which living he was preſented by the Crown, on the 7th Dec. 1803, on the deceaſe of the late Rev. John Pratt, as ſome ſmall compenſation for his very uſeful and laborious exertions in the cauſe of literature. He might truly be

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termed a pioneer of learning, for he not only compiled the immenſe catalogue, in 2 vols. folio, of the library of printed books in the Britiſh Muſeum, but alſo a very ſyſtematically arranged catalogue of all the manuſcripts in that inſtitution—beſides an index to Shakſpeare, and indexes to the Monthly Review, the Gentleman's Magazine, the Annual Regiſter, &c. He probably had examined and peruſed more books than any man in Britain, and was always very ready to aſſiſt thoſe who applied to him on literary ſubjects, as he could inſtantly point out the particular author, &c. where any topic of information might be found. He was modeſt and taciturn. His chief amuſement, when out of the library, was walking in the Muſeum gardens. His loſs will be almoſt irreparable at the Britiſh Muſeum, to which inſtitution he had belonged nearly twenty years.

At Leeds, aged 101, Mrs. Grace Barnard, a maiden lady.

At Gainſborough, in her 100th year, Mrs. Sarah Green, widow.

Mr. Thomas Whittingham, of Hillingdon, at the very advanced age of 104. He retained all his faculties to the very laſt hour as well as ever he did at any other period of his life, and could walk a diſtance of two or three miles with perfect eaſe. He was born in the reign of King William, and had a moſt perfect recollection of the perſon of Queen Anne, of whom he often ſpoke. In the rebellion of 1715, he was employed in conveying troops and baggage from Uxbridge to London.

Lately, at the age of 104 years, Mrs. Lovelin, relict of the late William Lovelin.

NOVEMBER.

1ſt. Monſieur, brother to Louis XVIII. accompanied by his ſuite, returned to Yarmouth, from Sweden.

5th. The young gentlemen of Eton College had their annual rejoicings this night, with fireworks, &c. A young nobleman put a lighted ſquib into a ſchoolfellow's coat pocket, which ſet fire to his clothes, and burned his ſide in ſo ſhocking a manner that he died in two days. His relations and friends, who live to lament his loſs, reſide in Suſſex. The young nobleman has been expelled.

8th. The admirable gilt lion's head letter box, which was formerly at Button's coffee-houſe, and in which the valuable original manuſcript copy of the Guardian was received, was yeſterday knocked down at the Shakeſpeare tavern, Covent Garden, to Mr. Richardſon, for 17l. 10s.

12th. The long expected Interview between the Sovereign and the Heir Apparent took place at one o'clock, at Kew Palace. The Queen and Princeſſes were preſent. The meeting of thoſe two perſonages, after a long interval, was marked, we underſtand, by every emotion of kindneſs and conciliation on the one part, and of filial reſpect on the other; and the ſcene is ſaid to have been affecting beyond deſcription. We are fully perſuaded that the circumſtance will afford the higheſt gratification to every loyal and feeling breaſt in the United Kingdom; as the reſult of it will be the perfect re-eſtabliſhment of that habitual intercourſe which is not more eſſential to the

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happineſs of the illuſtrious family itſelf, than to the welfare of the empire at large. After an hour's conference, his Majeſty, accompanied by the Duke of Cumberland, returned to Windſor; and the Prince of Wales, accompanied by the Dukes of Kent and Suſſex, returned to Carleton Houſe. On the return of the Prince to Carleton Houſe, he was met by the Duke of Rutland, the Earl of Moira, Colonel M'Mahon, Mr. Sheridan, &c. who accompanied him to Lord Malmeſbury's, where he dined. Mr. Fox was ſent for expreſs to Woburn, on the occaſion, and had an audience of his Royal Highneſs.

13th. The Duke of York paid a viſit to the Prince of Wales, at Carleton Houſe, where he remained nearly two hours.

The following inſtance of intrepid humanity in a Britiſh Naval Officer at Plymouth, among many other ſimilar occurrences, deſerves to be recorded: Benjamin Nelſon, a ſeaman of the Coloſſus, of 74 guns, lying in Cawſand Bay, had been aſhore on liberty, and coming on board much intoxicated, fell out of the boat alongſide the ſhip. Lieutenant Lothian, walking near the gangway, ſaw the accident, and with great intrepidity, pulled off his coat, and jumped from the ſtarboard main chains into the water: after ſwimming a little time, he caught Nelſon by the hair of his head, but in ſtruggling to bring him to the boat, Nelſon, being a powerful man, ſunk with him.—Lieutenant L. by ſuperior ſwimming, ſoon roſe again, graſping him firm by the hair; Lieutenant Lothian, and Nelſon, were then taken on board the ſhip's cutter; but on getting him to the lower gun deck, although every means were tried to reſtore his life, he had breathed his laſt, more owing, it is imagined, to ſuffocation, from being ſo intoxicated when he fell into the ſea, than from being under the water. Lieutenant Lothian ſoon recovered the fatigue and anxiety ariſing from his exertions. Mr. Whitford, Coroner, held an Inqueſt on the body, and the Jury returned a verdict of *Accidental Death.*

The Earl of Carliſle has preſented to the Dean and Chapter of York, for the embelliſhment of the Minſter, a window of beautiful painted glaſs, purchaſed during the late troubles in France, from the church of St. Nicholas, at Rouen. The ſubject is the viſitation of the Virgin Mary; the figures as large as life, admirably drawn, and always conſidered to have been deſigned either by Sebaſtian de Piombo, or Michael Angelo.

Loſs of the Romney.—This melancholy event took place 19th. at nine o'clock this morning, on the South Haak Sand, five miles weſt of the Texel. The officers and crew quitted her, on rafts and in the boats, and were made priſoners by the boats of the Dutch fleet: the ſhip ſoon after went to pieces. This accident is ſuppoſed to have originated in the Romney miſtaking three American ſhips, wrecked the night before on the Haak Sand, for part of our fleet at anchor; nor was the miſtake diſcovered till the ſhip ſtruck, as the weather was very thick, and blowing hard, with rain.

The Venerable, of 74 guns, ſtruck on a rock in 24th. Torbay, and was loſt. The crew, conſiſting

consisting of 555, were all saved, by the boats of the Impetueux and Goliath, except eight. The Captain and Officers remained on board till the last, with scarcely a hope of saving their lives; and, when the surf was breaking tremendously over them, this scene of courage and magnanimity in danger is thus described by one of the officers on board:—

"In this state, the officers persuaded their good and still undaunted Captain to think of saving his life, and with it their own, as they had resolved one and all to share his fate. After some time he consented, on condition that the officers should go first. This point being concluded, the hope of life, long dismissed from our minds, began to revive, when another difficulty arose, that seemed to throw it further back than ever—which of the officers was to lead the way? the extinction of this new-reviving hope was indeed dreadful, and the pause had nearly been fatal to us all. At length, one of the junior Lieutenants, long known to the crew, and as brave a man as ever trod the quarter-deck, agreed to lead, the rest solemnly promising to follow. One after another, we now descended from over the stern (the only part above water) by single ropes, cold, benumbed, and wet through, and in this condition gained the boats, themselves in perilous attendance underneath. In this manner was it that we left the poor old Venerable; and about six o'clock reached the Impetueux, where, it is needless to say, that we were treated with every attention and kindness that one ship's officers could show to another in distress."

A corporal and a private, belonging to the 81st regiment of foot, being part of the escort which arrived at Exeter with Mr. Russell's waggons on the Wednesday preceding, laden with treasure, were committed, the former to High Gaol, and the latter to the County Bridewell, for breaking open one of the chests on the road, and stealing thereout a quantity of dollars, which they sold. The serjeant of the party, on their return to Plymouth, observing them to be in possession of cash and bank notes, immediately had them apprehended, when one of them made a full confession of the fact. They are committed for trial.

William Chivers, a collier, was killed at the Rock coal work, near Nettlebridge, by a chain of enormous length, and upwards of a ton weight, having broke by the force of the fire engine, and fallen upon him. Almost every bone in his body was broken, just as if he had suffered on the rack. Part of the chain was so entangled round his neck, that it became necessary to cut through the links with chissels. This poor fellow's life had been a series of deplorable accidents. When a youth, his eye was struck out by a stick in a scuffle. His body was disabled seven years ago by a quantity of rubbish falling on him. He narrowly escaped being killed by the falling of a piece of timber three weeks ago. Since then he escaped death by a great piece of coal falling near him.

26th. In the Spanish frigate *La Mercedes*, were embarked a Spanish gentleman, his lady, four daughters, and five sons. He was returning to Old Spain with his family, the daughters remarkably beautiful, with all his large for-

tune, the gradual ſavings of twenty-five years induſtry! A little while before the action commenced, this gentleman, with a ſon (a lad) went on board the Rear Admiral's ſhip; and, in a few minutes, became the ſpectator of his wife, his daughters, and four of his ſons, enrapt in ſulphureous flames, ſinking into the abyſs of waters, with all his treaſure! This victim of calamity arrived at Plymouth, with the unit of his comforts, in Captain Moore's cabin, who adminiſtered all in his power to his alleviation.

29th. A bird of the hawk or eagle kind was ſhot at Stockfield Park, near Wetherby, by Mr. Cummins, Game Keeper to the Counteſs of Aberdeen, in the grounds near the houſe, of ſuch enormous ſize and ſtrength as to receive the ſhot of three diſcharges before it was ſecured, and it then defended itſelf ſo powerfully, as to elude every device Mr. Cummins could exerciſe to ſeize it, till he offered the muzzle of his gun, which he ſeized with ſuch avidity, as to hang in that poſition whilſt he reached the houſe. It is yet alive, and meaſures nine feet four inches from the extremities of the wings; and its beak, talons, &c. diſplay aſtoniſhing ſtrength.

Died.—13th. At Chippenham, Bucks, Jacob Bryant, Eſq. aged 89, deeply regretted by all who knew him. His death was in conſequence of a wound on his ſhin, occaſioned by his foot ſlipping from a chair, which he had ſtepped on to reach a book in his library; thus did he die as he had lived, in ſearch of knowledge. As a ſmall but ſincere tribute to his memory, a friend is induced to give a ſhort ſketch of his character, which an uninterrupted intercourſe with him for the laſt thirty years enables him to do.—Jacob Bryant, a man whoſe whole life had been devoted to the acquirement of learning, and the goal of whoſe labours was a firm ſettlement of conviction in religion. He had by ſtudy amaſſed an erudition which was paralleled by few, and ſurpaſſed by none; his piety grew out of his learning, and was only equalled by it. With the mildneſs of a child he united the firmneſs of a ſtoic; from a mind truly chriſtian, his precepts flowed with milk and honey. Though belonging to the lay part of the community, his efforts in the cauſe of religion were as unceaſing as they were ſatisfactory. His ſtudies were chiefly directed to one object, the developement and eſtabliſhment of univerſal truth; this he knew could only be effected by removing the doubts of the ſceptic, and ſoftening the heart of the infidel. The tenets of his own life were thoſe of a true chriſtian; and though he looked upon Providence rather as an indulgent than an angry father, yet his walk through life ſhewed his conviction of the neceſſity of never forgetting the "one thing needful."—Were it neceſſary to add any thing further of ſo good a man, it might be truly ſaid, that in ſociety he ſtood unrivalled; as a companion he was both communicative and attentive, of unaffected manners and manly chearfulneſs, willing to pleaſe, and eaſy to be pleaſed. Such a man was Jacob Bryant; ſuch a man his friends have loſt, and ſuch a loſs they have to deplore.—Mr. Bryant was of King's College, Cambridge, B. A. 1740, M. A. 1744.

At

At Acton, Middlesex, aged 105, John Thomas, a farrier.

At Gainsborough, aged 107, Elizabeth Bullard, alias Winfrey, widow. She remembered George I. coming to England; could see without spectacles, and died without pain, being literally exhausted and worn out.

At Ilfracombe, Devon, William Soper, carrier; who if he had lived till April next, would have completed his 103d year, being born at Chagford, in April, 1702.

At Gainsborough, Lincolnshire, aged 105, after enjoying an uninterrupted state of good health till within a few months of his death, Mr. Daniel Law.

At Gloves, near Athenry, Ireland, after a short illness, Mr. Denis Coorobee, of Ballindangin, aged 117. He retained his faculties to the last, and until two days previous to his death he never remembered to have any complaint or sickness whatever, tooth-ache only excepted. Three weeks before his death he walked from his house to Galway, and back the same day, which is twenty-six miles. He could, to the last, read the smallest print without the assistance of glasses, which he never accustomed himself to, with as much ease as a boy of sixteen. It has been acknowledged by the most intelligent men of this kingdom, that, for the present age, he was the most experienced farmer, and the brightest genius for the improvement of agriculture; it is upwards of seventy years since he propagated that most useful article to the human species, called the Black Potatoe. He was married seven times, and when married to the last he was ninety-three years old; by them all he had 48 children, 236 grandchildren, 944 great grand children, and 25 great great grand children, the eldest of whom is four years old; and his own youngest son, by the last wife, is about eighteen years old.

At Hemsley, in Yorkshire, Mr. Thomas Martin, aged 130.

At Liverpool, aged 104, Mrs. Fletcher.

DECEMBER.

1st. At Covent Garden Theatre, this evening, the celebrated Master Betty (commonly called the Young Roscius) made his first appearance in the character of Achmet in Barbaroffa; and was enthusiastically received by the publick.

17th. This day, at Woolwich, as some men were filling a 13 inch shell, in ramming the shell, it burst, and wounded seven, three mortally. One of three died an hour afterwards; the other two were not expected to survive.

31st. There has not been known since the memory of man so great a flight of sea birds to our coast as in the present season. The number of ducks, teal, widgeon, and other birds of the same kind, caught this year, is out of all precedent; and, accordingly, they are extremely cheap. The naturalists account for this superabundance by the idea that the birds have flown to our southern shores from the severity with which the winter has set in, in the more northern latitudes; and that it is the sure prognostic of a sharp season.

About eight o'clock this even-

ing, an alarming fire broke out in the ſtable of Meſſrs. Travers and Eſdaile, in Queen-ſtreet, Cheapſide. It was diſcovered by the clerks, who perceived an unuſual quantity of ſmoke iſſuing through the flooring of the warehouſe, immediately over the ſtables, while in the act of ſhutting up and ſecuring the doors. Incalculable miſchief muſt have followed, but for the immediate attendance of the fire engines; and there alſo being an ample ſupply of water, in about four hours the fire was got under. When the ſtable door was opened, four of the mill horſes and a goat were found ſuffocated, lying on the ground, two of the horſes were lying over each other, and the goat acroſs both. It is ſuppoſed to have originated from a candle having been careleſsly left in a lanthorn.

Died.—12th. At his houſe in Cheapſide, aged 86, John Boydell, Eſq. Alderman of Cheap Ward, to which he was elected in 1782; Sheriff, 1785; Lord Mayor, 1790. He attended his duty as Alderman at the Old Bailey Seſſions on the 8th, when it is ſuppoſed he caught cold. On the 10th he found himſelf much indiſpoſed; on the 11th he was pronounced by his phyſician to be in danger; and the next morning expired without a groan. The hiſtory of this worthy Alderman affords an extraordinary inſtance of what a life of ſpirited exertions is able to accompliſh. It appears almoſt impoſſible that an individual, who began the world in humble circumſtances, could have effected ſo much for the improvement of the arts, and of the national taſte. When more than 20, he was put apprentice to a Mr. Tourms, an engraver, at a time when there was no eminent engravers in England. He ſaw the neceſſity of forcing the art of engraving, by ſtimulating men of genius with ſuitable rewards. He himſelf mentioned, that the firſt means which enabled him to encourage other engravers, were the profits he derived from the ſale of a book of 152 prints, engraved by himſelf; and he very modeſtly allowed, that he himſelf had not at that time arrived at any eminence in the art of engraving, and that thoſe prints are now principally valuable from the compariſon of them with the improved ſtate of the art within the laſt 50 years. With the profits of this book, however, he was enabled to pay very liberally the beſt engravers then in the country, and preſented the publick with Engliſh engravings of the works of the beſt maſters. The encouragement he experienced from the publick was equal to the ſpirit and patriotiſm of the undertaking, and ſoon laid the foundation of an ample fortune. The Alderman had the ſatisfaction to ſee in his life time the effects of his labours. Though he never himſelf made great progreſs as an engraver, yet he was the greateſt encourager of the art that this country ever ſaw. The Engliſh engravings, which were before conſidered much inferior to thoſe of foreign nations, began from that time to be highly prized; and the exportation of them became a valuable article of commerce. Having done ſo much for the art of engraving, he reſolved to direct his efforts to encourage the art of painting in this country. To this effect he undertook that ſuperb edition of Shakſpeare,

ſpeare, the originals of which are to be ſeen at the Shakſpeare Gallery. The expence of theſe paintings was prodigious, and more, perhaps, than any individual had ever before embarked for ſuch an object. It was rather ſingular, that he ſhould live juſt long enough to ſee the Shakſpeare lottery diſpoſed of; for, on the day he paid the debt of nature, not a ticket remained unſold. Of his unbounded liberality let the council chamber of the City of London, the court room of the Stationers' Company, and the dining room at the Seſſions Houſe, loudly ſpeak. To every benevolent inſtitution he was a generous benefactor and attentive guardian. Witneſs, particularly, "The Royal Humane Society," and the "Literary Fund for the Relief of diſtreſſed Authors;" to both of which he was for many years a moſt worthy vice-preſident, and a frequent attender at their meetings. Of his private charities, were they to be brought before the publick, the liſt would be abundant. His remains were interred in great funeral ſtate, in the afternoon of the 19th, in the church of Saint Olave Jewry, where an excellent funeral ſermon was preached by the Rev. Robert Hamilton, L. L. D. Vicar of that church, and Rector of Saint Martin, Ironmonger Lane.

At Lazarus Hoſpital, in Hereford, aged upwards of 100, Elizabeth Garrett, who for a long period ſold fruit in that city. She was born in the reign of Queen Anne, and was found, when but a few days old, at the ſouth end of the ſtreet where ſhe kept her apple-ſtall, and from that circumſtance obtained the name of Street. Having, at an early age, engaged the affections of a barber of the name of Garrett, he married her. She walked out till within a few days of her death, and her faculties were unimpaired to the laſt. She was conveyed to her grave by ſix hair dreſſers, to each of whom ſhe has left a razor.

In his 127th year, Mr. Robert Mac Farland, farmer, of Donyghmore, co. Donegal. He could read the ſmalleſt print without ſpectacles, or the uſe of any glaſs, till within a few days of his death.

At Laymore, near Ballymena, aged 119, Mr. William Simpſon, farmer. Four days before his death, he was walking through his farm in his uſual health. He often ſaid, that he was never ſick one hour that he remembered; alſo, that he was only twice drunk in his life. He had the perfect uſe of his underſtanding to his death, and remembered the battle of the Boyne.

At Rochford, aged 104, Joſeph Robinſon, a native of that place. His occupation was that of a huſbandman, and till within the laſt ſeven years, was capable of performing his daily labour. He took great delight in following the hounds, and to a very late period of his life joined in the chace with all the vigour of youth.

BIRTHS for the Year 1804.

Jan. 17. Lady Downe, a ſon.
18. The Lady of the Hon. Edward Harvey Hawke, a ſon.
19. Lady Harriet Lennard, a daughter.

Jan. 19. The Hon. Mrs. Hill, a ſon.
29. Lady Elizabeth Halliday, a daughter.
Feb. 4. At Rome, Lady Cloncurry, a daughter.
Lady Charlotte Duncombe, a ſon.
The Lady of the Right Hon. George Canning, a daughter.
The Hon. Mrs. Balders, ſecond daughter of Lord Enniſmore, a ſon and heir.
6. Lady Frances Spencer, a ſon.
8. The Lady of the Hon. and Rev. Dr. Marſham, a ſon.
Lady Paget, a daughter.
27. Lady Petre, a ſtill-born child.
March 4. At Paris, Lady Elgin, a ſon.
11. The Hon. Mrs. Spencer Perceval, a daughter.
18. At Cork, the Counteſs of Cork and Orrery, a daughter.
21. Lady Grey, a daughter.
24. The Lady of the Hon. and Rev. Pierce Meade, brother of the Earl of Clanwilliam, a daughter.
29. Lady Caroline Wood, a ſon.
At Edinburgh, Lady Louiſa Orde, a ſon.
At the houſe of her father, the late Lord Clarina, the Hon. Mrs. Stack, a ſon and heir.
Lady Caroline Barham, a ſon.
April 1. At Armagh, the Lady of the Hon. and Rev. the Lord Primate, a ſon.
April 10. At Dublin, Lady Redeſdale, a daughter.
11. Lady Aileſbury, a ſon.
Lady Charlotte Drummond, a ſon.
The Lady of the Hon. Capt. Richard King, a ſon.
The Lady of the Hon. Henry Laſcelles, a daughter.
18. Lady Graves, a ſon and heir.
19. The Counteſs of Euſton, a ſon.
21. Lady Rous, a ſon.
The Lady of the Hon. and Rev. William Capel, a ſon.
At Edinburgh, the Hon. Mrs. Captain Hunter, a daughter.
May 1. The Hon. Mrs. Leigh, a daughter.
Hon. Mrs. Maitland, a ſon.
2. Viscounteſs Folkſtone, a daughter
At the Earl of Derby's, Lady Stanley, a daughter.
8. The Hon. Mrs. Smith, a daughter.
9. The Ducheſs of Beaufort, a daughter.
10. Viscounteſs Morpeth, a daughter.
11. The Ducheſs of Bedford, a ſon.
12. Lady Harriet Frampton, a ſon.
13. Lady Kenſington, a daughter.
The Lady of the Hon. and Rev. Mr. Cathcart, a daughter.

May 20. Lady Mulgrave, a daughter.
23. At Edinburgh, the Hon. Mrs. Oliphant Murray, a ſon.
25. The Hon. Mrs. Thomas, a daughter.
30. The Lady of the Hon. John Dutton, a ſon and heir.
Lately in Ely-place, Dublin, the Lady of the Hon. and Rev. the Dean of Ardagh, a daughter.
June 2. Lady Elizabeth Palk, a ſon.
6. The Lady of the Hon. G. Browne, a ſon.
8. The Empreſs of Germany, an Archducheſs.
The Counteſs of Briſtol, a daughter.
15. The Lady of Sir John Kennaway, Bart. a ſon.
16. The Hon. Mrs. Wingfield, Stratford, a daughter, which died ſoon after its birth.
The Lady of the Hon. Major-Gen. Forbes, a ſon.
The Lady of the Hon. Thomas Kenyon, a ſon and heir.
The Hon. Mrs. Stephenſon, a daughter.
22. The Lady of Lord William Beauclerk, a daughter.
July 6. The Lady of the Hon. and Rev. Thomas de Grey, a ſon.
7. The Marchioneſs of Wincheſter, a ſon.
11. Lady Mary Catharine Myers, a daughter.
July 13. Lady Charlotte Baillie, a ſon.
17. Lady Charlotte Welleſley, a ſon.
26. The Hon. Mrs. Gunning, a ſon.
The Hon. Mrs. Nares, a daughter.
Aug. 14. Lady Charlotte, Wingfield, a daughter.
21. Lady Henry Stuart, a ſon.
At Cardroſs, in Scotland, the Hon. Mrs. Erſkine, a ſon.
25. The Lady of Lord Pelham, a ſon.
At Maryfield, near Limerick, the Lady of the Hon. George Maſſy, a daughter.
Lady Emily Welleſley, a ſon.
The Hon. Mrs. Bathurſt, a ſon.
The Lady of the Hon. Lieut. Col. Crieghton, a ſon.
Sept. 1. At Rome, the Lady of the Hon. Edward Plunkett, a ſon.
The Hon. Mrs. Ryder, a ſon.
26. The Lady of the Hon. Edward J. Turnour, a ſon.
27. The Ducheſs of Manchester, a daughter.
28. The Lady of the Earl of Southampton, a ſon and heir.
Oct. 2. Lady Margaret Walpole, a daughter.
5. The Counteſs of Albemarle, a ſon.
8. At Ards, county of Donegal, Lady Mary Stewart, a daughter.

Oct. 11. The Hon. Lady Shaw, a ſon.

At Ochtertyre, in Scotland, Lady Mary Murray, a ſon.

15. At Powerſcourt-houſe, Dublin, the Viſcounteſs Powerſcourt, a daughter.

29. Lady Elizabeth Talbot, wife of the Dean of Exeter, a daughter.

At Brunſwick, Princeſs William of Brunſwick, a prince,

Nov. 3. Lady Mainwaring, a ſon and heir.

Viſcounteſs Andover, a ſon and heir.

15. The Lady of the Hon. John Simpſon, a ſon.

16. The Hon. Mrs. Bentinck, a ſon.

17. Viſcounteſs Brome, a daughter.

20. Viſcounteſs Chetwynd, a ſon.

Lady Bruce, a ſon and heir.

Lately, the hereditary Princeſs of Naples, ſiſter to the Queen of Etruria, a princeſs, who was baptized by the name of Louiſa Caroline, and thirteen others.

Dec. 3. Lady Ogilbie, a ſon and heir.

11. In Dominick-ſt. Dublin, the Lady of the Biſhop of Down, a ſon.

13. The Queen of Pruſſia, a prince.

23. Viſcounteſs Aſhbrook, a ſon.

31. Lady Charlotte Howard, a daughter.

MARRIAGES for the Year 1804.

Jan. 1. At Edinburgh, Lord John Campbell, ſecond ſon of the Duke of Argyle, to Miſs Campbell, daughter of William C. Eſq. of Fairfield.

5. At Dundas Caſtle, Sir William Pulteney, Bart. of Weſterhall, to the widow of And. Stuart, Eſq. of Caſtlemilk and Torraine.

11. At the court chapel at Saint Peterſburgh, the hereditary Prince of Saxe Weimar, to the Grand Ducheſs of Ruſſia, Maria-Paulina, ſiſter to the Emperor.

12. At Berlin, Prince William, brother to the King of Pruſſia, to the Princeſs of Heſſe Homberg.

26. At Naveſtock, county of Eſſex, Nathaniel Micklethwait, Eſq. of Beeſton-hall, Norfolk, to Lady Maria Wilhelmina Waldegrave.

The Rev. Dr. Birch, Dean of Battle, to the third daughter of Charles Gordon, Eſq. of Woodhouſe, county of Aberdeen, and neice to Lord Glenbervie.

March 3. At Caſtlemartyr, in Ireland, John Leſlie, Eſq. of Cork, banker, to Catherine, ſecond daughter of the late John Hyde, Eſq. of Cregg, county of Cork, ſiſter to Viſcounteſs Boyle.

April

April 12. Charles Godfrey, Esq. of the royal artillery, to Miss A. M. Thurlow, third daughter of the late Bishop of Durham, and niece to Lord Thurlow.

20. Hon. Colonel Stuart, son of the Earl of Galloway, to Miss Douglas, daughter to the Hon. John D. and grand daughter of Lord Harewood.

24. Captain Charles Fielding, R. N. nephew to the Earl of Winchelsea, to Lady Elizabeth-Theresa Talbot, relict of the late William Davenport T. Esq. of Lacock Abbey, Wilts, and daughter of the late Henry Earl of Ilchester.

May 5. Bartholemew Jefferey, Esq. of Throgmorton-street, to Miss Molesworth, daughter of the late Richard M. Esq. and niece to Lord Viscount Molesworth.

12. Capt. Barlo Wilcken, of the King's German Legion, to the Baroness Dorette de Buc.

16. The Hon. Lieut.-Col. De Grey, eldest son of Lord Walsingham, to the eldest daughter of Paul Cobb Methuen, Esq. of Corsham-house, Wilts.

25. At the Earl of Westmoreland's, in Berkeley-square, Lord Villiers, son of the Earl of Jersey, to Lady Sarah Fane, eldest daughter of the Earl of Westmoreland.

May 26. At the Earl of Fortescue's, in Grosvenor-square, Lord King, to Lady Hester Fortescue, eldest daughter to the Earl of F.

June 1. By special licence, at Lord Yarborough's, in Arlington-street, William Tenant, Esq. Aston Hall, county of Stafford, to the Hon. Charlotte Pelham, fourth daughter of Lord Yarborough.

4. The Hon. William George Monckton, eldest son of Lord Viscount Galway, to Miss Catherine Elizabeth Handfield, daughter of the late Capt. George Handfield.

19. At Carlsruhe, the hereditary Prince of Hesse-Darmstadt, to the Princess Wilhelmina Louisa of Baden.

20. By special licence, at Lord Westmoreland's house in Berkeley-square, by the Bishop of Cloyne, Lord Boringdon, to Lady Augusta Fane, second daughter of the Earl of Westmoreland.

July 3. Major Mitchell, of the 26th foot, to Lady Harriet Somerset, daughter of the late duke of Beaufort.

4. James Stephens, Esq. to the

the widow of Hugh Boyd, Esq. M. P. for the county of Antrim, niece to Visc. Gosford.

July 9. At Lord Castlereagh's house, in Upper Brook-street, by special licence, Lord Viscount Hinchinbrooke, son of the Earl of Sandwich, to Lady Louisa Corry, niece to Lord Castlereagh.

12. At the house of Lady Perth, in Grosvenor-square, by special licence, the Right Hon. the Earl of Moira, to the Countess of Loudon. The ceremony was performed by the Bishop of London; the Prince of Wales gave the bride's hand; and the nuptials were attended by a brilliant circle of the nobility, their friends. After the ceremony, the noble earl and countess set off for the seat of Lord Keith, at Hampton Court, where, and at Donington, in Leicestershire, the happy couple passed the time which the noble lord could be spared from his duty as commander in chief in Scotland. The countess accompanied him on his return to Edinburgh.

19. By special licence, at the Earl of Tankerville's, in Portman-square, the Rev. William Beresford, to Lady Anna Bennett.

Aug. 8. By special licence, at St George's, Hanover-square, the Hon. Col. Charles Stewart, son of the Earl of Londonderry, to Lady Catherine Bligh, sister to the Earl of Darnley.

21. At Fulham, Middlesex, by special licence, Lord Viscount Ranelagh, to Miss Stephens, daughter of Sir Philip S. Bart.

23. At Grove, in the county of Nottingham, by special licence, the Hon. Charles Herbert Pierrepoint, eldest son of Viscount Newark, and M. P. for the county, to the eldest daughter of A. H. Eyre, also M. P. for that county.

Sept. 5. At Brandenburgh-house, by special licence, the Right Hon. Edward Broome, to the eldest daughter of the Hon. Col. Francis Downman.

6. By special licence, at the Earl's house, in Park-lane, Hylton Joliffe, Esq., M. P. for the borough of Petersfield, to Lady Elizabeth Rose Shirley, daughter of Earl Ferrers.

19. Mr. Ashford, to Miss Arabella Bechinal, sister to the Duchess of Roxburgh.

Oct.

Oct. 1. The Earl of Clonmell, to Lady C. Greville, daughter of the Earl of Warwick.

Nov. 2. By ſpecial licence, the Hon. Charles Bagnal Agar, to Miſs Hunt.

6. The Hon. Herbert Gardner, ſon of Admiral Lord Gardner, to the youngeſt daughter of the late John Cornwall, Eſq.

19. At Dublin, Brigadier-General Payne, to the Hon. Miſs Quin, daughter of Lord Adair.

20. His Excellency Count St. Martin de Front, many years embaſſador from Sardinia to this court, to Lady Fleetwood.

22. At Dalkeith-houſe, in Scotland, Lord Montagu, to the eldeſt daughter of Lord Douglas, of Douglas.

24. The Hon. Berkeley Paget, youngeſt ſon of the Earl of Uxbridge, to Miſs Grimſtone, niece to Lord Viſcount Grimſtone.

At Jerſey, Captain John Le Gros, R. N. to the widow of the late George Lempriere, Eſq. and ſiſter to the Duke de Bouillon.

25. Mr. Courtenay, eldeſt ſon of the late Biſhop of Exeter, to the Hon. Lady Henriette Leſlie, daughter of the Counteſs of Rothes.

Nov. 29. John Sargent, Eſq. to the only daughter of Abel Smith, Eſq. and niece to Lord Carrington.

Dec. 5. At the Viſcounteſs Duncan's, Major Ferguſſon, of the Ayrſhire militia, to the Hon. Henrietta Duncan, daughter of the late Admiral Lord Viſcount Duncan.

22. Capt. Foy, to the Hon. Sophia Courtenay, ſiſter of Lord Viſcount Courtenay.

At Dungannon Park, Tyrone, Ireland, the Hon. Charles Knox, ſon of Lord Viſcount Northland, to Mrs. Fletcher.

PROMOTIONS for the Year 1804.

Whitehall, Jan. 3. Hon. Cropley Aſhley, appointed clerk of the deliveries of the ordnance of the united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, *vice* Hunt.

War-Office, Jan. 7. Brevet. To be brigadier-generals in the army ſerving in the Windward and Leeward Caribbee Iſland ſtation: Col. Crofton Vandeleur, of the 46th foot; Col. William C. Hughes, of the 87th foot. To be major in the army: Captain Henry Samuel Eyre, of the 12th battalion of reſerve. To be aſſiſtant-barrack-maſter-generals, with the rank of major ſo long as their ſervices ſhall continue in the barrack department; Brevet-Major James Murray

ray Grant, on half pay of the 3d foot-guards; Major James Brace, on half pay of Goreham's late Provincial Regiment.—Staff. Lieut. col. Willoughby Gordon, aſſiſtant-quarter-maſter-general in the Southern diſtrict, to be deputy-barrack-maſter-general to the forces, *vice* Major Gen. Hewgill, reſigned. To be inſpecting field-officers of yeomanry and volunteer corps: Col. John Delves Broughton, on half pay of the 106th foot; Lieut. col. Sir R. T. Wilſon, Knt. on half pay of Hompeſch's mounted riflemen; Major —— Aubrey, on half pay (with the rank of lieut. colonel in the army ſo long as he is employed;) Charles Miller, Eſq. late lieutenant-colonel of the 1ſt Weſt India regiment (with ditto;) Thomas Probyn, Eſq. late lieut. col. of the 18th foot (with ditto;) John Storey, late lieutenant-colonel of the 21ſt foot (with ditto)—Hoſpital Staff. Diſtrict ſurgeon, —— Muttlebury, to be ſurgeon to the forces. Surgeon Richard Humphries, from the firſt dragoons, to be ſurgeon of a recruiting diſtrict, *vice* Muttlebury.—Barracks. Cha. Maſſey, late barrack maſter at Maldon, to be a deputy barrack maſter in Great-Britain.

Whitehall, Jan. 10. Right Hon. John Earl of Saint Vincent, Admiral of the White, Lieutenant-general of the Royal marine forces, and K. B. Sir Philip Stephens, and Sir Thomas Troubridge, Barts. James Adams, John Markham, and John Lemon, Eſqrs. and Sir Harry Burrard Neale, Bart. appointed commiſſioners for executing the office of Lord High Admiral of the United Kingdom of Great Britain, &c.

War-Office, Jan. 10. *Hoſpital Staff.* Surgeon Peter Ormſby, from the 2d dragoon-guards, to be ſurgeon to the forces ſerving in Ireland, *vice* Comyns, promoted. Surgeon James O'Connor, from the 17th light dragoons, to be ſurgeon to the ſaid forces, *vice* Biggar, promoted.

Whitehall, Jan. 13. Charles Price, Eſq. of Spring Grove, Richmond, Surry, created a Baronet.—Samuel Lyſons, Eſq. of the Inner Temple, appointed keeper of the rolls and records of the Court of Chancery in the Tower of London, *vice* Aſtle, dec.

Queen's Palace, Jan. 20. Right Hon. Sir Evan Nepean, Bart. ſworn of His Majeſty's Privy Council.

War Office, Jan. 21. *Staff.* Lieut. Col. John James Barlow, of the 61ſt foot, to be deputy inſpector general of the recruiting-ſervice, and ſecond in command at the army depôt in the Iſle of Wight, *vice* Farquhar, dec. Major Henry E. Bunbury, aſſiſtant quarter maſter general, to be an aſſiſtant quarter maſter general with the rank of lieutenal-colonel in the army, *vice* Gordon, appointed deputy barrack maſter general. Capt. Henry Darling, from the 68th foot, to be a permanent aſſiſtant in the quarter maſter general's department, with the rank of lieutenant colonels in the army ſo long only as they ſhall continue to hold thoſe appointments, viz. Col. Walter Cliffe, on half pay of the 9th foot; Col. S. P. de L'Hoſte, on half pay of the late 104th foot; Lieut. Col. James Hare, on half pay of the 28th light dragoons; Major John Cooke, on ditto;

Nat.

Nat. Webb, Esq. late major of the third battalion of reserve; Lieut. Col. George A. Armstrong, on half pay of the late independent companies; Benjamin Williamson, Esq. late lieut. col. of the Caithness Highlanders; Lieut. col. James Robinson, on half pay of the 15th foot; Lieut. col. Erskine Fraser, on half pay of the 109th foot; George Callander, Esq. late lieut. col. of the rifle corps; C. Machell, Esq. late major of the 15th foot; Andrew Corbet, Esq. late lieut. col. of the royal horse guards; W. W. Maxwell, Esq. late lieut. col. of the 32d foot; Major Hugh Maxwell.—*Barracks.* Major Edward B. Frederick, assistant barrack master general, to be principal assistant barrack master general, with the rank of lieut. col. in the army so long as he holds the appointment in the barrack department. George Dennis, Esq. late lieut. col. in the 43d foot, to be an assistant barrack master general, with the rank of major in the army so long as he shall continue in the barrack department.

Downing Street, Jan. 24. Lieut. gen. William Meyers, appointed commander of his Majesty's forces serving in the Windward and Leward Charibbee Island station, *vice* Grinfield, dec.

War Office, Jan. 24. *Barracks.* Robert Cooke, quarter master of the 91st foot, and John D. Forth, late of the 1st Surrey militia, to be barrack masters in Great Britain.

Downing Street, Jan. 25. Major general John Stuart, appointed lieutenant governor of his Majesty's island of Grenada.

War Office, Jan. 28. *Staff.* Hugh Houstown, Esq. late major of the 85th foot, to be an inspecting field officer of yeomanry and volunteer corps, with temporary rank of lieutenant colonel in the army so long as he continues employed.

Whitehall, Jan. 31. Rev. Rob. Holmes, D. D. appointed dean of the cathedral church of Winchester, *vice* Ogle, dec.—Rev. William Howley, M. A. to be a canon of the Cathedral Church of Christ, in the University of Oxford, *vice* Holmes, resigned. — Rev. Hen. Lewis Hobart, M. A. to be prebendary of the Metropolitical Church of Canterbury, *vice* Storer, dec.—Mr. Robert Jameson, appointed Regius Professor of Natural History, and keeper of the museum or repository of natural curiosities in the University of Edinburgh, *vice* Walker, dec.

Whitehall, Feb. 4. Right Hon. Henry Welbore, viscount and baron Clifden, of Gowran, co. Kilkenny, Ireland, and baron Mendip, of Mendip, co. Somerset (son and heir of James late viscount and baron Clifden aforesaid, and grandson of Henry Agar, of Gowran, Esq. by Anne his wife, sister of the late Right Hon. Welbore Baron Mendip, dec.) to assume the surname and bear the arms of *Ellis* only.

War Office, Feb. 7. *Staff.* To be inspecting field officers of yeomanry and volunteer corps: Lieut. col. Thomas Bradford, on half pay of the late Nottingham fencibles; Lieut. col. Hugh Baillie, of the late Surry rangers. To be ditto, with the rank of lieutenant-colonels in the army so long only as they shall continue to be employed: P. J. Taylor, Esq. late lieut. col. of the 26th light dragoons; John Sladden, Esq. late lieut.

lieut. col. of the 86th foot; John Gordon, Esq. late major of the 38th foot.

Queen's Palace, Feb. 8. Right Hon. Nathaniel Bond, in the absence of the Right Hon. Charles Earl of Liverpool, to be president of the Committee of Privy Council appointed for the consideration of all matters relating to trade and foreign plantations.

War Office, Feb. 11. Garrison. Thomas Dodd, Esq. captain in the royal artillery, to be secretary to the governor of the garrison of Gibraltar, *vice* Raleigh, resigned.

Carlton House, March 3. Richard Brinsley Sheridan, Esq. appointed (by the Prince of Wales) receiver-general of the duchy of Cornwall, *vice* Lord Eliot, deceased.

Admiralty Office, April 23. Sir Richard Onslow, Bart. Sir Hyde Parker, Knt. Benjamin Caldwell, Esq. Hon. William Cornwallis, Admirals of the Blue, to be Admirals of the White. — Thomas Mackenzie, Esq. Sir Roger Curtis, Bart. Sir Henry Harvey, K. B. Robert Man, Esq. Christopher Holmes Everitt Calmady, Esq. John Bourmaster, Esq. Sir George Young, Knt. John Henry, Esq. Richard Rodney Bligh, Esq. Alexander Græme, Esq. G. Keppel, Esq. Vice Admirals of the Red, to be Admirals of the Blue.—Isaac Prescott, Esq. John Bazely, Esq. Thomas Spry, Esq. Sir John Orde, Bart. William Young, Esq. James Gambier, Esq. Sir Andrew Mitchell, K. B. Charles Chamberlayne, Esq. Peter Rainier, Esq. Vice Admirals of the White; and Christopher Parker, Esq. Philip Patton, Esq. Sir Charles Morice Pole, Bart. Vice Admirals of the Blue, to be Vice Admirals of the Red. — John Brown, Esq. John Leigh Douglas, Esq. William Swiney, Esq. Charles Edmund Nugent, Esq. Charles Powel Hamilton, Esq. Edmund Dod, Esq. Right Hon. Horatio Viscount Nelson, K. B. Sir Charles Cotton, Bart. Vice Admirals of the Blue; and John Thomas, Esq. James Brine, Esq. John Pakenham, Esq. Sir Erasmus Gower, Knt. John Holloway, Esq. Rear Admirals of the Red, to be Vice Admirals of the White.—George Wilson, Esq. Sir Charles Henry Knowles, Bart. Hon. Thomas Pakenham, Robert Deans, Esq. Cuthbert Collingwood, Esq. James Hawkins Whitshed, Esq. Arthur Kempe, Esq. Smith Child, Esq. Right Hon. Lord Charles Lecale, Thomas Taylor, Esq. Sir John Thomas Duckworth, K. B. Sir Robert Calder, Bart. Rear Admirals of the Red, to be Vice Admirals of the Blue.—James Richard Dacres, Esq. Hon. George Cranfield Berkeley, Thomas West, Esq. James Douglas, Esq. Peter Aplin, Esq. Henry Savage, Esq. Bartholomew Samuel Rowley, Esq. Sir Richard Bickerton, Bart. George Bowen, Esq. Robert Montagu, Esq. John Ferguson, Esq. Edward Edwards, Esq. Sir John Borlase Warren, Bart. and K. B. Edward Tyrrel Smith, Esq. Sir Thomas Graves, K. B. Thomas Macnamara Russel, Esq. Sylverius Moriarty, Esq. Sir Henry Trollope, Knt. Rear Admirals of the White; and Hon. Henry Edwin Stanhope, and Robert Mac Douall, Esq. Rear Admirals of the Blue, to be Rear Admirals of the Red.—Billy Douglas, Esq. John Wickey, Esq. John Inglis, Esq. John Fish, Esq. John Knight, Esq. Edward Thornbrough,

brough, Esq. James Kempthorne, Esq. Sampton Edwards, Esq. Geo. Campbell, Esq. Henry Cromwell, Esq. Arthur Phillip, Esq. Sir William George Fairfax, Knt. Sir James Saumarez, Bart. and K. B. Rear Admirals of the Blue, to be Rear Admirals of the White.—Captain Thomas Drury, Esq. Albermarle Bertie, Esq. Right Hon. William Earl of Northesk, James Vashon, Esq. Sir William Henry Douglas, Bart. Thomas Wells, Esq. Sir Edward Pellew, Bart. Isaac Coffin, Esq. to be Rear Admirals of the White.—Captains John Aylmer, Esq. Samuel Osborn, Esq. Richard Boger, Esq. Jonathan Faulkner, Esq. John Child Purvis, Esq. Theophilus Jones, Esq. Wm. Domett, Esq. William Wolesley, Esq. John Manley, Esq. George Murray, Esq. Hon. Alexander Forrester Cochrane, Sir Thomas Troubridge, Bart. K. F. John Markham, Esq. Henry D'Esterre Darby, Esq. Edward Bowater, Esq. Sir Thomas Louis, K. F. and K. M. T. to be Rear Admirals of the Blue.—George Martin, Esq. Sir Richard John Strachan, Bart. and Sir William Sidney Smith, Knt. appointed colonels of his Majesty's marine forces, *vice* Sir Edward Pellew, Bart. William Domett, Esq. and Sir Thomas Troubridge, Bart. appointed flag officers of his Majesty's fleet.

Whitehall, May 3. Charles Cameron, Esq. appointed captain-general and governor in chief of the Bahama Islands, took the oaths appointed to be taken by the governors of his Majesty's plantations.

Queen's-Palace, May 8. Right Hon. Sir James Mansfield, Knt. appointed lord chief justice of his Majesty's court of common pleas, *vice* Lord Alvanley, deceased, sworn of his Majesty's most honourable privy council.

Whitehall, May 12. Right Hon. William Pitt, appointed chancellor and under-treasurer of his Majesty's exchequer.—Right Hon. Edward Baron Clive, created Baron Powis, of Powis-castle, co. Montgomery, Baron Herbert, of Chirbury, co. Salop, Viscount Clive of Ludlow, co. Salop, and Earl of Powis, co. Montgomery.—William Honyman, of Armadale and Greenway, co. Orkney and Linlithgow, Esq. Alexander Penrose Cumming Gordon, of Altyr and Gordonston, co. Elgin, Esq. Richard Joseph Sullivan, of Thames Ditton, co. Surrey, Esq. Henry Mainwaring Mainwaring, of Over Peover, co. Chester, Esq. William Middleton, of Crowfield-hall, co. Suffolk, Esq. David Maxwell, of Cantoness, co. Dumfries, Esq. Drummond Smith, of Tring-park, co. Herts. with remainder to Charles Smith, of Suttons, co. Essex, Esq. William Feltes, of Whamprey, co. Dumfries, Esq. John Benn Walsh, of Ormathwaite, co. Cumberland, and of Warfield, co. Berks, Esq. and John Lethbridge, of Westaway-house, and Winkley-court, co. Devon, and of Sandhill-park, co. Somerset, Esq. created Baronets.

Queen's-Palace, May 14. Right Hon. George Earl of Winchelsea and Nottingham, groom of the stole to his Majesty, and the Right Hon. George Thynne, commonly called Lord George Thynne, comptroller of his Majesty's household, sworn of his Majesty's most honourable privy council.—Right Hon. Dudley Lord Harrowby, and the

the Right Hon. John Jeffries Earl Camden, ſworn two of his Majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate.

Whitehall, May 15. Right Hon. William Pitt, George Percy, Eſq. commonly called Lord Louvaine, James Edward Harris, Eſq. commonly called Viſcount Fitz-Harris, the Right Hon. Charles Long, and the Hon. Henry Welleſley, appointed commiſſioners for executing the office of Treaſurer of his Majeſty's Exchequer.—Right Hon. Henry Viſcount Melville, Sir Philip Stephens, Bart. James Gambier, Eſq. Vice Admiral of the Red, Sir Harry Neale, Bart. Sir John Colpoys, K. B. and Admiral of the Blue, Philip Patton, Eſq. Vice Admiral of the Red, and William Dickenſon, jun. Eſq. appointed commiſſioners for executing the office of high admiral of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

Lord Chamberlain's Office, May 15. Dr. Samuel Foart Simmons, ſworn and admitted phyſician extraordinary to the King.

Whitehall, May 19. Iſaac Coffin, of the Magdelaine Iſlands, in the Gulph of Saint Lawrance, Britiſh North America, Eſq. Rear Admiral of the White, created a baronet.—Right Hon. Wm. Dundas, appointed his Majeſty's ſecretary at war.

Downing-ſtreet, May 19. Joſeph Frederick Wallett Des Banes, Eſq. appointed lieutenant-governor of the iſland of Prince Edward, in America.

Whitehall, May 26. Right Hon. Robert Stewart, commonly called Viſcount Caſtlereagh; His Grace William Henry Cavendiſh, Duke of Portland, K. G. preſident of his Majeſty's council; the Right Hon. Robert Banks, Baron Hawkeſbury; the Right Hon. John Jeffries Earl Camden, K. G.; the Right Hon. Dudley Baron Harrowby, his Majeſty's three principal ſecretaries of ſtate; the Right Hon. William Pitt, chancellor of his Majeſty's exchequer; the Right Hon. Sylveſter Baron Glenbervie (of that part of the United Kingdom called Ireland): The Right Hon. Thomas Wallace; and Richard French, Eſq. commonly called Viſcount Dunlo; appointed his Majeſty's commiſſioners for the management of the affairs of India.—Right Hon. George Canning, appointed Treaſurer of his Majeſty's navy.—Right Hon. Arthur Paget, his Majeſty's envoy extraordinary and miniſter plenipotentiary at the court of Vienna, appointed one of the knight companions of the moſt honourable order of the Bath.

Dublin-Caſtle, May 29. Right Rev. Dr. Nathaniel Alexander, biſhop of Clonfert and Killaloe and Kilfenora, *vice* Right Rev. Dr. Charles Lindſay, tranſlated to the biſhoprick of Kildare.

Downing-ſtreet, June 5. Charles Arbuthnot, Eſq. appointed his Majeſty's ambaſſador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the Sublime Ottoman Porte; Benjamin Garlike, Eſq. envoy extraordinary and miniſter plenipotentiary to the court of Copenhagen; Charles Stuart, Eſq. ſecretary of embaſſy to the court of Saint Peterſburg; Edward Thornton, Eſq. ſecretary of legation to the court of Berlin; Auguſtus Forſter, Eſq. ſecretary of legation to the United States of America; and Frederick Limdeman, Eſq. conſul at Embden.

Queen's Palace, June 6. Right Hon. Henry Lord Mulgrave, ſworn of

of his Majeſty's moſt honourable privy council.—Right Hon. George Earl of Dartmouth, appointed (on the 14th of May) lord chamberlain of his Majeſty's houſehold, took the uſual oaths thereupon this day; as, did the Right Hon. George Earl of Winchelſea and Nottingham, on being appointed (May 10) groom of the ſtole to his Majeſty.—Right Hon. Henry Lord Mulgrave, ſworn chancellor of the duchy and county palatine of Lancaſter.—His Grace James Duke of Montroſe, and, in his abſence, the Right Hon. George Roſe, appointed (this day) preſident of the committee of council appointed for the conſideration of all matters relating to trade and foreign plantations.—Right Hon. Edward Earl of Powis, appointed lord lieutenant of the counties of Salop and Montgomery, took the uſual oaths thereupon; as did the Right Hon. George Talbot, Lord Dynevor, on being appointed lord lieutenant of the county of Carmarthen.

Whitehall, June 23. David Rae, of Eſkgrove, co. Mid-Lothian, Eſq.; Col. Sir William Clarke, of Croſſes Green Houſe, in the city of Cork; Henry Harvey Aſton Bruce, of Downhill, co. Londonderry, clerk; John Lees, of Blackrock, co. Dublin, Eſq.; Samuel O'Malley, of Roſe-hill, co. Mayo, Eſq.; and William Myers, Eſq.; commander of his Majeſty's forces in the Leeward Iſlands; created baronets of the United Kingdom, with remainder to their lawful heirs male.

Queen's Palace, June 27. Right Hon. William Drummond, and Right Hon. Charles Arbuthnot, ſworn of his Majeſty's moſt honourable privy council.

Dublin Caſtle, July . . . Rev. Dr. Chriſtopher Betſon, dean of Waterford, promoted to the united biſhopricks of Clonfert and Kilmacduagh, *vice* Right Rev. Dr. Nathaniel Alexander, tranſlated to the biſhoprick of Killaloe and Kilfenora.

Queen's Palace, July 11th. Right Hon. John Thynne, commonly called Lord John Thynne, vice-chamberlain of his Majeſty's houſehold, ſworn of his Majeſty's moſt honourable privy council.

Whitehall, July 11. Right Hon. George Roſe, and Right Hon. Lord Charles Henry Somerſet, appointed paymaſter-general of his Majeſty's forces.

Whitehall, July 13. James Duke of Montroſe, and Lord Charles Spencer, appointed poſtmaſter-general.

Downing-ſtreet, July 13. Hon. Cecil Jenkinſon, appointed his Majeſty's ſecretary of legation to the court of Vienna.

Queen's Palace, July 19. Right Hon. Granville Leveſon Gower, commonly called Lord Granville Leveſon Gower, ſworn of his Majeſty's moſt honourable privy council.

Downing-ſtreet, July 19. Right Hon. Granville Leveſon Gower, appointed embaſſador-extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the court of St. Peterſburg.

Whitehall, July 21. Francis Seymour, Marquis of Hertford, appointed maſter of the horſe to his Majeſty.

Whitehall, July 28. Charles Biſhop, Eſq. appointed his Majeſty's procurator in all cauſes and matters maritime, foreign, civil, and eccleſiaſtical, *vice* Heſeltine, deceaſed.

Aug. 1. Right Hon. John Forſter; Right Hon. Sir Evan Nepean, Bart. chief ſecretary to the lord lieutenant of Ireland, or the chief ſecretary to the lord lieutenant for the time being, or, in the abſence of the chief ſecretary, the under ſecretary for the time being for the civil department of the ſaid chief ſecretary's office, the Right Hon. Lodge Lord Frankfort, the Right Hon. John Loftus Loftus, commonly called Lord Viſcount Loftus, and the Right Hon. Maurice Fitzgerald, appointed commiſſioners for executing the office of treaſurer of his Majeſty's exchequer in Ireland.

The Right Hon. John Forſter, appointed chancellor of the court of exchequer in Ireland.

Sept. 1. Gerard Lake, Eſq. general and commander of his Majeſty's forces in the Eaſt Indies, created Baron Lake, of Delhi and Laſwary, and of Aſton Clinton, co. Buckingham.—Major-general the Hon. Arthur Welleſley, created a knight of the Bath.

21. John Leard, Eſq. appointed conſul at Raguſa.

29. His Royal Highneſs the Duke of Suſſex, ſworn of his Majeſty's moſt honourable privy council.

Oct. 2. Robert Peat, D. D. rector of Aſhley cum Silverley, and vicar of Kirtling, co. Cambridge, permitted to accept and wear, in his own country, the enſigns of the order of St. Staniſlaus, conferred upon him Nov. 21, 1790 (by his then deſcription of Robert Peat, Eſq.) by Staniſlaus Auguſtus, late king of Poland.

13. Sir Robert Ainſlie, of Great Torrington, co. Lincoln, Knt. late his Majeſty's ambaſſador at the Ottoman Porte, created a baronet of the united kingdom, with remainder to Robert Sharp Ainſlie, of Market Stainton, in the ſaid county of Lincoln, Eſq. nephew of the ſaid Sir Robert Ainſlie, and ſon of General George Ainſlie, deceaſed.—William Burroughs, Eſq. late advocate-general of Bengal, created a baronet of the united kingdom.

Whitehall, Nov. 6. Gen. Sir Thomas Trigge, K. B. appointed lieutenant-general of the Ordnance of the United Kingdom, *vice* Gen. Viſcount Howe.—Lieut. col. James Murray Hadden, appointed ſurveyor-general of the ordnance, *vice* Lieut. Gen. Alexander Roſs.

Whitehall, Nov. 20. Charles Hope, Eſq. late his Majeſty's advocate of Scotland, appointed his Majeſty's juſtice clerk in Scotland, *vice* Sir David Rae, deceaſed.—Sir James Montgomery, Bart. of Stanhope, advocate and preſenter of ſignatures, appointed his Majeſty's advocate in Scotland, *vice* Hope.

Dublin Caſtle, Nov. 26. Right Rev. Dr. Nathaniel Alexander, biſhop of Killaloe and Kilfenora, tranſlated to the united biſhopricks of Down and Connor, *vice* Dr. William Dixon, deceaſed.—Rev. Robert Tottenham (commonly called Lord Robert Tottenham), promoted to the biſhoprick of Killaloe and Kilfenora, *vice* Alexander.

War Office, Dec. 1. Lieut. gen. the Hon. Henry Fox, having already the local rank of general in the Mediterranean, to be general in the garriſon of Gibraltar alſo.

Whitehall, Dec. 29. Sir Rich. Bickerton, Bart. Rear Admiral of the Red, permitted (by his Majeſty) to accept and wear the inſignia

ſignia of the Ottoman Imperial order of the Creſcent (of the ſuperior decree) tranſmitted him by the Grand Signior; and to add the ſame to his family arms.

Whitehall, Dec. 31. Major General George Beckwith, appointed Captain General and Governor in Chief of the iſlands of St. Vincent, Bequia, and ſuch other iſlands commonly called the Grenadines as lie to the Northward of Cariacou, in America.

DEATHS for the Year 1804.

Jan. 7. At the Palace at Wells, in his 75th year, the Rev. John Gooch, D. D. prebendary of Ely, and Rector of Ditton and Willingham, in Cambridgeſhire, ſon to Dr. T. G. formerly Biſhop of Ely.

8. At her houſe in Clarges ſtreet, Berkeley ſquare, in her 74th year, lady Ann Capel, ſiſter to the late and aunt to the preſent earl of Eſſex.

10. At Whitehall, the hon. Miſs F. Pelham, laſt ſurviving daughter of the Right hon. Henry Pelham, brother of the old duke of Newcaſtle, and ſiſter to the late Lady Sondes.

11. At the Hotwells, Briſtol, Charlotte Viſcounteſs Bolingbroke.

12. In Saville row, after an illneſs of many months; aged 70, her Grace Mary-Anne Ducheſs of Ancaſter, youngeſt daughter of the late Major Layard, and aunt to the late dean of Briſtol, who died laſt year. She had by the Duke one daughter, born 1771, married to Lord Milſington, and died about 1800.

17. In Duke-ſtreet, Groſvenor-ſquare, after a few hours illneſs, of an obſtruction occaſioned by indigeſtion, in conſequence of coming to town in wet clothes, Charlotte Counteſs dowager of Talbot, born March 15, 1754, youngeſt daughter of Wills, firſt marquis of Downſhire, by the Lady Margaretta Fitzgerald, ſiſter of the late, and aunt of the preſent duke of Leinſter. Her ladyſhip was ſiſter to the late Marquis of Downſhire, and the Marchioneſs of Saliſbury; and has left the preſent Earl Talbot, and his brother, the hon. Mr. Talbot, her only children.

18. At Newport, in the iſle of Wight, in his 73d year, the Right hon. Leonard Lord Holmes, Baron Holmes, of Kilmallock, in the county of Limerick.

20. Suddenly, at Tenby, the hon. Mrs. Acland, relict of the late Rev. Thomas Acland, of Broad Cliff Devon, and ſiſter to the preſent Viſcount Hereford.

22. At Holy-rood-houſe, in Edinburgh, James Hamilton, eſq. eldeſt ſon of the late Lord A. H and firſt couſin to the preſent Duke of Hamilton and Brandon.

26. At Paris, the Chevalier D'Azzara, late Spaniſh ambaſſador at Rome, and afterwards at Paris.

27. At Piſa, Lady Mary Eyre, relict of Thomas Eyre, eſq. of Haſſop, in Derbyſhire, and ſiſter to the late Henry Earl Faucönberg.

Lately, at Munich, in Bavaria, Count Haſlang, late embaſſador at the court of London.

Feb. 1ſt. At his ſeat in Cornwall, in his 74th year, Edward Craggs, Lord Eliot, of Saint Germain's, ſo created Jan. 30, 1784. His lordſhip in 1789, by the king's permiſſion, took the name and arms of Craggs. He married, 1756, Catherine, ſole

daughter and heireſs of Edward Eliſon, eſq. by whom he had four ſons; two of whom dying young, he is ſucceeded by the third, the hon. John Eliot, M. P. (with his brother, the hon. William E.) for the borough of Liſkeard, co. Cornwall. His lordſhip was receiver general (for the Prince of Wales) of the duchy of Cornwall, in which he is ſucceeded by R. B. Sheridan, eſq.

9. At her houſe in Somerſet-ſtreet, aged 76, the hon. Mrs. Rothe, widow of the late Count de Rothe, lieutenant general and colonel, proprietor of the Iriſh regiment of his name in the ſervice of his Moſt Chriſtian Majeſty. She was the only daughter of Lucius Cary, fifth Lord Viſcount Faulkland, by his ſecond wife, Laura Dillon, ſiſter to Henry, eleventh Viſcount Dillon, and to the preſent Archbiſhop of Narbonne.

15. At Weſt Woodhay-houſe, co. Berks, lady Sloper, relict of Sir Robert Sloper, K. B. and youngeſt daughter of the late Lord Chief Juſtice Willes.

At Brighton, aged about 50, in conſequence of her muſlin-dreſs catching fire in her bed-chamber, Lady Warren, widow of the late Sir George Warren, ſiſter to the Counteſs of Liverpool, aunt to the Ducheſs of Dorſet, and ſiſter by marriage, to Lord Viſcount Bulkley. It appears that, had her Ladyſhip given timely alarm her life might have been preſerved; but ſo little apprehenſive was ſhe of danger, from the accident of her apron catching fire, that ſhe did not conceive it neceſſary even to ring the bell. The butler was firſt alarmed by her ſcreams, and on his entering the room, finding her Ladyſhip all in flames from head to foot, he caught her by the arm and attempted to wind the curtains around her, but, being made of linen, they immediatelycaught fire, and one whole ſide of the room was quickly in a blaze. The ſervant at laſt ſucceeded in extinguiſhing the flames, by rolling her Ladyſhip in the carpet; but before this was accompliſhed, her arms, neck, and boſom were burnt in a dreadful manner. The man's right arm and both his hands were likewiſe much burnt; and both his eyebrows were ſcorched, Lord and Lady Bulkeley reached Brighton in ſufficient time to attend the laſt moments of their lamented relative. When formerly a maid of honour, her name was Miſs Biſhop. Lady Warren was a very amiable woman; and her huſband, Sir George, had only been dead about two years. Though poſſeſſed of an income of 11,000l. a-year, he left her with a jointure which fell ſhort of 1000l. a year. —The liberality and opulence of her family enabled her, however, to maintain her priſtine ſplendour. It is ſingular that the deceaſed lady and her huſband exhibited allegations againſt each other in Doctors' Commons, but afterward renewed their conjugal endearments, and lived together till the death of the latter. Her ladyſhip was buried at Fareham, Hants, which has been the burial place of the Biſhop family for many years.

21. At Kirchberg, in Germany, after a very ſhort illneſs, both at the ſame time, Frederick Everard, the reigning Prince of Hohenlohe, and the Princeſs his conſort, born a Counteſs of Caſtel-Remling; the former had reached his 67th, and the latter her 69th year.

24. In

24. In Grosvenor Place, Anne, Countesof Upper Ossory, daughter of the late Lord Ravensworth, by Anne, only daughter of Sir Peter Delme, Lord Mayor of London. This lady was married on the 29th of January, 1756, to the present Duke of Grafton, by whom she had issue, Lady Georgiana, born in May, 1757, married in June, 1778, to John Smyth, of Heath, esq. Yorkshire, and who died in the month of January, 1799, leaving issue, George Henry, Earl of Euston, born May 8, 1757; married, June 16, 1784, to Charlotte Maria, daughter of the second Earl of Waldegrave, by the present Duchess of Gloucester, and by her has issue, four sons and four daughters, viz. Ipswich, Charles, William, and Hugh George; Maria, Laura, Elizabeth, and Isabella; a son born in 1798, died in a few days; Charles, born in July, 1764, married Miss Mundy, who died in August, 1797, leaving one son, Charles Augustus. His Lordship afterward married Lady Frances Stewart, daughter of the Earl of Londonderry. In the month of March, 1769, the Duchess of Grafton was divorced from the Duke, by act of parliament, and in the same month she married the Earl of Upper Ossory, by whom she had two daughters, Lady Anne, born February 24, 1770, and Lady Gertrude.

At Kilmurry, near Thomastown, Ireland, aged 98, the Countess-Dowager of Carrick, sister to the Earl of Shannon, and mother to the present Earl of Carrick.

26. At his house, at Hyde Park, wife of Drummond Smith, esq. Her death is attributed to immoderate grief for the death of her sister, which brought on a violent fever. Lady Cunliff is inconsolable for the recent loss of her two daughters.

At Elberfield, in Germany, in her 25th year, and far advanced in pregnancy, lady Sykes, wife of Sir Francis William Sykes, bart. of Basildon-park, Berks, niece to the Duchess of Chandos, grand-daughter to the late, and niece to the present Lord Henniker. Through her amiable disposition, and motherly care of an infant-son afflicted with the scarlet fever, her ladyship fell a victim.

March 1. At Dresden, in her 34th year, the Princess Maximilian of Saxony, born Princess of Parma.

6. At Brussels, aged 69, Marquis Goswin de Fierlant, councillor of State to the Emperor, formerly president of the privy council in Brabant, and knight of the Imperial order of St. Stephen.

9. Dr. George Lewis Jones, bishop of Kildare, and dean of Christ Church, Dublin, in his 84th year. He was of King's College, Cambridge, B. A. 1746, M. A. 1750, D. D. 1772. He published a poem called "Alpha and Omega;" to which was added the third chapter of Habakkuk; "Reflections on the Sea side, &c." 4to. In 1748 he had the living of Wingfield, in Wiltshire; in 1770, the vicarage of Kenninghall, in Norfolk. In 1774, he was promoted to the see of Kilmore; from whence in 1790, he was translated to Kildare.

10. Thomas Pitt, Lord Camelford, in consequence of a duel on the 7th. (See the Chronicle. p. 14.)

At Brighton, in his fifteenth year, the hon. Henry Pomeroy,

only ſon of Lord Viſcount Harberton.

19. At his houſe in St. James's Square, in his 64th year, John Duke of Roxburgh, Marquis of Beaumont and Ceſford, Earl of Roxburgh and Kelſo, Viſcount Broxmouth, Baron Kerr of Roxburgh, Ceſford, and Caverton, in Scotland, and alſo Baron and Earl Kerr of Wakefield, co. York, principal groom of the ſtole to the King, head Lord of his Majeſty's bed-chamber, K. T. and lord lieutenant of the County of Roxburgh. His grace was born in April, 1740, and ſucceeded to his titles and eſtates on the death of his father, Auguſt 20, 1755. He is ſucceeded in the dukedom of Roxburgh, the earldoms of Roxburgh and Kelſo, the Viſcounty of Broxmouth, barony of Kerr, &c. by Lord Bellenden, who is married to a daughter of Mr. Bicheno, of Windſor, and niece of Sir John Smith of Dorſetſhire, but has no iſſue. His Grace has left two maiden ſiſters, who were a diſtinguiſhed part of the beautiful groupe of bridemaids that attended the nuptial ceremonies of their preſent Majeſties. When a young man, he was as remarkable for his perſonal figure as for his mental accompliſhments: While on his travels he is ſaid to have formed an attachment with the elder ſiſter of her preſent Majeſty.

At his houſe in Great George-ſtreet, Weſtminſter, after a very ſhort illneſs, the Right hon. Richard Pepper Arden, Lord Alvanley, Chief Juſtice of the Court of Common Pleas. His Lordſhip was a younger ſon of an ancient family, which poſſeſſes large eſtates in Yorkſhire and Cheſhire. He received his early education at a Free-School in Yorkſhire. He was ſent thence to continue his ſtudies at Trinity College, Cambridge. At that univerſity, or at leaſt in conſequence of ſtudying there, he obtained the private and convivial friendſhip of the Right Hon. William Pitt. He came early to the Temple, and after the uſual courſe of juridical ſtudy, was called to the bar. His diligence, and the livelineſs of his genius, ſoon recommended him to practice in the Court of Chancery. His ſociety was, at the ſame time, the delight of his private friends. He had fixed his reſidence in Lincoln's Inn, after finiſhing his ſtudies in the Middle Temple; and it is ſaid that he there lived on the ſame ſtaircaſe with the late Prime miniſter, and that they uſed there to aſſociate very much together.—He had not been many years at the bar, when he contracted a ſuitable marriage with the daughter of Richard Wilbraham Bootle, eſq. of Cheſhire, an opulent member of parliament. The influence of his own and his Lady's family, brought him early into the Houſe of Commons. He naturally attached himſelf to his friend Mr. Pitt, upon the great criſis in adminiſtration after the American war: and he is ſaid to have then had influence to bring an addition of ſix votes in the Houſe to the ſide upon which he choſe to range himſelf. His practice at the bar had, in the mean time ſo increaſed, as to give him, though no favourite of Lord Thurlow in the Court of Chancery, very conſiderable reſpectability in the public eſtimation as a Lawyer. By the zealous friendſhip of Mr. Pitt, he was promoted to the appointment of Maſter of the Rolls, upon the late Lord Kenyon's elevation to preſide

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in the Court of King's Bench. He filled that important office with great credit to himself and much satisfaction to the public, till the æra of Mr. Pitt's resignation. Among the changes that then ensued, he was advanced to the office of Chief Justice in the court of Common Pleas. He was, at the same time, honoured with a peerage, by the title of Baron Alvanley, of Alvanley, in the county-palatine of Chester. In the court of Common Pleas, his arguments and judgments have been such, as not a little to exalt the general esteem for his talents and learning as a lawyer. The Court has been in his time filled with suitors and with business; and his sentences, even in the most difficult cases, have given universal satisfaction. In the House of Commons he was distinguished for speaking with spirit, wit, and intelligence, rather than with commanding dignity. To his exertions as a speaker in the house of Peers, even dignity of manner has not been wanting. He has filled several eminent situations; and in all these, has been found more than equal to his place and to the expectations of the public. His conduct in private life has been uniformly upright and amiable. His death is lamented as a loss to his country. He is succeeded in the peerage of Alvanley by his eldest son.

27. At Brompton-grove, Maria Louisa, Francoise D'Esparres La Lusan, Comtesse De Polastron. Her remains were deposited in a vault in St. Pancras church-yard, with great funeral pomp; the body being first embalmed and enclosed in a lead coffin, the outside of which was a case ornamented with great taste and splendour. The funeral procession moved along in the following order; Two mutes; four priests in their robes; two men bearing an urn, in which the heart of the deceased was inclosed; the body, with the pall supported by friends of the deceased; and eighteen mourners. Among the latter were several relations of the deceased, who were of the house of Bourbon, and the dame du palais to the late unfortunate Queen of France. The above funeral, was however, merely of a temporary nature, as the remains of the Countess are to be removed to Paris after the war, to be interred in the vaults of her ancestors.

28. At Montreal, the hon. William Pitt Amherst, second son of Lord A.

At Bath, Charles Dormer, Lord Dormer, of Wenge, and a baronet. He was born 1723.

April 9. Lord Viscount Bury, eldest son of the Earl of Albemarle.

12. At Dupplin Castle in Perthshire, after a lingering illness, Robert Auriol Drummond Hay, eighth earl of Kinnoull, viscount Dupplin and baron Hay. He succeeded his father, in 1758, having been M. P. for the university of Cambridge in the parliament of 1741, 1747, and 1754, in the two last of which he was chairman of the committee of privileges and elections. In 1741 he was appointed one of the commissioners of the revenue in Ireland; in 1746, one of the commissioners of trade and plantations; in 1754 one of the commissioners of the treasury, and joint pay-master of the forces with the Earl of Darlington; in 1757, first lord of trade; and in 1758, Chancellor of the Duchy and county Palatine of Lancaster, and one of his Majesty's most honourable

Privy Council; in 1759, embaſſador to the King of Portugal, at whoſe court he reſided only a few months, and returned to England the following year. In 1741 he married Conſtantia, daughter of John Kerle-Emby, eſq. of Whetham, co. Wilts, who died 1753, without any ſurviving iſſue. He was the eldeſt ſon of George, ſeventh earl of Kinnoull, created by Queen Anne, 1712 a baron of Great Britain, by the title of Lord Hay, baron Hay of Pedwardin, co. Hereford, who, by Abigail, daughter of Robert earl of Oxford, lord treaſurer, had three other ſons; Robert Archbiſhop of York, died 1776; John, rector of Epworth, co. Lincoln, deceaſed; and Edward, conſul at Cadiz and Portugal, and embaſſador plenipotentiary.

12. At Malta, Lady Georgiana Stewart, daughter of the Earl of Galloway.

13. Found burnt to death, at four o'clock in the morning, Lady Glanville, of Mancheſter ſtreet, widow of Sir John G. The chair on which ſhe had been ſitting was partly conſumed; but the fire had not communicated to any other part of the room. It is ſuppoſed ſhe ſat down in the chair for the purpoſe of reading, and ſleep overpowering her, the candle had ſet fire to her clothes.

14. In her 21ſt year, Lady Harriet Fitzroy, ſeventh daughter of the Duke and Ducheſs of Grafton.

19. In Hinde ſtreet, Mancheſter ſquare, Eleanor viſcounteſs of Wenman, relict of the late Philip Wenman, who died at Bath in 1800, to whom ſhe was married July 7, 1766, fifth daughter of Earl Willoughby earl of Abingdon, and aunt to the preſent earl. On the 26th her remains were removed from her houſe in Hinde ſtreet, for interment to Thane Park, Oxfordſhire.

20. At the Hotwells, Briſtol, the hon. Mrs. Hobart.

His Serene Highneſs the Reign-Duke of Saxe Gotha; born January, 30, 1745. He forbade, in his will, all ceremony to be performed at his burial, except ſuch as are uſual for his loweſt ſubjects. He deſired to be buried in his Engliſh garden, at the feet of the coffins containing the bodies of two of his formerly deceaſed children. No ſpeech or ſermon was to be pronounced on the occaſion, and no monument to be erected over his remains; but he deſired his ſecond ſon, Prince Frederick, would place a tree upon his grave. To this prince he has bequeathed his Engliſh garden, which is to be open, as formerly, to all viſitors. The ſimple funeral ceremony of this ſovereign took place on the night of the 25th of April, according to the wiſh expreſſed in his will. The grave was dug on the iſland, in the Engliſh garden. The reigning ducheſs, with her child on her arm, had, the evening before ſtrewed flowers round the grave. The midnight hour ſtruck when the body entered the garden, carried by the ſervants of the late duke. The walk to the iſland was laid with black cloth, as likewiſe was the boat that carried it over. A dark but quiet night favoured the performance of the ceremony, which was only interrupted by the ſighs and tears of all preſent, which ran in abundance on the coffin. The grave had been dug by the courtiers of his late highneſs, and was filled by the hands of the members of his family.

No

No drums were beat, no ſermon was pronounced, no cannons were fired no bells were tolled.

May 1. At his houſe in Princes ſtreet, Edinburgh, the lady of the hon. Henry Erſkine.

2. At Pembroke-houſe, in Privy Gardens, Whitehall, aged 51, Henry Cecil, marquis of Exeter, tenth earl of Exeter, baron Burleigh, joint hereditary grand almoner to the King in *fee*, *L. L. D.* F. R. S. vice-preſident of the Society of Antiquaries, and a moſt liberal patron to the town of Stamford. He was the ſon of the hon. T. Chambers Cecil, (ſon of Brownlow, eighth earl of Exeter) by Charlotte Gonner, who died Jan. 3. 1803, and and was born at Bruſſels in 1754. He married, in 1776, Emma, heireſs of Thomas Vernon, eſq. of Hanbury, Worceſterſhire, by whom he had two ſons, who died infants, and a daughter born 1779, married 1797, to John Chaplyn, eſq. of Blakney, county of Lincoln. From this lady he was divorced; and married, ſecondly, 1791, Miſs Higgins, who died at Burleigh, Jan. 18, 1797, and thirdly, Auguſt 19. 1800, Elizabeth, Ducheſs Dowager of Hamilton, daughter of Sir Peter Burrell, bart. He ſucceeded his late uncle in 1793, and is himſelf ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon, from his ſecond marriage, Brownlow, born July 2, 1795. His lordſhip was making conſiderable improvements at Burleigh; the ſplendid collection of pictures which are attached to the houſe by the will of his lordſhip's predeceſſor, which, by its rigid limitations, rendered them unalienable. The late marquis was a nobleman of very extenſive and active charity. His remains were removed from Pembroke-houſe, Privy gardens, on the 9th of May, in order to their being depoſited in the family vault of his lordſhip's illuſtrious progenitor, Lord Burleigh, in St. Martin's church at Stamford. After the hearſe and ſix horſes, followed three mourning-coaches and his lordſhip's carriage, each drawn by ſix horſes. Upwards of 30 noblemen and gentlemen's carriages had previouſly joined the proceſſion, which reached Burleigh houſe about 9 in the morning of the 12th of May, where the Stamford volunteer infantry joined at 11, the ſix ſenior officers of the corps acting as pall bearers. After the funeral ſervice, three volleys were fired by the corps, the laſt tribute of reſpect to their deceaſed noble commandant. At leaſt 3000 ſpectators it is ſuppoſed, were preſent in the park.

5. In Great Cumberland ſtreet, the infant ſon of Lord Rous.

8. In Dover ſtreet, the hon. Mrs. Priſcilla Marſham, of Boxley-houſe, near Maidſtone, eldeſt daughter of the late Right hon. Robert Lord Romney; a lady of a truly benevolent character, of a pure, regular, and exemplary morals, and the moſt gentle, elegant, and dignified manners.

At Verdun in France, the Marchioneſs of Tweedale.

17. At Paddington, in childbed, viſcounteſs Folkſtone, only child of the late earl of Lincoln; married, Oct. 2, 1800, to Lord Viſcount Folkſtone.

At his lordſhip's houſe in Bath, the right hon. Eyre Maſſey, lord Clarina, general in his Majeſty's ſervice, marſhal of the army in Ireland, colonel of the 27th or Enniſkillen regiment, governor of Limerick, and of the royal hoſpital of Kilmainham. His lordſhip was younger

younger brother of Hugh Lord Maſſey, of Ireland; was born in 1717,; and married, in 1767, Catherine Clements, ſiſter of the earl of Leitrim, by whom he has left iſſue, 1, William Nathaniel, a lieutenant col. in the army, now Lord Clarina; 2, Emily; 3, Catherine. This noble veteran had ſerved his King and Country for 70 years, great part of which he was actively employed; and, in conſideration of his long and faithful ſervices, his Majeſty was graciouſly pleaſed to confer on him the dignity of a peer. Having been conſtantly employed in his military profeſſion, he had ſeen great and arduous ſervice. In 1745, he was wounded at the battle of Culloden; was at the head of the grenadiers who ſtormed and took the Havannah, where he was again wounded; alſo at the taking of Martinico. He was one of the laſt of General Wolfe's companions.

At Donauſchingen, aged 33, of apoplexy, Charles Joachim, the reigning prince of Furſtenburg. He is ſucceeded by prince Charles Egon.

At Bath Lady Hampton.

29. In the caſtle of Bracke, aged 75, the Counteſs Sophia Carolina de Lowenſtein Wertheim; in her youth ſuppoſed to be the moſt beautiful woman in Germany.

June 3. At Wrotham, Kent, after a lingering illneſs, aged 33, Lady Maria Elizabeth Moore, daughter of James, late Earl of Errol, born April 30th 1771, married June 29, 1795, to the Rev. George M. eldeſt ſon of the Archbiſhop of Canterbury, and rector of Wrotham.

6. At Bath, in his 77th year, the Hon. and Rev. Robert Chol-mondely.

9. At the ſeat of Lord Frederick Campbell, at Crombank, Kent, Anna Margaretta viſcounteſs Curzon, third lady to Aſheton Curzon, created Baron Curzon of Penn 1794, and viſcount Curzon 1802. She was daughter of Amos Meredith, eſq. ſiſter to Sir William Meredith; and relict to Barlow Trecothick, eſq. in whoſe right ſhe was, in 1770, lady Mayoreſs of London.

17. In Arlington ſtreet, Lord W. L. Gower, aged 13 months, youngeſt ſon of the Marquis of Stafford.

At Prague, the ducheſs dowager of Parma, daughter of the celebrated queen of Hungary, Maria-Thereſa; born Feb. 26, 1746; and married to the late duke of Parma, July 19th 1769.

24. In Harley ſtreet, aged 83, the hon. Lady Sarah Saluſbury, of Offley-place, Herts, and of Branſbury, Middleſex, relict of the late Sir Thomas Saluſbury, formerly judge of the high court of admiralty, who died Oct. 28, 1777, aged 66, and was buried in Offley Chancel, where a handſome monument by Nollekins, has been erected to his memory.

July 3. On his eſtate, about ſix verſts from St Peterſburg, count Valerian Suboff. His remains were interred with great ceremony in the cloiſter of Mergoff. His imperial majeſty, who had viſited the count in his laſt illneſs, attended in perſon.

27. At his houſe in Groſvenor ſquare, aged 72, Robert Clements, Earl, Viſcount, and Baron Leitrim, of Minor Hampton, in the county of Leitrim, in Ireland. His lord-

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ſhip was created a Baron, Sept. 20, 1783; Viſcount, Dec. 20, 1793; and Earl, Oct. 6. 1795. He is ſucceeded in titles and eſtatesby his ſon, Lord Viſcount Clements, now Earl of Leitrim.

29. In his 84th year, James Lord Forbes, premier baron of Scotland. He married Catharine, only daughter of Sir Robert Innes, of Orton, bart. He is ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon, the hon. Major Gen. James Forbes, of the Cold ſtream regiment of guards, now Lord Forbes.

30. At Bath, having ſurvived the truly inhuman murder of her much lamented huſband 12 months and ſeven days, the dowager viſcounteſs Kilwarden.

Lately at his houſe in Dublin, Otway Cuffe, earl, viſcount, and baron of Deſart, in the county of Kilkenny, Ireland. In 1767, on the death of his elder brother John, without male iſſue, his lordſhip ſucceeded to the barony of Deſart, was created a viſcount in 1780, in 1785 an Earl. He married in 1785, Anne eldeſt daughter to the late earl of Altamont, and ſiſter to the Marquis of Sligo, by whom he has one daughter and four ſons. The preſent earl was born Feb. 28. 1788, by his lordſhip's death, and that of the earl of Leitrim, two vacancies occur in the Iriſh peers who ſit in parliament.

Aug. 3. At Cornhill, near Coldſtream, on his way to Mr. Buchan's, of Kelſo, near Dunſe, after a few minutes illneſs, of a ſecond attack of the fit with which he was a few weeks, ſince ſeized in London, Lord Viſcount Duncan, Admiral of the White. He was a younger ſon of Mr. Duncan, of Lundie, in Perthſhire, the repreſentative of an ancient family, much honoured in that part of the kingdom. He was born on the firſt of July, 1731. After receiving a liberal education, he entered at an early age, into the naval ſervice, and was preſent as midſhipman and as lieutenant in ſeveral of the moſt gallant and ſucceſsful actions, in the war of 1756. Mr. Duncan was promoted, on the 25th of February, 1761, to the rank of poſt-captain. In the war with America, he ſerved as captain on-board the flag-ſhip of Admiral Keppel, whoſe particular eſteem and patronage he had obtained, by his gallant conduct and amiable character. The captain married a daughter of the late Lord Preſident Dundas, niece to Lord Melville, elder ſiſter to the preſent Secretary at War. With this lady he lived, in great domeſtic felicity, at Edinburgh, ſuperintending the education of his children, and enjoying the high eſteem of all who were moſt reſpectable in that capital, in the interval between the American war and the laſt unfortunate war with France. On the 24th of September, 1787, Captain Duncan was advanced to the rank of rear-admiral. He was made vice-admiral in 1793. In 1795, he became in courſe of promotion, one of the admirals of the blue. He was then called to the command of the fleet acting off the Texel againſt the Dutch, and hoiſted his flag on board the Venerable. He had the mortification to ſee the mutiny extend, in June 1797, to almoſt all the ſeamen of the ſhips under his command. But they ſtill reſpected his perſon, his ſeaman-like gallantry and frankneſs, his calm intrepidity, his modeſt good ſenſe and worth. At the moſt critical moment of the

mutiny,

mutiny, he addreſſed them, in a ſhort ſpeech, manly, plain, and pathetic; in fact, one of the beſt ever uttered by a ſailor on ſuch an occaſion, and which operated with extraordinary effect, in tranquillizing the ſeamen, and bringing them back to due obedience. Soon after, on the 11th of October, the Dutch fleet ventured out from the Texel; Admiral Duncan diſpoſed his ſquadron ſo as to prevent their immediate retreat; they were brought to an engagement; the great action between Egmont and Camperdown was fought, and one of the moſt glorious victories in the annals of naval heroiſm was gained. His country then, did juſtice to his merits. On the 21ſt of October, 1797, Admiral Duncan was raiſed to the dignity of Britiſh peerage, with the title of Lord Viſcount Duncan, Baron of Lundie. He had before, on the death of his elder brother, Colonel Duncan, ſucceeded to the family inheritance of Lundie. Parliament, upon a propoſition from his Majeſty, alſo ſettled a penſion of 2000l. a-year on Lord Duncan, to be continued to the two next heirs to his titles. His Lordſhip has ſince ſpent ſome years in virtuous and happy retirement; not without having to mourn ſome ſevere family afflictions, nor without many ſources of ſweet domeſtic ſatisfaction. He had come to London, this ſummer, at the perſuaſion of his relation, Lord Melville, with a view to return, in this criſis, to ſome eminent public command. He was too much a good man, to refuſe to devote the laſt hours of his life to the ſervice of his country. But his health was ſenſibly impaired; he had lately a ſudden affection, very ſimilar to a ſtroke of apoplexy. He haſtened down to his family and friends in Scotland. On his journey he met that ſtroke of death, for which as a hero, a Chriſtian, a man who had enjoyed the glories and comforts of this world, and had in the loſs of ſome of his children felt its afflictions. Lord Duncan was tall, above the middle ſize, and of an athletic and finely proportioned figure. His countenance was thought to be remarkably expreſſive of the ingenuous excellencies of his mind.

17. In her 29th year, while on a viſit at the Rev. Mr. Daſhwood's, at Downham, Norfolk, after a few days illneſs, Miſs Mary Knollis, eldeſt daughter of the hon. and rev. Francis K. of Burford, co. Oxford.

18. In Great Quebec ſtreet, aged 80, Lady Elizabeth Gallini, wife of the Chevalier John G. and eldeſt ſiſter to the late earl of Abingdon.

24. In Park ſtreet, after a long illneſs, aged 75, Elizabeth Dowager lady Harrowby, daughter of Biſhop Terrick, and ſiſter to the lady of Dr. Hamilton; married to Lord Harrowby 1762, by whom ſhe had ſix ſons and two daughters.

30. At Keith-Hall, the right hon. Anthony Earl of Kintore, lord lieutenant of the county of Kincardine.

At Verdun, in France, George Hay, ſixth marquis of Tweedale, one of the 16 repreſentative peers of Scotland, and lord lieutenant of the county of Haddington. He ſucceeded his nephew George, the fifth marquis, who died in October 1770, at the age of 13.

At Paris in his 73d year, Cardinal De Boiſgelin, archbiſhop of Tours. This perſonage had the

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ſingular fate of having preached the coronation ſermon of the ever-to be lamented Louis XVI. and of the execrable Bonaparte.

Sept. 3. Found dead in his bed, in Enniſkillen, in his 31ſt year, the hon. and rev. W. Montgomery Cole, third ſon of the late Earl of Enniſkillen, and brother to the preſent earl; a young gentleman of the moſt amiable qualities. He had been recently appointed by his Excellency Earl Hardwicke, the congenial patron of talents and virtue, to the deanery of Waterford, vacant by the promotion of Dr. Butſon.

14. At Ham houſe, Surrey, aged 59, Anna Maria counteſs of Dyſart. She was eldeſt daughter of David Lewis, eſq. of Malvern, co. Warwick, and ſiſter to Magdalena counteſs of Dyſart (lady of Lionel the laſt Earl), and was married, in 1777; to Wilbraham Tollemache, the preſent Earl; who, having no iſſue, Sir William Manners, bart. (the eldeſt ſon of lady Louiſa Manners, his lordſhip's ſiſter) is preſumptive heir to the title. Her remains were interred, on the 24th in the family vault in Suffolk.

17. At Vienna, the Counteſs Zamoiſka, ſiſter to the late king of Poland.

19. At her cottage, near Chertſey, Surrey, in her 44th year, lady Stawell, one of the ladies to the princeſſes Auguſta and Elizabeth. She was ſecond daughter of Aſheton lord Curzon, married 1779, to Henry, preſent and fifth Lord Stawell, by whom ſhe had one daughter Mary, born 1780.

At the houſe of Mr. Fox, in Arlington ſtreet, after a long illneſs, Dr. William Dixon, Lord Biſhop of Downe and Connor nineteen years, having been promoted to it in 1785.

22. At Wakehurſt place, aged 80, Joſeph Peyton, eſq. admiral of the white.—Admiral Peyton was the ſon of Commodore Peyton, who in the year 1746, ſucceeded Commodore Barnet in the command of the Britiſh ſquadron in the Eaſt Indies. In 1743, he was appointed lieutenant of the Eſſex, by Admiral Matthews, at that time commander in chief in the Mediterranean. Here he was preſent in the engagement which took place on the 11th of February the following year, with the combined French and Spaniſh fleets, off Toulon; and was one of the witneſſes at the ſubſequent trials of ſeveral of the captains who miſbehaved on that occaſion. In 1750 he was promoted to the rank of maſter and commander, and appointed to the Savage ſloop; and in 1757 was promoted to the command of the Prince George, of 90 guns, which ſhip carried the flag of Admiral Broderick, who was ſent to ſucceed Admiral Oſborn in the Mediterranean ſtation. On the paſſage to Gibraltar the ſhip took fire, and notwithſtanding the exertions of the captain, his officers and crew, the flames raged with ſuch fury as to baffle all their attempts to extinguiſh them. Out of her crew, which conſiſted of 745 perſons, only the Rear-admiral, Captain Peyton, and 260 more were ſaved. The Captain was taken by a boat from the ſtern ladder, and put on board the Alderney ſloop. He then proceeded with Admiral Broderick to the Mediterranean; on which ſtation, and in the Channel, he ſerved during the remainder of the war. In 1768 he was appointed to the Belleiſle, of 64 guns, a guard-

guard-ſhip, ſtationed at Plymouth; and on the apprehended rupture with Spain, relative to the Falkland iſlands, he was removed to the Modeſte, of the ſame force. In 1778 he was nominated to the command of the Cumberland, of 74 guns, one of the ſhips of Admiral Keppel's fleet, and conſequently was preſent in the engagement of the 27th of July, with the French fleet, off Uſhant; being ſtationed in the line as one of the ſeconds to Sir Robert Harland. During the remainder of that war, Captain Peyton continued in the Cumberland, on the Channel ſtation. In the year 1787 he was advanced to be Rear Admiral of the White, and the year following appointed to command in the Mediterranean, where he remained nearly four years. Before his return he was promoted to be Vice Admiral of the Blue, and in 1793 became Vice Admiral of the White. He was, about the ſame time, nominated to the chief command in the Downs, which ſtation he held ſeveral years with the higheſt reputation. In 1794, Mr. Peyton was advanced to be Vice Admiral of the Red; in June, 1797, to be Admiral of the Blue; and on the 14th of February, 1799, to be Admiral of the White.

29. At Hampton-court Palace, Frances, eldeſt daughter of the late Earl of Ludlow.

Oct. 5. At her houſe in Spa-fields, aged 65, Lady Ann Agnes Erſkine, ſiſter to the preſent Earl of Buchan, and the Hon. Thomas Erſkine. Her ladyſhip was a truſtee for the late Counteſs of Huntingdon's chapels, and ſuperintended their management.

13. At his ſeat, Abbeyleix, Queen's County, Thomas Veſey, Viſcount de Veſci, Baron of Abbey Knapton. He ſucceeded his father, the late lord, June 25, 1761, and was created a viſcount in 1776. In 1769 his lordſhip married Elizabeth Selina Brooke, daughter and coheir of Sir Arthur Brooke, by whom he has left iſſue three ſons and two daughters. Ever tenacious of his honour as an ancient peer of the realm, his title is transferred without a ſtain together with his hereditary eſtates, to his eldeſt ſon, the Hon. John de Veſci, born in 1771, and married to Miſs Brownlow, ſiſter of the Counteſſes of Darnley and Powerſcourt, and daughter of the late Right Hon. William Brownlow.

At Clifton, the Hon. George Napier, comptroller of army-accounts in Ireland, uncle of the preſent Lord Napier, and brother-in-law of the Duke of Richmond, having married his grace's ſiſter, Lady Sarah, by whom he has left one ſon. He was a brave ſoldier, an upright ſervant of the public, and a truly amiable character in all the relations of life.

20. At Carton, co. Kildare, in Ireland, aged 56 years, 7 months, and 7 days, William Robert Fitzgerald, Duke of Leinſter, ſo created in 1766, Marquis of Kildare, and K. P.

29. At Ipſwich, Lord Chedworth Baron of Chedworth in Glouceſterſhire. He was born Auguſt 22, 1754. He was the grandſon of John Howe, who, in 1741, was elevated to the peerage, having, on the deceaſe of Sir Rich. Howe, of Compton, without iſſue, ſucceeded to his eſtates; and for

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of the Hon. and Rev. Thomas Howe, rector of Great Wiſhford and Kingſton Deverel, in Wiltſhire.

Nov. 2. At Keynſham, near Preſteign, after a ſhort illneſs, in her 77th year, Suſannah, dowager-counteſs of Oxford, relict of Edward, third earl, and daughter of William Archer, Eſq. of Welford, Berks. which county he repreſented till his death 1739.

5. At St. Peterſburgh, field-marſhall count Muſchin Puſchin, who ſometime commanded the Ruſſian forces, in the laſt war with Sweden.

12. At her houſe, in Lower Seymour-ſtreet, Mary, counteſs-dowager of Shafteſbury. She was ſecond ſurviving daughter of Jacob Bouverie, Viſcount Folkſtone, full ſiſter to William Bouverie, late Earl of Radnor, and ſecond wife of Anthony, fourth Earl of Shafteſbury, married to him March 26th, 1759, by whom ſhe had two ſons, the preſent earl and Cropley Aſhley, to whom, by her death, a conſiderable acceſſion of fortune accrues; and a daughter, Mary Anne. She was interred in the family-vault at Wimborn-St. Giles, Dorſet.

14. At Nacton, near Lincoln, aged 75, the Right Hon. George Earl of Buckinghamſhire, Baron Hobart, of Blickling. His lordſhip is ſucceeded in his title and eſtates by his ſon, the Right Hon. Lord Hobart. He ſucceeded his brother, the late earl, Auguſt 3, 1793. In 1757, he married Albinia, daughter and coheir of Lord Vere Bertie, ſon of Robert Duke of Ancaſter, by whom he has left two ſons and three daughters. His remains were depoſited, with great funeral ſolemnity, in the family-vault at Nacton, near Lincoln. His lordſhip's numerous tenantry aſſembled on this melancholy occaſion, to pay the laſt tribute of gratitude and affection due to a nobleman, who poſſeſſed many virtues.

15. At his lordſhip's houſe, at Colcheſter, the infant daughter of Lord Stanley.

16. At Conway, in Wales, in her way to Ireland, with the counteſs her mother, Lady ——Stewart, third daughter of the Earl of Londonderry.

19. Near Bangor, in Wales, where ſhe was on a viſit, of a rapid decline, Lady Georgina Canning.

20. At Bath, the Hon. George Browne, captain in the Bedfordſhire militia, and brother to Lord Kilmaine.

Lately, at Derry, the Hon. Capt. Richard Jones, ſecond ſon of the Viſcounteſs Ranelagh.

30. Much lamented, in St. James's-ſtreet, at her daughter's, the Ducheſs of Roxburgh, aged 66, Mrs. Bechinne.

Lately, at Hackwood-park, the Hon. Miſs Anne Orde Powlett, 2d daughter of Lord Bolton.

Dec. 1. At Berrington, in the county of Hereford, in his 75th year, the Right Hon. Thomas Harley, fourth ſon of the third Earl of Oxford, a member of his Majeſty's privy council, lord lieutenant of the county of Radnor, ſenior alderman or father of the City of London, and preſident of St. Bartholomew's hoſpital.

2. At Brighton, in her 5th year, the eldeſt daughter of the Duke of Rutland. Her remains were interred in the family vault at Bottesford, co. Leiceſter.

6. At Kedleſton, in Derbyſhire, in his 78th year, the Right

Hon. Nathaniel Lord Scarſdale, a baronet, doctor of laws, and vice-preſident of the Middleſex-hoſpital. He was the eldeſt ſon of the late Sir Nathaniel Curzon, Bart. whoſe family came to this country with William the Conqueror. He is ſucceeded by his eldeſt ſon, the Hon. Nathaniel Curzon, who repreſented the county of Derby in two ſucceſſive Parliaments.

8. At her houſe in Upper Sloane-ſtreet, Lady Caroline Leigh, daughter of Henry Duke of Chandos, by his firſt wife Lady Mary Bruce, daughter of Charles Earl of Ayleſbury; and married to John Leigh, Eſq. of Addleſthorpe, co. Glouceſter, in 1755.

10. At Stonehouſe, near Plymouth, Miſs Elizabeth Langton, daughter of the late Bennet L. Eſq. of Langton, co. Lincoln, and the Dowager Counteſs of Rothes.

15. Interred in St. Andrew's church-yard, Dublin, the remains of Lady Catharine Stopford, ſiſter to James Earl of Courtown. The funeral was attended by a great number of noblemen's and gentlemen's carriages.

16. M. de Conzies, Biſhop of Arras, at eight o'clock in the morning. Born a nobleman, and educated for the prelacy, he did equal honour to his rank and his ſtation. That ſuch a character ſhould particularly attract the hatred of Buonaparte might juſtly be expected. The name of the Biſhop of Arras was upon the ſame line of the ſame liſt of proſcription with that of the hero of loyalty, Georges. The Corſican aſſaſſin who pierced the heart of an Enghien, Pichegru, and Georges, has long pointed his dagger at the boſom of this prelate, who preferred poverty and exile in England, to the Roman purple, and the Pariſian arch-epiſcopacy, both offered him in 1801, by the Firſt Conſul of France, and by the Pontiff of Rome. The Biſhop of Arras had, from nature, a conſtitution ſtrong enough to reſiſt the ravages of time to the furtheſt limits aſſigned to the life of man, had not Providence alſo beſtowed upon him a mind virtuous and feeling to the higheſt degree. The deplorable ſtate of Chriſtianity, the misfortunes of his king, and the degradation of his country, were the diſeaſe which deprived the world, prematurely, of one of its beſt and brighteſt ornaments. From the ſcandalous journey of Pius VII. and the ſacrilegious coronation of Napoleon the Firſt, this prelate received his death-blow. He ſurvived but for a few days the news of the Corſican aſſaſſin and poiſoner's anointment, and was one of the firſt victims of this horrible act, which has opened a tomb for true religion, as well as for lawful monarchy. As, in health, he had been an example of piety and conſtancy, during his ſhort illneſs he was a model of devotion and reſignation. He exhorted his countrymen and fellow-ſufferers, like himſelf, unfortunate exiles, not to deviate from that glorious, though painful path of thorn, they had dutifully and conſcientiouſly entered. He preached ſubmiſſion to the decrees of the Almighty, in ſhewing the juſtice of that noble cauſe, to which they had ſacrificed rank, property, country, and every thing elſe, except their honour. He told them never to forget the gratitude they owed to England, ſhould religion and royalty once more proſper in France.

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His Royal Highneſs Monſieur, with a humanity worthy of better times and better fortune, refuſed himſelf even the neceſſary reſt, to attend this truſty and affectionate ſervant, who had the conſolation to breathe his laſt in the arms of his good and generous prince. Some few moments before he ſhut his eyes for ever, he preſſed the hand of Monſieur to his boſom, and with a faint voice faltered theſe his laſt words: "My kind prince, death is terrible to the wicked only!"

17. Lady Hulſe, of Cheſterfield-ſtreet, in her 84th year.

19. At her ſeat, Hillingdon-houſe, near Uxbridge, Middleſex, Mary, Marchioneſs of Rockingham. She was daughter and heir of Thomas Bright, Eſq. of Badſworth, co. York, uncle to Henry Liddell, Lord Ravenſworth; and married Feb. 26, 1752, to Charles ſecond Marquis of Rockingham, who died in 1782. Her remains were conveyed through York in funeral proceſſion to the cathedral, and depoſited in the vault belonging to that antient family.

At Holyrood-houſe, Edinburgh, the Hon. Mary Murray, only daughter of the late Lord Edward Murray, and ſiſter to the Hon. and Rev. M. Murray, dean of Killaloe, in Ireland.

28. Suddenly, the biſhop of Noyon, one of thoſe dignified eccleſiaſtics of France who remained attached to the Houſe of Bourbon, and was alſo one of the antient French nobility.

30. At Reddiſh's Hotel, in his 39th year, George Evans, Baron Carberry, of the kingdom of Ireland, and M. P. for the county of Rutland. In 1792, he married Miſs Watſon, daughter of Col. W. who amaſſed a conſiderable fortune in India. The firſt baron was created by George I. in 1715. He was conſidered the fineſt man of his day; and the King beſtowed this honour on him on account of his extreme beauty and manlineſs. The late lord was truly amiable, and a man of the mildeſt and moſt gentlemanly manners. About two years ſince, his lordſhip was hunting on his eſtate near Northampton, and had the misfortune to burſt a blood-veſſel, and was conſidered at the time in extreme danger. About fifteen months ago he broke his arm, which brought on a lingering complaint, conſidered by the faculty as a decay of ſome internal part. A few weeks ſince, his lordſhip came to town, and has been under the care of Dr. Baillie and other eminent phyſicians, who conſidered him ſo far recovered as to ſanction his return to the country, and Friday, Dec. 28, was the day fixed for his departure with Lady Carberry for his ſeat in Northamptonſhire. Preparatory to the journey, he rode in Hyde-park. On the 26th and 27th he was in good ſpirits, and ſaw company each afternoon; but in the morning of the 28th he propoſed to Lady Carberry to poſtpone their departure to the 31ſt. to which ſhe acquieſced. About one o'clock in the morning of the 29th, he was ſeized with a violent ſickneſs in his ſtomach, and rang the bell for his ſervant, who immediately attended, and, on finding his lordſhip had again burſt a blood-veſſel, ſent for Doctor Baillie, who adminiſtered ſome medicine, which relieved his patient ſo much, that he ſat up, dined, converſed, and was in tolerable ſpirits; but in

the evening of the 30th, a relapſe took place, which terminated fatally at nine o'clock in the evening of the 31ſt. Dying without iſſue, he is ſucceeded by his uncle, the Hon. John Evans, of Dublin. The funeral proceſſion was grand, and joined by his lordſhip's tenants.

Lately, at Barbadoes, in the Weſt Indies, of the yellow fever, Lord Viſcount Proby, commander of the Amelia frigate, of 38 guns, and moſt of his officers. His lordſhip's death occaſioned a vacancy in Parliament for the town of Buckingham.

At Bantry, in Ireland, of a violent fever, Hamilton White, Eſq. brother to Lord Viſcount Bantry.

At Egleton-caſtle, in Scotland, a few hours after his birth, the ſon and heir of Lord Montgomery.

SHERIFFS *appointed by his Majeſty in Council, for the Year* 1804.

Bedfordſhire. George Edwards, of Henlow, Eſq.

Berkſhire. Richard Mathews, of Wargrave, Eſq.

Buckinghamſhire. James Nield, of Stoke Hammond, Eſq.

Cambridgeſhire and Huntingdonſhire. B. Keene, of Wiſtow Lodge, Eſq.

Cheſhire. Sir J. F. Leiceſter, of Nether Tabley, Bart.

Cumberland. John de Whelpdale, of Penrith, Eſq.

Derbyſhire. Sir Henry Every, of Errington, Bart.

Devonſhire. Thomas Porter, of Rockbear, Eſq.

Dorſetſhire. Robert Williams, of Bridgehead, Little Bridge, Eſq.

Eſſex. William Palmer, of Nazing, Eſq.

Glouceſterſhire. N. Clifford, of Frampton-on-Severn, Eſq.

Herefordſhire. R. S. Fleming, of Dinmore Hill, Eſq.

Hertfordſhire. Edward Garrow, of Totteridge, Eſq.

Kent. Sir Walter Stirling, of Shoreham, Bart.

Leiceſterſhire. F. W. Wollaſton, of Shenton, Eſq.

Lincolnſhire. Robert Viner, of Godby, Eſq.

Monmouthſhire. William Adams Williams, of Llangibby, Eſq.

Norfolk. Henry Styleman, of Snottiſham, Eſq.

Northamptonſhire. C. Tibbitts, of Burton Seagrave, Eſq.

Northumberland. Sir T. H. Lyddell, of Eſlington, Bart.

Nottinghamſhire. T. W. Edge, of Strelley, Eſq.

Oxfordſhire. John Langſton, of Sarſden Houſe, Eſq.

Rutlandſhire. C. Thompſon, of Ketton, Eſq.

Shropſhire. Robert Burton, of Longner, Eſq.

Somerſetſhire. John Rogers, of Yarlington, Eſq.

Staffordſhire. R. Jeſſon, of Weſt Bromwich, Eſq.

County of Southampton. Sir C. Mill, of Mottesfont, Bart.

Suffolk. Sir Robert Pocklington, of Chelſworth, Knt.

Surrey. W. Borradaile, of Streatham, Eſq.

Suſſex. John Dennet, of Woodmancoat, Eſq.

Warwickſhire. R. Vaughton, of Sutton Coldfield, Eſq.

Wiltſhire. Wadham Rock, of Rowd Ford, Eſq.

Worceſterſhire. Edward Knight, of Woolverley, Eſq.

Yorkſhire.

Yorkſhire. J. Fox, of Bramham Park, Eſq.

SOUTH WALES.

Brecon. P. Williams, of Penport, Eſq.

Caermarthen. J. Simmons, of Llangannah, Eſq.

Cardigan. J. Bond, of Kefney Coed, Eſq.

Glamorgan. R. T. Picton, of Ewenny, Eſq.

Pembroke. Sir H. Owen, of Orielton, Bart.

Radnor. T. F. Lewis, of Harpton Court, Eſq.

NORTH WALES.

Angleſea. T. P. Jones, of Cefn Coch, Eſq.

Caernarvon. O. M. Wynn, of Penmachno, Eſq.

Denbigh. R. W. Wynne, of Garthewin, Eſq.

Flint. R. Garnons, the younger, of Leeſwood, Eſq.

Merioneth. Sir E. P. Lloyd, of Park, Bart.

Montgomery. C. H. Tracey, of Greginnog, Eſq.

Prince *of* Wales's *Council.*

County of Cornwall. At a Council of his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales, held at Brighthelmſtone, the 2d day of February, 1804, Sir Lionel Copley, of Bake, Bart. was appointed Sheriff of the county of Cornwall for the year 1804, by his Royal Highneſs the Prince of Wales in Council.

APPENDIX TO THE CHRONICLE.

LONDON GAZETTE, MARCH 31.

Extract of a Letter from the Governor in Council, at Bombay, to the Court of Directors, dated Sept. 3, 1803.

"MAJOR General Wellesley having commenced his operations against the fortress of Ahmednagur, on the 8th of August, we had the satisfaction to learn, that the above-mentioned fort fell into the Major-General's hands on the 11th following. The achievement of this enterprise was attended with the loss of several brave officers and men, as will appear by the list of the former, inserted in the margin *, but the acquisition of it is of great importance, as it is considered to be one of the strongest positions in the country. On this ground, therefore, General Wellesley has, for the present, taken possession of the forts and districts dependant thereon, and placed them under the management of Captain Graham, of the Madras Establishment, with orders to collect the revenue, and to render the resources of that acquisition as subservient as possible to the objects of the campaign. In advising this result, we beg leave to offer to your Honourable Court our congratulations on the distinguished and rapid success which attended the British arms, under the direction of the Hon. Major-General Wellesley, in the reduction of Ahmednaghur; trusting also, that we shall shortly be enabled to report an equally favourable result with respect to the fort of Broach, the measures for reducing of which are now in progress."

Extract of a Letter from the Governor in Council, at Bombay, to the Court of Directors, dated 4th September, 1803.

"Since closing our general address, under date the 3d instant, we have received from Lieut. Col. Woodington, the officer commanding at Broach, the dispatch, of which a copy is enclosed, advising of the reduction of that fortress by assault on the 29th ult. an achievement which has been accomplished with a rapidity, energy, and success, reflecting the highest credit on that respectable officer, and on the officers and men under his command.

* Killed—Captains Grant and Humberston, and Lieutenant Anderson, of the 78th Regiment; and Lieutenant Plenderleath, 1st battalion 3d Regiment, Madras.
Wounded.—Lieutenant Neilson, 74th Regiment; and Lieut. Larkins, 78th ditto.

[ENCLOSURE.]

[ENCLOSURE.]

To the Honourable Jonathan Duncan, Esq. President and Governor, &c. &c. &c. in Council.

"Honourable Sir,

"I have the honour to enclose, for your information, a letter I have this day addressed to the Hon. Major-General Wellesley, on the capture of Broach.

I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect, honourable Sir, your most obedient and faithful servant,

(Signed) H. WOODINGTON,
Lieut. Col."

Broach, 29th Aug. 1803.

To Major-General Wellesley, Commander in Chief, &c. &c.

"SIR,

"I have the honour to acquaint you, that at three o'clock, P. M. I stormed the fort of Broach, and carried it with little loss, although the Arabs made considerable resistance, particularly on our entering the breach. The Arabs have suffered very considerably, and we have taken a great many stand of colours. A more steep ascent to the beach, and of such length, is seldom seen. I cannot express myself in sufficient terms on the gallantry of the officers and men I have the honour to command. I shall have the honour to address you more fully to-morrow. I write this for your early information, immediately after we have got possession of the place, which will, I hope, be an excuse for haste.

I have the honour to be, Sir, your most obedient servant,

(Signed) H. WOODINGTON,
Lieut. Col."

Broach, 29th August, 1803.

(True Copies.)

(Signed) JAMES GRANT,
Sec. to Gov.

ENCLOSURE, No. 1.—Referred to hereafter.

To the Honourable Jonathan Duncan, Esq. President and Governor in Council.

"Honourable Sir,

"The enclosed is a copy of a letter from Colonel Murray, giving cover to one from Lieutenant-colonel Woodington, respecting the capitulation of Powanghur.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.
OLIVER NICOLLS,
Major-General."

Bombay, 27th Sept. 1803.

(No. 1.)

Head-Quarters, Baroda, Sept. 21, 1803.

"SIR,

"I have the honour to enclose a letter which I received this morning from Lieutenant-colonel Woodington. It is necessary to inform you, that the delay of this important communication arises from the miscarriage of the colonel's letter, although sent in duplicate.

"Colonel Woodington highly praises the zeal and activity of the troops under his command; and to judge by their success, the praise is well merited.

"Colonel Woodington has, in a most particular manner, requested that I should lay the meritorious

ſervices of Serjeant Moore, of his Majeſty's 80th regiment, before you. He led the Forlorn Hope at the aſſault of Broach, and behaved with the utmoſt gallantry on that occaſion. Major Cuyler ſpeaks highly in favour of his general character.

"I have the honour to be, &c.
J. MURRAY, Col."

To Major General Nicholls.

(True Copy.)
J. C. HARRIS,
Acting Mil. Sec.

To Colonel Murray, commanding the Forces in the Guzerat.

"SIR,

"In conſequence of your communication to me laſt night, that you had not received my official communication on the ſurrender of Powanghur by capitulation, I have the honour to addreſs you again on the ſubject.

"After a breach had been effected in the wall of the inner fort, as alſo that another was almoſt practicable in a tower at the angle of the outer fort, the garriſon offered to capitulate on the morning of the 17th, on condition of being protected in their perſons and private property.

"To theſe terms I agreed, on condition of immediately taking poſſeſſion of the breach in the inner wall, with a company of Sepoys. They, however, tacked other ſtipulations to the capitulation, viz. that I ſhould agree to pay them the arrears due from Scindia, and that two of the commanders of the Gwicawar cavalry with me (amounting to about three hundred horſe) ſhould ſign the agreement. To thoſe latter articles I would on no account agree; and it was not until four P. M. when they found, from our continuing to batter, that I would admit of no delay, that they agreed to the original terms, which were immediately carried into full effect, by their evacuation of the fort and mountain, of which we took poſſeſſion.

"If this had not taken place, I had made the neceſſary arrangements for ſtorming both breaches on the morning of the 18th, and I conceive that the garriſon were intimidated, from a knowledge that if they oppoſed us on our entering the breaches, their communication with the upper fort would be cut off, and they had no other way to eſcape than the road which lay down by our battery.

"Could they have obtained poſſeſſion of the upper fort, or Balla Killa, at the top of the mountain, I am inclined to think it utterly impregnable.

"I have left Captain Cliffe, of the Engineers, to take a plan and view of the forts and works on the mountain, which, I doubt not, from his known abilities, will be ably executed.

"It is with the greateſt pleaſure that I embrace this opportunity of ſubmitting, for your notice, the merits, zeal, and great exertions, of all ranks on this ſervice.

"I have the honour to be, &c.
HENRY WOODINGTON,
Lieut Col."

Baroda, 21ſt Sept. 1803.

Extract of a Letter from the Governor in Council at Bombay, to the Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, dated Bombay-caſtle, 3d October, 1803.

"Our

"Our Preſident has received from Hon. Major-General Welleſley a diſpatch of the 25th ult. as per copy encloſed. From the report contained in it, your honourable committee will obſerve, that the General attacked the combined forces of Dowlut Bow Scindia and the Berar Rajah on the 23d of September, in the vicinity of the Adjunty Paſs, with the diviſion of the army under his own immediate command, and that the very obſtinate action that enſued terminated in the complete defeat of the confederates, with the loſs to them of ninety pieces of cannon, which the Hon. General Welleſley has captured.

"We have not received an official report of caſualties during the engagement; but the General ſtates our loſs of officers and men to have been great. As far as private information has enabled us, we have endeavoured to ſupply this deficiency in the encloſed liſt of killed and wounded on that occaſion; it is conſidered to be incomplete in not containing the names of all the officers who ſuffered; but, in other reſpects, it is ſuppoſed to be correct.

"From the moſt recent private accounts from the Hon. Major-General Welleſley, it appears that Scindia and the Rajah Berar had deſcended the Adjunty Ghaut, and that the Britiſh forces were immediately to proceed in purſuit of them beyond the Nizam's frontier."

For ENCLOSURE, No. 1, ſee the early part of this Gazette.

(ENCLOSURE, No. 2.)

Jonathan Duncan, Eſq. &c. &c.

"SIR,

"I attacked the united armies of Dowlut Rao Scindia and the Rajah of Berar with my diviſion on the 23d, and the reſult of the action which enſued was, that they were completely defeated, with the loſs of ninety pieces of cannon which I have taken. I have ſuffered a great loſs of officers and men.

"I encloſe a copy of my letter to the Governor General, in which I have given him a detailed account of the events which led to and occurred in the action.

"I have the honour to be, &c.
ARTHUR WELLESLEY."

Camp, 25th Sept. 1803.

His Excellency the Governor General, &c. &c.

"MY LORD,

"I was joined by Major Hill, with the laſt of the convoys expected from the River Kiſtna, and on the 18th, and on the 20th, was enabled to move forward towards the enemy, who had been joined, in the courſe of the laſt ſeven or eight days, by the infantry under Colonel Pohlman, by that belonging to Begum Sumreo, and by another brigade of infantry, the name of whoſe commander I have not aſcertained. The enemy's army was collected about Bakerdun, and between that place and Jafferabad.

"I was near Colonel Stevenſon's corps on the 21ſt, and had a conference with that officer, in which we concerted a plan to attack the enemy's army with the diviſions under our command on the 24th, in the morning; and we marched on the 22d, Colonel Stevenſon by the weſtern route, and I by the eaſtern route, round the

hills between Beednaporer and Jalnah.

"On the 23d, I arrived at Naulaiah, and there received a report, that Scindia and the Rajah of Berar had moved off in the morning with their cavalry, and that the infantry were about to follow, but were ſtill in camp, at the diſtance of about ſix miles from the ground on which I intended to encamp. It was obvious that the attack was no longer to be delayed, and having provided for the ſecurity of my baggage and ſtores at Naulaiah, I marched on to attack the enemy.

"I found the whole combined army of Scindia and the Rajah of Berar encamped on the bank of the Kiſtna river, nearly on the ground which I had been informed that they occupied.

"Their right, which conſiſted entirely of cavalry, was about Bakerdun, and extended to their corps of infantry, which were encamped in the neighbourhood of Aſſye. Although I came firſt in front of their right, I determined to attack their left, as the defeat of their corps of infantry was moſt likely to be effectual; accordingly I marched round to their left flank, covering the march of the column of infantry by the Britiſh cavalry in the rear, and by the Mahratta and Myſore cavalry on the right flank.

"We paſſed the river Kiſtna at a ford beyond the enemy's left flank, and I formed the infantry immediately in two lines, with the Britiſh cavalry as a reſerve in a third, in an open ſpace between that river and a Nullah running parallel to it. The Mahratta and Myſore cavalry occupied the ground beyond the Kiſtna on our left flank, and kept in check a large body of the enemy's cavalry which had followed our march from the right of their own poſition.

"The enemy had altered the poſition of their infantry previous to our attack; it was no longer, as at firſt, along the Kiſtna, but extended from that river acroſs to the village of Aſſye, upon the Nullah, which was upon our right. We attacked them immediately, and the troops advanced under a very hot fire from cannon, the execution of which was terrible.

"The picquets of the infantry and the 74th regiment, which were on the right of the firſt and ſecond lines, ſuffered particularly from the fire of the guns on the left of the enemy's poſition near Aſſye. The enemy's cavalry alſo made an attempt to charge the 74th regiment at the moment when they were moſt expoſed to this fire, but they were cut up by the Britiſh cavalry, which moved on at that moment. At length the enemy's line gave way in all directions, and the Britiſh cavalry cut in among their broken infantry, but ſome of their corps went off in good order, and a fire was kept up on our troops from many of the guns from which the enemy had been firſt driven, by individuals who had been paſſed by the line, under the ſuppoſition that they were dead.

"Lieut. Colonel Maxwell, with the Britiſh cavalry, charged a large body of infantry, which had retired and was formed again, in which operation he was killed, and ſome time elapſed before we could put an end to the ſtraggling fire which was kept up by individuals,

duals, from the guns from which the enemy were driven. The enemy's cavalry alſo, which had been hovering round us throughout the action, was ſtill near us. At length, when the laſt formed body of infantry gave way, the whole went off, and left in our hands 90 pieces of cannon. This victory, which was certainly complete, has however coſt us dear; your Excellency will perceive, by the encloſed return, that our loſs in officers and men has been very great, and in that of Lieut. Col. Maxwell and other officers, whoſe names are therein included, greatly to be regretted.

"I cannot write in too ſtrong terms of the conduct of the troops; they advanced in the beſt order, and with the greateſt ſteadineſs, under a moſt deſtructive fire, againſt a body of infantry far ſuperior in numbers, who appeared determined to contend with them to the laſt, and who were driven from their guns only by the bayonet; and, notwithſtanding the numbers of the enemy's cavalry, and the repeated demonſtrations they made of an intention to charge, they were kept at a diſtance by the infantry.

"I am particularly indebted to Lieut. Col. Harneſs and Lieut. Col. Wallace, for the manner in which they conducted their brigades, and to all the officers of the ſtaff, for the aſſiſtance I received from them.

"The officers commanding brigades, nearly all thoſe of the ſtaff, and the mounted officers of the infantry, had their horſes ſhot under them.

"I have alſo to draw your Excellency's notice to the conduct of the cavalry, commanded by Lieut. Colonel Maxwell, particularly that of the 19th dragoons.

"The enemy are gone off towards the Adjuntee Ghaut, and I propoſe to follow them as ſoon as I can place my captured guns and the wounded in ſecurity.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

A. WELLESLEY, M. G."

Camp, at Aſſye, Sept. 24, 1803.

(ENCLOSURE, No. 3.)

Liſt of the Killed and Wounded in the Action of the 23d of Sept. 1803.

Killed.—19th Light Dragoons, Lieut. Col. Maxwell and Captain Boyle.—4th Reg. Native Cavalry, Capt. Mackey.—5th Ditto, Lieutenants Bonomi and Macleod.—His Majeſty's 74th Reg. Captains Macleod, Ayton, Dyce, and Maxwell. Lieutenants J. Campbell, —— Campbell, —— Campbell, T. Grant, Morris, Nelſon, and Volunteer Moore.—His Majeſty's 78th Reg. Lieutenant Douglas.—1ſt Battalion 2d Reg. Native Infantry, Lieut. Brown.—Artillery, Captains Fowler and Steel. Lieutenants Lindſay and Griffiths.

Wounded.—19th Light Dragoons, Captains Cathcart and Seale. Lieut. Wilſon.—4th Reg. Native Cavalry, Lieut. Paley, and Cornet Meredith.—5th Ditto, Captain Colebrooke.—7th Ditto, Captain Macgregor.—His Majeſty's 74th Regiment, Major Swinton; Capt. Lieut. Moore; Lieutenants Shaw, Main, Macmurdo, and Langlands; Enſign Keerman.—His Majeſty's 78th Reg. Capt. Mackenzie; Lieutenants Larkins and Kinlock; Enſign Bethune.—1ſt Battalion 2d Reg. Native Infantry,

fantry, Lieut. Walker.—1ſt Battalion 8th Reg. Native Infantry, Lieutenants Fair, Davie, Fenwick, and Hunter.—1ſt Battalion 12th Reg. Native Infantry, Lieut. Col. Macleod; Major Macally; Lieutenants Hervey, Smith, Decruz, and Boodler.—1ſt Battalion 10th Reg. Native Infantry, Lieutenant Pahry.

His Majeſty's 74th, 124 killed, 270 wounded. His Majeſty's 78th, 29 killed, 76 wounded. Total, 153 killed, 346 wounded.

N. B. Europeans, killed and wounded, including artillery and officers, is upwards of 600. Of the natives no account has yet been received, but ſuppoſed about 900.

(A true copy.)
(Signed) J. A. GRANT, Sec.

SECRET DEPARTMENT.

To Wm. Ramſay, Eſq. Secretary at the India Houſe, London.

"SIR,

"I am directed by the Honourable the Governor in Council to tranſmit to you the encloſed copy of a letter of the 10th ult. as juſt received from the Chief Secretary of the Supreme Government, with the Gazettes Extraordinary, publiſhed by his Excellency's command on the 8th and 9th of September, as therein referred to.

"According to the Shroff's letters from Ianaqhar, General Peron is ſaid to have ſince ſurrendered and come in, and the Britiſh forces to have obtained poſſeſſion of Agra and Delhi, early in the laſt month.

"I have the honour to be, &c.
J. A. GRANT,
Secretary to Government.

Bombay Caſtle, 5th Oct. 1803.

[ENCLOSURE, No. 1.]

To J. A. Grant, Eſq. Secretary to the Government at Bombay.

"SIR,

"I am directed by his Excellency, the Moſt Noble the Governor-General in Council, to deſire, that the encloſed Gazettes Extraordinary, publiſhed by his Excellency's command on the 8th and 9th inſtant, may be laid before the Honourable the Governor in Council at Bombay.

"I have the honour to be, Sir, your moſt obedient humble Servant,
J. LUMSDEN, Chief Secretary to Government."

Fort William, Sept. 10, 1803.

(A true copy.)
(Signed) J. GRANT,
Secretary to Government.

[ENCLOSURE, No. 2.]

CALCUTTA GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY.

Fort William, Thurſday, Sept. 8, 1803.

A Diſpatch, of which the following is an Extract, has been received this Day by his Excellency the Moſt Noble the Governor-General, from his Excellency the Commander in Chief.

To his Excellency the Moſt Noble Marquis Welleſley, Governor-General, &c.

"MY LORD,

"I have the honour to inform your Lordſhip, that I attacked M. Peron's force this morning, which was ſtrongly poſted with their

their right extending to the fort of Ally Ghur, and their entire front protected by a deep moraſs, which obliged me to change my original plan of attack, and *detour* conſiderably to the right, to turn their left flank, which I completely effected, diſlodging a body of troops which were poſted in a village in the enemy's front.

"On moving forward with the cavalry, in two lines, ſupported by the line of infantry and guns, the enemy immediately retired, after a few ſhot from the cavalry guns, which did ſome execution.

"Several attempts were made to charge ſome conſiderable bodies of cavalry, who made an appearance of ſtanding, but the rapidity of their retreat prevented the poſſibility of effecting it ſo completely as I could have wiſhed; but I have reaſon to believe, that in conſequence of the operations of this day, many of his confederates have left him.

"My loſs in men and horſes is very inconſiderable, and no officer.

"I have the pleaſure to aſſure your Lordſhip, that the zeal, activity, and ſteadineſs, diſplayed by both officers and men, afforded me entire ſatisfaction, and deſerve my warmeſt praiſe.

"My Staff afforded me every aſſiſtance, and I feel myſelf under great obligations to them.

"From every information I can obtain, immediately upon our advancing, M. Peron, with his body guard, retired towards Agra, and has left Colonel Pedron in charge of the fort.

"I am at preſent encamped to the ſouthward of the fort, and the town of Coel is occupied by one of my battalions.

"I have the honour to be, my Lord, your Lordſhip's moſt faithful and humble ſervant,

(Signed) G. LAKE."

Head Quarters, Camp before Ally Ghur, Aug. 29, 1803.

Publiſhed by Command of his Excellency the Moſt Noble Governor-General in Council.

(Signed) J. LUMSDEN, Chief Secretary to Government.

(A true copy.)

(Signed) J. A. GRANT, Secretary to Government.

[ENCLOSURE, No. 3.]

CALCUTTA GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY.

Fort William, Friday, Sept. 9, 1803.

A Diſpatch, of which the following is an Extract, has been received this Day by his Excellency the Moſt Noble the Governor-General, from his Excellency the Commander in Chief.

"MY LORD,

"It is with infinite ſatisfaction I inform your Lordſhip, that the inhabitants of this part of the country are coming in faſt, and manifeſt a wiſh of being protected by the Britiſh Government; and that, in conſequence of my having cauſed it to be made known to the head men of the villages in this neighbourhood, that it is not my intention to moleſt either the perſons or properties of ſuch of the inhabitants as ſhall claim my protection, I have the pleaſure to ſay, that the people who had deſerted the town of Coel on our approach yeſterday, are returning faſt to their houſes, and

and the town is nearly re-peopled. Indeed they have every reaſon to be ſatisfied, as the inſtant this poſition was gained a battalion was poſted in Coel, to prevent plunder; by which means very little loſs was ſuſtained by the inhabitants.

"I learn from all quarters, that moſt of the enemy's cavalry who oppoſed us yeſterday have returned to their homes, declaring their inability to oppoſe the Engliſh.

"From every account I can receive, the number of cavalry oppoſed to us amounted to 15 or 20,000.

"The country in our rear is in a ſtate of perfect tranquillity, nor has it been moleſted by a ſingle horſeman.

"I have ſent into the fort a ſummons, in Engliſh and French, which will, I truſt, have the deſired effect.

"I have the honour to be, my Lord, your Lordſhip's moſt faithful and humble ſervant,

(Signed) G. LAKE."

Publiſhed by Command of his Excellency the Moſt Noble the Governor General in Council.

J. LUMSDEN, Chief Sec. to the Government.

[ENCLOSURE, No. 4.]

CALCUTTA GAZETTE EXTRAORDINARY.

Saturday, Sept. 10, 1803.

To Capt. Lionel Hook, Secretary to the Government Military Department.

"SIR,

"I have the honour, by order of the Commander in Chief, to forward to you, for the information of his Excellency the Moſt Noble the Governor-General in Council, a return of the killed, wounded, and miſſing, in the action which took place yeſterday between the Britiſh army and that of General Peron.

"I have the honour to be, Sir, your obedient ſervant,

D. OCHTERLONY, Dep. Adj. Gen.

Head Quarters, Camp, at Coel, Aug. 30, 1803.

Return of the Killed, Wounded, and Miſſing, in the 2d and 3d Brigades of Cavalry.

Killed. Men, 1. Horſes, 3.
Wounded. Men, 4. Horſes, 8.
Miſſing. Horſes, 10.

Publiſhed by Command of his Excellency the Moſt Noble the Governor-General in Council.

L. HOOK, Sec. to Gov. Milit. Department.

DOWNING-STREET, APRIL 5.

A Diſpatch, of which the following is a Copy, was this Day received by Lord Hobart, from the Hon. F. North, Governor of Ceylon:

"MY LORD,

"It has pleaſed God to bleſs the exertions of our ſmall force with the moſt extraordinary ſucceſs. Not more than eight days ago, the King of Candy, at the head of the moſt numerous force which he could collect in his dominions, burſt into theſe ſettlements at Sitawaca, and attacked the petty fortreſs of Hangwelle, at the diſtance of eighteen Engliſh miles

miles from this city, which was defended by a ſmall garriſon of 50 Europeans, 160 Sepoys, and 17 Gun-Laſcars, on the 3d, 4th, and 6th of this month. Of theſe actions, the laſt was by far the moſt bloody and deciſive. After a combat of an hour and a half, the Candians were defeated with great ſlaughter, their guns taken, together with the royal ſtandard, and more than 120 Bengal and Madras Laſcars, who had been made priſoners at Candy, and compelled to work at the Candian guns, were brought back again to our ſervice. The King fled at the beginning of the action, and was followed by Leuke, Deſſave of the Four Corles, and by the Maha Mohottiar, or Chief Secretary of State, both of whoſe heads he ordered immediately to be ſtruck off. A reinforcement was ſent up on the night after the battle, conſiſting of 50 Europeans and 80 Sepoys, under Captain Hankey, to join Captain Pollock, who had commanded on that day, the ill health of Lieutenant Mercer, who had hitherto defended the place with great vigour and judgment, having rendered it neceſſary to relieve him from that fatiguing command. Captain Pollock marched forward towards the Candian frontier, on the morning of the 9th; and after overcoming all oppoſition, arrived, on the morning of the 13th, at Rowanelly, on the Calany Gunga, in the Candian territory, where the king had formed his principal magazine. Captain Buchan (who had proceeded with a detachment from Negombo, through the Hina and the Hapittigam Corles,) arrived there, at the ſame time, on the other ſide of the river; the enemy fled; the ſtores fell into our hands, and have been brought away; and the town, with the king's new palace there, entirely burnt.

The details of theſe important occurrences are given at full length in the encloſed Gazettes. The diſtricts of Galla and Matura, of Chilow and Putlam, are alſo delivered from the enemy, and reſtored to perfect obedience and tranquillity; and the increaſe of our force, by the recovery of the Malays, will enable me to ſend a ſmall body of troops to Manaar, to protect the northern diſtricts, of the ſituation of which we have had no information for theſe laſt three weeks, as the paſſage of the mail has been intercepted. Two hundred of the 34th regiment have been ſent to Trincomalee by the Madras Government, and will ſoon be relieved by 250 of the 10th; and Lord Welleſley has deſtined the battalion of Bengal volunteers for this iſland.

"I have the honour to be, &c.
F. NORTH."

"P. S. Since I concluded my letter, I have received intelligence from Enſign Pendergaſt, commanding at Hambangtotte, that he had been blockaded in that new colony from the 23d ultimo to the 9th of this month, but had beat off the enemy; and that his Majeſty's ſhip Wilhelmina had touched there with the Royal Artillery from Trincomalee, deſtined for this ſide of the iſland, and left eight men there.

F. N."

Copy

Copy of a Letter from Captain Pollock, commanding the Detachment on the Expedition to Rowanella, to Captain R. Mowbray, Acting Deputy Adjutant-General, dated Avisavelle, 13th Sept. 1803.

"SIR,

"I have the honour to report, for the information of Major-General Macdowall, that I marched yesterday morning, with the detachment under my command, for Rowanella. I found the enemy posted at all the passes on the road, and very strong batteries erected for their defence, from which they were driven with considerable slaughter, and, I am happy to say, with only the loss of one Gun Lascar Tindall, on our side, wounded. On arriving at the Rowanella river, we found the opposite bank lined with batteries, and several pieces of cannon, from which the enemy kept up a heavy fire of round and grape shot, and a constant fire of musquetry. Not being sufficiently acquainted with the state of the river to attempt fording it immediately, the detachment were here obliged to halt a few minutes, when a ford was discovered; Captain Hankey and Lieutenant Mercer, with the advance, instantly pushed over, and Captain Buchan, with his detachment, appearing at this moment on the enemy's right flank, they fled in all directions.

"I have the honour to enclose a return of ordnance and stores captured upon this occasion, all of which I have brought off. I have much pleasure in reporting the good behaviour of the whole detachment, and the obligations I am under to Captain Buchan, for the effectual support he afforded me, notwithstanding the great difficulties he had to encounter from the extreme badness of the road by which he advanced on the North Bank of the Calany Gungar. The two detachments took up their quarters for the night in the palace; and this morning, finding the enemy had retreated into the interior of their territory, I ordered the palace and village of Rowanella to be burnt, which was completely done, and I returned here about eleven o'clock.

"I shall proceed to-morrow morning to Hangwelle, and there await Major-General Macdowall's further orders.

"I have the honour to be, &c.
W. POLLOCK,
Capt. 51st Reg."

A Return of the Ordnance Stores taken at Rowenella.

Three light 6-pounders, mounted on travelling carriages; one light 3-pounder, ditto ditto; two $4\frac{3}{4}$-inch mortars, with beds; seventy-six 6-pounder flannel cartridges, with round shot, fixed to wood bottoms; twenty 3-pounder flannel cartridges, with case shot, fixed to wood bottoms; fifty $4\frac{5}{8}$-inch mortar-shells; with shot, spunges, ladles, &c.

Some camp equipage and an elephant were also taken.

Accounts received from Major Evans and Captain Blackall informs us, that the districts of Putang and Chillaw are restored to perfect tranquillity.

The Candians have also entirely

tirely evacuated the diſtrict of Galle; and the inhabitants of the villages lately occupied by them, have returned ſo effectually to their duty, that they have invited the renters to come back among them, and continue collecting their rents.

The firſt Adigaar has retreated from the diſtrict of Matura, which is nearly reduced to obedience, and the regular communication is again eſtabliſhed with the Tangalle.—Hambangtotte, it is ſuppoſed, has not been evacuated.

London Gazette Extraordinary.

Monday, April 9.

[This Gazette contained diſpatches which had been received at the India-Houſe, from Bombay, relating to the operations of General Lake before Agra, under date of the 10th, 12th, 14th, and 18th of October; as alſo farther reports from Lieutenant-Colonel Harcourt, dated Oct. 14 and 15. They are in ſubſtance as follow:

In a letter, dated Nov. 22, Major-General Welleſley writes to Colonel Murray, that having concluded an armiſtice with Dowlut Rao Scindia, the Britiſh troops are not to advance beyond Dohud; and thoſe in the ſervice of Scindia are not to approach Dohud from the eaſtward nearer than twenty coſs. The agreement is only applicable to the troops of Scindia.

The *Bombay Courier Extraordinary*, of Dec. 3, contains the following important intelligence:

"*Barackpore, Nov.* 13, 1803.

"Diſpatches have been received from the Commander in Chief, by which it appears, that the moſt complete and glorious victory has been obtained on the 1ſt inſtant, at Ca-ſowly, over a body of the enemy, conſiſting of the battalions detached in July from the Dekan, with ſome battalions which had eſcaped from Delhi (amounting altogether to ſeventeen battalions), and a large body of horſe. All the enemy's battalions were cut up or taken, and near ſeventy guns; their whole baggage, buzars, &c. are in our poſſeſſion. General Lake had for ſome days been in purſuit of the enemy: on the morning of the 31ſt of October, the General had marched twenty miles, and hearing that the enemy were halted at a conſiderable diſtance, at twelve P. M. the night of the 31ſt of October, he advanced twenty miles with the cavalry, (making the whole diſtance marched in twenty-four hours forty miles,) and came up with the enemy at day-break on the 1ſt. We immediately attacked, to detain them until the arrival of the infantry. This plan ſucceeded completely. When the infantry arrived, a general attack was made on the enemy, who, after a moſt deſperate reſiſtance, were entirely defeated, but with a ſevere loſs on our ſide. The details of the action are not yet received, but Major-General Ware, Colonel Vandeleure, Major Griffiths, aide-de-camp to the governor-general, Major Campbell, Deputy Quarter-Maſter-General, and Lieutenant Duval, aide-de-camp to the commander in chief, were killed. The general had two horſes killed under him, and his coat torn with a grape-ſhot. Major

jor Lake was wounded in the knee with a grape-ſhot; he will not, however, loſe his leg."

In conſequence of this victory, a royal ſalute and three vollies of muſketry were ordered to be fired at all the ſtations of the army.]

TUESDAY, APRIL 10.

Letters from General Lake to Marquis Welleſley, dated Agra, Oct. 16.

"MY LORD,

"Finding it impoſſible to make approaches againſt this place, as long as the ſeven battalions of the enemy, who remained here, were in poſſeſſion of the town of Agra, of an encampment with a large number of guns on the glacis, and of the ravines with which the ſouth and ſouth-weſt face of the fort is ſurrounded, I determined to diſlodge the enemy from the town, and occupy the ravines this morning, which will anſwer as trenches, and afford complete cover for carrying on our works. With this view I ordered Brigadier-General Clarke, who was encamped with his brigade in the rear of the town, to take poſſeſſion of it, at the ſame time that three battalions advanced to occupy the ravines. The attacks have ſucceeded, and the town, as well as the ravines, are now occupied by our troops. Lieut.-Colonel M'Cullock, Major Haldane, and Captain Worſley, led the battalions that advanced on the ravines. Every praiſe is due to thoſe officers, who performed every thing required of them with the greateſt alacrity and ſteadineſs. I am ſorry to ſay, that a number of men have been killed and wounded, as well as officers, owing to their high ſpirit and anxiety to poſſeſs themſelves of the enemy's guns; they quitted the ravines and gained the glacis, driving the enemy from their poſition; in effecting which, from being cloſe under the fort, they were expoſed to a very heavy fire. My thanks are due to the Hon. Major-General St. John, for his ſpirited conduct in advancing at the head of the ſecond battalion of the 2d Native Infantry, which I found it neceſſary to order up to ſupport the attack.—Brigadier-General Clarke, in his attack on the town, met with conſiderable reſiſtance, which, by the gallant conduct of the officers and men under his command, was at length ſurmounted.

[The General then expreſſes his obligations to Lieutenant-Colonel White, who commanded five companies of the 16th Native Infantry; to Lieurenant-Colonel Gerrard; to Major Thomas, who was ſeverely wounded, though expected to recover; and to Lieutenant Hay, of the Artillery.]

In a letter of October 13, General Lake announces that ſome battalions oppoſed to him in the affair of the 10th, came over on the 12th. Their number is 2,500. They ſtated their loſs in the action above mentioned to be upwards of 600.

Return of Killed, Wounded, and Miſſing, in the Affair of the 10th.

Artillery, Lieutenant Beagham, wounded.—2d Battalion, 9th Reg. Lieutenant Grant, killed; Lieutenant Whitaker, wounded, ſince dead.

dead.—1ſt Bat. 12th Regiment, Lieutenant Woollet, wounded.—1ſt Bat. 14th Regiment, Major Thomas, Lieutenant Roſe, and Enſign Oliver, wounded.—1ſt Bat. 15th Regiment, Lieutenant Perry, wounded.—Total killed, 35. Total wounded, 179.—Miſſing, 15.

Letter from General Lake to Marquis Welleſley, dated Agra, Oct. 18.

"My Lord,

I have the pleaſure to inform you, that the important fortreſs of Agra, termed by the natives the Key of Hindoſtan, capitulated laſt night, and the garriſon, conſiſting of between 5 and 6000 men, marched out at noon this day, when the place was immediately occupied by our troops under the command of Brigadier-General Macdonald. The only terms required by the garriſon, were protection to their perſons and private property, which was agreed to on my part. I attribute the early ſurrender of this place to the great impreſſion our breaching-batteries, which opened yeſterday morning within 350 yards, made on the wall, and which would have cauſed a practicable breach in a few hours more battering. To Col. Horſeford, of the Artillery, and Capt. Wood, of the Corps of Engineers, as well as to every other officer in thoſe two corps, I feel myſelf under great obligations for their unremitted exertions on this occaſion, and to which I principally attribute my early ſucceſs againſt this place. I have the pleaſure to ſay, our loſs, ſince the conſtruction of the batteries, has been very trifling. Three European artillerymen and three Golundauze killed, are the only caſualties."

A letter from Lieut. Col. Harcourt, dated at Laul-Baug Fort, Cuttack, Oct. 10, gives the following particulars of the capture of the Fort of Barabutty:—

"On the night of the 12th, a ſpot was fixed on for a 12-pounder battery, diſtant about 500 yards from the outer gate of the fort. The battery was completed on the night of the 13th, and the 12-pounder placed in it, together with two howitzers and two 6-pounders, the whole of which opened their fire on the morning of the 14th. By eleven o'clock in the forenoon, moſt of the defences on the ſouth face of the fort, againſt which our fire was directed, were taken off, the enemy's guns ſilenced, and every appearance promiſed ſucceſs; upon which I directed Lieutenant-Colonel Clayton to advance with one 6-pounder, and a party of artillery-men, 200 Europeans from his Majeſty's 22d, and the Madras European regiment, and 400 Sepoys from 20th Bengal, and the 9th and 19th regiments of Madras Native Infantry. The party had to paſs over a narrow bridge, and under a very heavy, but ill-directed, fire of muſketry from the fort, to which they were expoſed for forty minutes. They at length ſucceeded in blowing open the wicket (the remaining part of the gate having been fortified with thick maſſes of ſtone). Having once accompliſhed this, the party entered ſingly; and although they met with conſiderable reſiſtance whilſt entering the fort, and paſſing two other gates, the Britiſh troops were ſoon completely victorious."

The Colonel then beſtows the higheſt praiſe on Lieutenant-Col. Clayton and the troops under his

command; on Captains Blunt and Hetzler; and on Major Thompſon. —The fort of Barabutty is of conſiderable ſtrength; and, with the exception of the bridge over which the party paſſed, is inacceſſible, as it is ſurrounded by a ditch from 35 to 135 feet broad, with 20 feet depth of water. A ſtand of colours was taken by the detachment of the 22d regiment; a ſecond ſtand of colours by the 20th Bengal regiment; a third by the 9th Madras Native regiment; and a fourth by the 19th Madras Native regiment.

Total killed.—Europeans 2, Natives 3.

Total wounded.—Europeans 16, Natives 13.

Officers wounded.—Captain Hurlſtone of the 22d regiment; Captain Kenny, of the 1ſt. Bat. 19th Regiment Madras Native Infantry; Lieutenant Faithful, of the Bengal Artillery.

Another diſpatch announces the capture of Baroach, on Aug. 30, by Lieutenant-Colonel Woodington. On this occaſion, Captain W. Semple, of the 86th regiment, was killed, and Lieutenants Richardſon and Maclaurin wounded.

[In the General Orders on the ſubject of Major-General Welleſley's victory at Aſſye, the Governor and Council ſignify their intention of preſenting honorary colours to the Cavalry and Infantry, and of cauſing the names of all who fell to be inſerted in a monument to be erected at Fort William.]

LONDON GAZETTE, APRIL 10.

[The following Letters were tranſmitted to Mr. Marſden, Secretary to the Admiralty, by Lord Keith, who obſerves on the delicacy with which Captain Hardinge refrains, in his narrative, of any mention of himſelf; and likewiſe adds, that Captain Pelly was promoted to the rank of Maſter and Commander, in conſequence of his being moſt ſeverely wounded in the performance of his Duty near Bologne.]

Copy of a Letter from Captain Hardinge to Admiral Thornborough.

His Majeſty's Sloop Scorpion, off the Vlie, April 3, 1804.

"Sir,

Having reconnoitred the poſition of the two men of war brigs in the Vlie, I reſolved to attempt the outermoſt on the firſt favourable opportunity; when accidentally falling in with his Majeſty's ſloop Beaver, in her way to her ſtation, on the 31ſt ultimo, Captain Pelly very handſomely volunteered the aſſiſtance of himſelf and his boats. The attack was made the ſame night; the intrepidity of Britiſh ſeamen overcame every obſtacle (ſhe being in all reſpects prepared with boarding-netting, &c.); and after a ſharp conteſt, we were in full poſſeſſion of her. She proves to be the Dutch national brig Atalante, Captain Carp, mounting ſix long 12-pounders, and had on board ſeventy-ſix men. She is one of the largeſt brigs in the Dutch navy, is a remarkably fine veſſel, and, in my opinion, admirably calculated for his Majeſty's ſervice.

I am happy to add, it has not been attended with the loſs of one man on our part, and only five wounded. I beg leave to ſay how much I am indebted to the zeal and gallantry of Captain Pelly, Lieu-

tenants

tenants Bluett, White, and Shields, with Meſſrs. Williams and Fair, Maſters, and the reſt of the petty officers and men, for their cool, ſteady, and determined conduct throughout the whole, as, from a ſhift of wind, we were unable to bring her out for three days. I herewith return liſts of the killed and wounded.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) G. N. HARDINGE.

To Rear Admiral Thornborough, &c. &c. &c.

Liſt of Killed and Wounded.

Scorpion—Mr. Bluett, Lieutenant; Mr. Williams, Maſter; Mr. Jones, Midſhipman; James Wilkinſon (badly), and Richard Tucker, ſeaman, wounded.

Beaver—None killed or wounded.

Atalante—Captain Carp, and three ſeamen, killed; Firſt Lieutenant, three officers, and eight ſeamen, wounded.

LONDON GAZETTE, APRIL 21.

The following diſpatches have been received at the Eaſt India Houſe, by way of Bagdad:

To his Excellency Moſt Noble Marquis Welleſly, &c. &c.

Camp, four Miles Weſt-ward of Caſſowly, Nov. 1.

MY LORD,

I have the honour to inform your Excellency, that I marched from Agra the 27th ult., in purſuit of the Mahratta force, which was compoſed of the brigades which had been detached from the Dekhan in the early part of the campaign, and of a few battalions which had effected their eſcape from Delhi. I was the more anxious to defeat this corps, from its being furniſhed with a numerous artillery. Owing to the detention the army met with from a heavy fall of rain, it was not until the 29th that it reached a camp weſtward of the Futtipoor. From intelligence I received here of the rapid manner in which the Mahratta army moved, I determined to leave the heavy artillery, with a proper detachment of infantry for its protection, and to purſue the enemy by forced marches, in the hope of being able the more ſpeedily to come up with him. On the 31ſt the army encamped at a ſhort diſtance from the ground which the enemy had quitted the ſame morning. Poſſeſſed of this intelligence I reſolved to make an effort to overtake him with all the cavalry of the army, in the intention of delaying him, by a light engagement, until the infantry ſhould be able to come up. To this end the cavalry marched at twelve laſt night, and having performed a diſtance of more than forty miles in twenty-four hours, came up with the enemy this morning ſoon after day-break. From the ſudden manner in which I came upon the enemy, I ventured to make an attack with the cavalry alone, ſupported by the mounted artillery; but finding him too advantageouſly poſted to hope for complete ſucceſs without too much riſk, I drew the cavalry out of reach of cannon ſhot, and waited the arrival of the infantry. Soon after their arrival, I made a general attack upon the enemy's poſition, the reſult of which I have the ſatisfaction of informing your Excel-

lency has been a complete, though, I ſincerely lament to add, dear-bought victory.

The enemy were totally defeated, with the loſs of all their cannon, tumbrils, and baggage; but this important advantage has only been gained by the loſs of many valuable Officers, the principal of whom are Major-General Ware, Colonel Vandeleur, Major Griffiths, Major Campbell, the Deputy Quarter-Maſter General, and my Aide-de-Camp, Lieutenant Duval, who glorioufly fell in this honourable conteſt. I have not been able to aſcertain the exact account of our loſs in killed and wounded, returns of which, with a detailed account of this important affair, I ſhall have the honour of tranſmitting to your Excellency by the firſt opportunity.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) G. Lake.

To his Excellency Moſt Noble Marquis Welleſley, &c.

My Lord,

In my diſpatch of yeſterday's date, I did myſelf the honour to ſtate, for your Lordſhip's information, ſome particulars of the march of the army from Agra to the camp it now occupies, together with the general reſult of the action which took place yeſterday. I now have the honour to ſend your Excellency a more detailed account of that affair. After a forced march of twenty-five miles, which was performed by the cavalry in little more than ſix hours, I came up with the enemy, who appeared to be upon their retreat, and in ſuch confuſion, that I was tempted to try the effect of an attack upon him with the cavalry alone. By cutting the embankment of a large reſervoir of water, the enemy had rendered the road very difficult to paſs, which cauſed a conſiderable delay in the advance of the cavalry; of this the enemy had availed himſelf to take an advantageous poſt, having his right upon a rivulet, which we had to croſs, and his left upon the village of Saſwaree; the whole of his front was amply provided with artillery. I was prevented from diſcovering this change in the ſituation of the enemy, by the quantity of duſt, which, when once clear of the water, totally obſcured him from our ſight: I therefore proceeded in the execution of my deſign, by which I hoped to prevent his retreat into the hills, and ſecure his guns: directing the advanced guard and firſt brigade commanded by Colonel Vandeleur, upon the point where I obſerved the enemy in motion, but which proved to be the left of his new poſition; the remainder of the cavalry I ordered to attack in ſucceſſion, as ſoon as they could form after paſſing the rivulet.

The charge of the advanced guard under Major Griffith, and that of the firſt brigade led by Colonel Vandeleur, was made with much gallantry; the enemy's line was forced, and the cavalry penetrated into the village; they ſtill, however, continued to be expoſed to a moſt galling fire of cannon and muſketry, which, as it was impoſſible, under ſuch circumſtances, to form the ſquadrons for a freſh attack, determined me to withdraw them. The guns which had fallen into our hands could not be brought away from the want of bullocks. In this charge Colonel Vandeleur fell,

fell, mortally wounded; in him, the ſervice has loſt a moſt valuable officer. The attacks of the other brigades were conducted with the ſame ſpirit; but after taking ſeveral of the enemies' guns, being ſtill fired upon without being able to diſcover the enemy, they retired in good order, retaining poſſeſſion of a part of the artillery. In the performance of this ſervice, the third brigade, conſiſting of his Majeſty's 29th regiment, and the 4th regiment of native cavalry, under the command of that meritorious Officer, Colonel Macan, met my entire approbation.

The infantry having marched at three A. M. arrived upon the banks of the rivulet about eleven o'clock. After ſo long a march, it was abſolutely neceſſary to allow ſome time for the men to refreſh themſelves, during which the enemy ſent in to ſay, that if certain terms were allowed them, they were willing to ſurrender their guns. Anxious to prevent the further effuſion of blood, I directed a letter to be written, acquieſcing in their propoſals, and allowing them an hour to decide. In the mean time, the ſeveral columns for the attack were formed. The infantry formed in two columns upon the left; the firſt, compoſed of the right wing, under the command of Major General Ware, was deſtined to gain the enemy's right flank, which he had thrown back ſince the morning, leaving a conſiderable ſpace between it and the rivulet, and to aſſault the village of Saſwaree: the ſecond compoſed of the left wing under Major-General St. John, was to ſupport the firſt column; the third brigade of cavalry, under Colonel Macan, was to ſupport the infantry; the ſecond brigade, under Lieutenant Colonel Vandeleur, was detached to the right, to be ready to take advantage of any confuſion in the enemy's line, and to attack him upon his retreat. The brigade under Colonel Gordon compoſed the reſerve, and was formed between the ſecondand third brigades. As many of the field-pieces as could be brought up with the gallopers attached to the cavalry, formed four different batteries.

At the expiration of the time which I had allowed the enemy to decide, I ordered the infantry to advance; as ſoon as they became expoſed to the enemy's guns, the four batteries commenced their fire, and continued to advance, though oppoſed by a great ſuperiority, both in number and weight of metal.

When the 76th regiment, which headed the attack, had arrived at the point from which I intended to make the charge, they were ſo much expoſed to the enemy's fire, and loſing men ſo faſt, that I judged it preferable to proceed to the attack with that regiment, and as many of the native infantry as had cloſed to the front, to loſing time in waiting until the remainder of the column ſhould be able to form, the march of which had been retarded by the impediments in the advance.

As ſoon as this handful of heroes were arrived within reach of the enemy's canniſter ſhot, a moſt tremendous fire was opened upon them. The loſs they ſuſtained was very ſevere, and ſufficient alone to prevent a regular advance. At this moment the enemy's cavalry attempted to charge, but were repulſed by the fire of this gallant body; they, however, rallied at a

ſhort diſtance, and aſſuming ſo menacing a poſture, that I thought it adviſable to order them to be attacked by the cavalry. This ſervice fell to the ſhare of his Majeſty's 29th regiment, commanded by Captain Wade, (Major Griffith having at that inſtant been unfortunately killed by a cannon ſhot), and was performed with the greateſt gallantry, and in a manner which entitles Captain Wade, and every officer and ſoldier in the regiment, to my warmeſt acknowledgments. The remainder of the firſt column of infantry arrived juſt in time to join in the attack of the enemy's reſerve, which was formed in the rear of his line, with its left upon the village of Saſwaree, and its right thrown back.

About this time Major General Ware fell dead, his head being carried off by a cannon ſhot. He was a gallant Officer, and one whoſe loſs I deeply lament. On his death, the command of this column fell upon Colonel M'Donald, who, though wounded, continued to acquit himſelf in this important command very much to my ſatisfaction.

The enemy oppoſed a vigorous reſiſtance to the laſt, and it was not until he had loſt his guns that he abandoned his poſt. Even then his left wing did not fly, but attempted to retreat in good order; in this, however, they were fruſtrated by his Majeſty's 27th regiment, and the 6th regiment of Native cavalry, under the command of Colonel Vandeleur, who broke in upon the column, cut ſeveral to pieces, and drove the reſt in priſoners, with the whole of the baggage.

Severe as the loſs has been which we have ſuſtained in the achievement of this complete victory, that of the enemy has been much greater. With the exception of upwards of two thouſand who have been taken priſoners, (of which number I have only detained the principal Officers, amounting to forty-eight,) I have reaſon to believe that very few eſcaped the general ſlaughter.—It would be a violation of my feelings, were I to cloſe my diſpatch without bearing teſtimony to the gallant conduct of Major M'Leod, and Captain Robertſon of his Majeſty's 76th regiment, and of every officer and ſoldier in that ineſtimable corps, in the attack of the village of Saſwaree. Major Gregory too at the head of the 2d battalion 12th regiment of native infantry, in the ſame ſervice, diſplayed a conduct highly meritorious.

In the liſt of thoſe Officers who particularly diſtinguiſhed themſelves, I cannot omit the names of Lieutenant Wallace, of his Majeſty's 27th regiment, who was intruſted with the command of a battery of gallopers; nor that of Lieut. Dixon, of the 6th regiment of native cavalry, who was employed in the ſame ſervice. The whole of my Staff upon this, as upon every former occaſion, are entitled to a large ſhare of praiſe, and to my warmeſt gratitude. The zeal which they diſplayed upon this memorable day is too plainly proved by the encloſed returns of the killed and wounded. I have ſuſtained a great loſs by the death of Major William Campbell, the Deputy-Quarter-Maſter General, and by that of my Aide-de-Camp, Lieutenant Duval, of his Majeſty's 19th light dragoons, who was a young man of great promiſe.—Herewith

I have

I have the honour to enclose returns of the ordnance and colours which were captured upon this occasion.

I have the honour to be, &c.

G. LAKE.

P. S. In the hurry which I wrote my dispatch of yesterday's date, I fear I did not explain to your Lordship, that the enemy's corps, which we have defeated, comprised the whole of the fifteen regular battalions which had been sent from the Decan, under the command of Monf. Duderneg, and two battalions of the same description which had escaped from Delhi. I therefore have the satisfaction of congratulating your Excellency upon the annihilation of the whole of the regular force in Scindiah's service, commanded by the French Officers.

(Signed) G. L.

Total killed and Wounded.—1 Major-General, 1 Colonel, 2 Majors, 1 Captain, 4 Lieutenants, 2 Quarter-Masters, 2 Cornets, 11 Serjeants, 4 Matrosses, 67 Rank and File, 1 Subadar, 7 Havildars, 6 Naicks, 60 Privates, and 3 Lascars, killed; 1 Colonel, 2 Lieutenant-Colonels, 2 Majors, 7 Captains, 12 Lieutenants, 3 Quarter-Masters, 1 Cornet, 1 Ensign, 27 Serjeants, 6 Matrosses, 248 Rank and File, 1 Drummer, 4 Subadars, 7 Jamadars, 26 Havildars, 19 Naicks, 279 Privates, 5 Lascars, and 1 Beasty, wounded.—Grand total, 172 killed, 652 wounded, 277 horses killed, 154 wounded, and 122 missing.

Names of the Officers killed and Wounded.

Killed, Major-General Ware, General Staff; Major-General Campbell, Deputy Quarter-Master General; Lieutenant Duval, Aid-de-Camp to the Commander in Chief.—Wounded, Lieut. Gen. Gerrard, Adjutant General; Major G. A. F. Lake, Secretary to the Commander in Chief; Captain J. Campbell, Grain Agent; Lieutenant Ashurst, commanding the escort of the Commander in Chief.—8th Regiment of Light Dragoons. Killed, Colonel Vandeleur, Captain Storey. Wounded, Lieutenant Lyndon (since dead), Lieutenant Willard.—27th Regiment of Light Dragoons. Wounded, Captain White, Captain Sandys, Captain Milne, Lieutenant Gore—29th Regiment of Light Dragoons. Killed, Major Griffiths, Cornet Fitzgerald, Quarter-Masters Philley and M'Goughby. Wounded, Lieutenant Halsted (since dead,) Captain Sloane, Lieutenant Thorne, Quarter-Master Fallen.—1st Regiment of Native Cavalry. Killed, Cornet Coxwell. Wounded, Lieutenant Cornish.—4th ditto. Wounded, Lieutenant Reid.—6th ditto. Wounded, Cornet Dixon—76th Regiment of Foot. Killed, Lieutenant and Adjutant Meuth, Lieutenant Herd. Wounded, Captain Robertson, Lieutenants Master, Wilmer, and Sinclair.—12th Native Infantry. Wounded, Ensign Dalton, Major Gregory, Captain Fletcher, Lieutenant Ryan.—15th ditto. Killed, Lieutenant Lambert. Wounded, Colonel Mac Donald.—16th ditto. Wounded, Lieutenant-Colonel White, Ensign G. D. Heathcote.

Ordnance captured—71 pieces of cannon of different calibres, 64 tumbrils complete, laden with ammunition, and 44 stands of colours.

General Wellesley, in a letter to the Governor in Council at Bombay, under date Ferdapoor, Oct. 24, announces, that Burhampore surrendered without opposition to Colonel Stevenson, on the 15th of that month, as did Asseer Ghur, after a slight resistance. On the 21st, General Wellesley finding that the enemy had not moved to the Southward, as was reported, after advancing to Phoolmurry, on the 15th, descended the Ghaut of Adjuntee on the 19th. He then learnt that Scindiah had moved to the Northward, but halted as soon as he found Gen. W. had returned, and on the 23d October, was at Ahoonah, on the Taptee. The Rajah of Berar had separated from him, and it was supposed had gone towards Chandore. General W. purposed to reascend the Ghauts immediately.

Twenty-nine Officers and Serjeants formerly in Scindiah's service, had joined the army of Colonel Stevenson. When this Officer approached Burhampore, Scindiah's infantry returned towards the Nerbudda, and it is said has been totally dispersed. Asseer Ghur was the last fortress belonging to Scindiah in the Decan; and General Wellesley observed, that the future operations of the troops would be directed against the possessions of the Berar Rajah.

General Wellesley in another letter, dated Nov. 6, gives a detailed account of the reduction of Asser Ghur.

LONDON GAZETTE, APRIL 22, 1804.

Dispatch from Col. Frazer, commandant of the Settlement at Goree, on the Coast of Africa, to the Right Honourable Lord Hobart, one of the principal Secretaries of State, &c.

Goree, Africa, Feb. 5, 1804.

MY LORD,

On the 17th of January, about noon, a negro arrived from Yoffe, and reported that a fleet had been seen from thence that morning at day-light, and appeared to be standing for Goree; before two o'clock vessels were seen from the hill behind Cape Emanuel: near four they came round the Cape. The squadron consisted of one ship carrying a commodore's pendant, and five armed schooners, with pendants, all shewing French colours, and with large boats towing after them. The commodore fired a gun, and hoisted a red flag at his foremast head, which we have since learnt was meant as a signal to us, that in case of an attack during night, no quarter would be given. About sunset the squadron tacked, and before dark was near the anchorage, standing in. The inhabitants having agreed to assist in defending the island against any attempt that should be made from Senegal, and being of opinion that the present force was of that nature, such measures were taken as appeared most likely to prevent the enemy from landing during the night. All the arms that could be procured were accordingly issued to the inhabitants, who, with the garrison were stationed at the different posts round the island. The moon set at eleven, and affairs remained in the situation described, until about three o'clock on the 18th, when shortly after I had returned to the Breach Battery, from visiting the posts, a fresh fire com-

commenced on the eaſt ſide of the iſland, from boats, and at the ſame inſtant a ſchooner came in ſight, ſtanding directly for the beach; a ſtrong and well directed fire of great guns and muſquetry was immediately opened upon her, and the people on board being either wounded or driven below, ſhe drifted on ſhore. In the mean time the boats, to the number of eight, full of troops, had unfortunately effected a landing on the rocks, to the eaſt ſide of the town, where the ſurf happened to be unuſually low; and having overcome the force which was oppoſed to them, they had penetrated through the town as far as the main guard, of which, after having been once repulſed, they gained poſſeſſion, making ſome priſoners. The inhabitants having given way, nearly on all ſides, and the enemy being now in ſuch force on our right, it appeared adviſable to form a junction with the ſoldiers in the north point battery, where we ſhould retain the command of the Beach, and be ready to check any further attempt to land, until ſome information could be received of the ſtrength and ſituation of the enemy, to enable me to judge of what ought to be done.

The firing continued till towards two o'clock, when, being yet uncertain what number had landed, and in hope the main guard was the only poſt held by the enemy, I directed that it ſhould be attacked by the ſoldiers I had with me; which was executed with great alacrity, and the poſt carried with conſiderable loſs on the part of the enemy. On our ſide it was leſs as to numbers, but I loſt the aſſiſtance of a very gallant officer, Doctor Heddle, being ſhot through the breaſt in the attack, when Capt. Lloyd was alſo ſlightly wounded. We now learned that the enemy had poſſeſſion of the hills, where Capt. Lloyd propoſed to attack them, a meaſure I ſhould gladly have adopted, but the day beginning to break we had the mortification of ſeeing them appear in ſuch numbers, as left no room to ſuppoſe there was any probability of ſucceſs, our force being reduced by killed, wounded and priſoners, to about twenty-five ſoldiers, Capt. Lloyd, Lieut. Chriſtie, and myſelf. At this time the enemy's veſſels were ſtanding in cloſer, apparently to land a reinforcement; and the inhabitants ſeeing French colours on the hill, came to me aſking leave to treat. Under theſe circumſtances, and expoſed to the enemy's fire on all ſides, farther reſiſtance appeared vain; I therefore felt it my duty to comply with the requeſt of the inhabitants, and ſent an officer with them, propoſing terms of capitulation for the garriſon. The officer who commanded the ſtorming party having been killed, the terms of capitulation were virtually agreed to with the ſenior who ſurvived, to be communicated to the commandant of the ſquadron; until his anſwer ſhould be received, firing ceaſed, and we continued to occupy the battery.

The terms of capitulation being confirmed by the Chevalier Mahè, the ſoldiers grounded their arms, and the place was ſurrendered. We were informed that the enemy's force conſiſted of four ſchooners, which had been fitted out at Cayenne, and ſupplied with ſoldiers for the purpoſe of attacking Goree; that they had touched at Senegal, where they had been furniſhed with ad-

additional boats, pilots, and a reinforcement of ſoldiers, and another ſchooner; and where they had been joined by the ſhip, which happening to call at Senegal, was put in requiſition for the expedition. The ſquadron altogether carried upwards of ſixty-guns, and ſix hundred men, two hundred and forty of whom had been landed; the whole under the command of M. Mahè, lieutenant de Vaiſſeau. The Commodore's pendant having been hoiſted only while coming in, by the captain of the ſhip, having held that rank during the late war. On the evening of the action we had fifty-four white men, including officers; and although the ſerjeant Major was the only one who was not able to come upon the batteries; when it is conſidered, that ſeveral of the men, worn out by diſeaſe, and diſabled by accidents were incapable of making any great exertion; that uncertain where an attack might be made in the night, it was neceſſary to divide our force very much, to occupy the different poſts: I hope and truſt it will appear to our king and to our country, that the garriſon I had the the honour to command did not ſubmit, without diſcharging its duty like Britiſh ſoldiers. Our loſs conſiſts of 1 drummer, 8 rank and file, killed; 2 officers, 8 rank and file wounded, total 19. Of the enemy, according to the moſt correct accounts I can procure, 3 officers and 40 men killed, or ſince dead; 2 officers and upwards of 30 men, wounded, total 75.—Capt. Lloyd, who has already, upon ſeveral occaſions been mentioned as a deſerving officer, both here and at Sierra Leone, continues to merit very great praiſe. Doctor Heddle having propoſed ſome time back to do military duty, I gladly accepted his offer, and he has given me great aſſiſtance. His wound, which was at firſt thought to be mortal, has ſince taken a favourable turn, and I am happy to add, I think he will recover; and I earneſtly wiſh to recommend him to your Lordſhip's notice, as diſtinguiſhed by his conduct upon this occaſion, and alſo by his attention to his medical duties, ſince we came to Africa.

On the 18th of January, in the evening, the Britiſh ſoldiers were embarked on board the French ſquadron, until a cartel ſhould be ready for them. On the 23d the officers and ſoldiers went on board a ſloop which was ſent as a cartel to Senegal, where a larger veſſel was preparing to carry them to England; I am ſorry to add, that notwithſtanding the articles of capitulation, the inhabitants, officers, and even ſoldiers, have been ſhamefully pillaged.

I have the honour to be, &c.

JOHN FRASER.

ARTICLES OF CAPITULATION.

Art. I. The Iſland of Goree with its dependencies, ſhall be delivered up to the French government as it now ſtands.

Art. II. The Britiſh Garriſon having laid down their arms in the North Battery, which they continue to occupy, ſhall be furniſhed without delay with a ſufficient veſſel as a cartel, to carry them to Great Britain, Col. Fraſer giving his parole of honour for himſelf, his officers, and ſoldiers, not to ſerve during the preſent war, againſt the French republic, or its allies, until regularly exchanged.

Art. III. The officers and

ſoldiers

ſoldiers ſhall preſerve their baggage and effects, which ſhall be embarked with them.

Art. IV. The inhabitants ſhall retain poſſeſſion of their properties, without prejudice, however, to any orders to the contrary which may hereafter be given by General Blanchot, commandant and adminiſtrator general of Senegal and its dependencies.

Agreed upon and executed in two copies, to be exchanged between us, the day and year already mentioned.

(Signed) JOHN FRASER,
Col. Afr. Corps.
Mahé, Lieut de Vaiſſeau,
and commanding the Diviſion.

LONDON GAZETTE, APRIL 28.

Copy of a Letter from Captain Edward Sterling Dickſon, Commander of his Majeſty's Ship the Inconſtant, to William Marſden, Eſq. dated at Goree, March 15, 1804.

SIR,

I have the honour to acquaint you, for the information of my Lords Commiſſioners of the Admiralty, of the arrival of his Majeſty's ſhip under my command, and the veſſels named in the margin *, off the iſland of Goree, on the morning of the 7th of March; but conceiving it poſſible that it might be in the poſſeſſion of the enemy, (although Engliſh colours were hoiſted on the Citadel, and ſentinels clothed in red placed on the different batteries,) I brought to with the convoy, and directed Mr. Charles Pickford, my firſt Lieutenant, to proceed on ſhore in the cutter, and, if he found it in the hands of the Engliſh, to make the ſignal I eſtabliſhed for that purpoſe. At ſunſet, not any ſignal having been made, nor the appearance of the boat, I came to anchor with the convoy a little out of gun-ſhot; and deeming it highly neceſſary to gain ſome information with reſpect to the ſituation of the garriſon, I ordered, at ten o'clock, P.M. three boats, manned and armed, under the direction of Mr. Runciman, Midſhipman, to proceed into the harbour, and cut out any of the veſſels he could find, which he did in a gallant manner, by bringing out a ſhip, under a heavy fire from the batteries, which ſunk our cutter, and wounded one man. From her I learned, that the French had been in poſſeſſion of Goree ſince the 18th of January, and that they had three hundred white and black troops in the garriſon.

On the 8th inſtant, at day-light, I weighed, and ſtood to the weſtward of the iſland, to prevent any ſuccours being thrown in by ſea from Senegal; and, on the evening of the ſame day, being determined to attack it, having ordered ſcaling ladders to be made for that purpoſe, at nine P. M. anchored, and ordered all the boats of the convoy to be ſent on board the Inconſtant, and after embarking as many troops as they could poſſibly ſtow, I found they would not carry a ſufficient number to promiſe ſucceſs; I therefore poſtponed the attack until the arrival of one of our convoy, which was in ſight, ſtanding into the bay, as her three boats could carry from thirty to forty men more; at day-light, in the morning of the 9th

* Eagle Store-Ship, Hamilton, Venus, Jenny.

inſtant

inſtant, we were agreeably ſurpriſed by ſeeing the Engliſh colours hoiſted over the French, and ſhortly after I received information from Lieutenant Pickford, that the garriſon had capitulated with him; I inſtantly ſtood into the harbour with the convoy, anchored and diſembarked the troops. Conceiving it of importance that his Majeſty's Miniſters ſhould be made acquainted as ſoon as poſſible with the recapture of this iſland, I have purchaſed a ſmall brig, and ſent my Firſt Lieutenant, Mr. Charles Pickford, an intelligent and deſerving officer to England, who will have the honour to preſent my diſpatches; and I beg leave to recommend him in the ſtrongeſt manner to their Lordſhips' favour.

I have appointed Captain William Murray, ſenior officer of the troops, to be Commandant at Goree, till his Majeſty's pleaſure is known, and Mr. William Arnold, Maſter's Mate, to be Lieutenant of the Inconſtant, vice Pickford, and hope it will meet their Lordſhips' approbation.

The moment I can get a ſufficient ſupply of water and proviſions landed, and put the iſland into a proper ſtate of defence, I ſhall proceed, and put their Lordſhips' orders into execution.

I cannot conclude my letter, without aſſuring their Lordſhips, that the greateſt cordiality exiſted between the Officers, ſeamen, and ſoldiers; and had an attack been found neceſſary, from the handſome manner they volunteered their ſervices, I am perſuaded they would have done honour to their country.

Enclos'd are the articles of Capitulation, and an account of the ordnance and military ſtores found in the garriſon.

I have the honour to be, &c.

E. S. Dickson.

A Diſpatch of which the following is a Copy, was this Day received by the Right Hon. Lord Hobart, one of his Majeſty's principal Secretaries of State, from Captain Dickſon, commanding his Majeſty's Ship Inconſtant.

H. M. S. Inconſtant, Goree, Africa, March 15.

My Lord,

I beg leave to acquaint your Lordſhip with the recapture of the iſland of Goree, and I have the honour to encloſe you the Articles of Capitulation. I have appointed Captain W. Murray, Senior Officer of the African Corps, Commandant of Goree, until his Majeſty's pleaſure is known; and as I had not any directions relative to the cargo of the Eagle ſtore ſhip, I took the liberty to open the letter addreſſed to Colonel Fraſer, from your Lordſhip, and have given it to Captain Murray, and ordered him to follow, as cloſe as poſſible, the directions contained therein. The very ample ſupply of ſtores and proviſions this veſſel appears to have brought out, and the great ſtrength of the garriſon at preſent, enables me to aſſure your Lordſhip of its perfect ſecurity. Mr. Charles Pickford, my Firſt Lieutenant, an intelligent and deſerving officer, and whom I beg leave to recommend to your Lordſhip, will have the honour of preſenting this letter. He will be able to inform you very fully of every particular relative to Goree and its dependencies. I hope

hope the arrangement I have made will meet your Lordſhips' approbation.

I have the honour to be, &c.

E. S. DICKSON.

Articles of Capitulation.

Art. I. The French garriſon at the iſland of Goree ſhall be allowed to leave it, drums beating, and with the honours of war.

Art. II. The effects, baggage, arms of the troops, ſhall be given up to them, as well as the private property of the Officers, the Commandant of the Garriſons, Officers of Adminiſtration, Guards of Artillery, and other public employments.

Art. III. The convaleſcents and ſick, in a ſtate to be ſent to Senegal with the troops, alſo ſuch French citizens as wiſh to leave the iſland, with their property, ſhall be permitted to enjoy the ſame privilege.

Art. IV. The veſſels, ſtores, &c., of all kinds, to be delivered to the Britiſh.

Art. V. The property of the inhabitants, of what nature ſoever, ſhall be reſpected and preſerved.

Done at Goree, this 8th of March, 1804.

(Signed) C. PICKFORD, Lieut.
MONTMAYEUR.

A true copy of the original in my poſſeſſion.

(Signed)
EDW. STERLING DICKSON.

LONDON GAZETTE, MAY 22.

This Gazette contains a letter from Lord Keith to Mr. Marſden, dated Ramſgate, May 20, announcing the receipt of the encloſed diſpatch from Sir W. Sidney Smith:

Antelope, at Anchor, off Oſtend, May 17, 1804.

MY LORD,

Information from all quarters, and the evident ſtate of readineſs in which the enemy's armaments were in Helvoet, Fluſhing, and Oſtend, indicating the probability of a general movement from thoſe ports, I reinforced Captain Manbay, off Helvoet, with one ſhip, and directed Captain Hancock, of the Cruiſer, ſtationed in ſhore, to combine his operations and the Rattler's with the ſquadron of gun-boats ſtationed off Oſtend. The Antelope, Penelope, and Aimable, occupied a centrical poſition, in ſight both of Fluſhing and Oſtend, in anxious expectation of the enemy's appearance. Yeſterday, at half paſt five, A.M. I received information from Capt. Hancock, then off Oſtend, that the enemy's flotilla was hauling out of that pier, and had already twenty-one one-maſted veſſels and one ſchooner outſide in the roads; and at half paſt ſeven the ſame morning, I had the ſatisfaction to ſee the Fluſhing flotilla of fifty-nine ſail, viz. two ſhip-rigged praams, nineteen ſchooners, and thirty-eight ſchuyts, ſteered along ſhore from that port towards Oſtend, under circumſtances which allowed me to hope I ſhould be able to bring them to action. The ſignal was made to the Cruiſer and Rattler, for an enemy in the E. S. E., to call their attention from Oſtend: the ſquadron weighed the moment the flood made, and allowed of the heavier ſhips following them over the banks; the ſignal to chaſe and to engage were obeyed with alacrity, ſpirit, and judgment, by the active and experienced Officers your Lordſhip has done me the honour to place under my orders. Captains Hancock

Hancock and Maſon attacked this formidable line with the greateſt gallantry and addreſs, attaching themſelves particularly to the two praams, both of them of greater force than themſelves, independent of the croſs fire from the ſchooners and the ſchuyts; I ſent the Aimable, by ſignal to ſupport them. The Penelope, (having an able pilot, Mr. Thornton,) on ſignal being made to engage, Captain Broughton worked up to the centre of the enemy's line, as near as the ſhoal water would allow, while the Antelope went round the Stroom Sand, to cut the van off from Oſtend. Unfortunately, our gun-boats were not in ſight, having, as I have underſtood ſince, devoted their attention to prevent the Oſtend diviſion from moving weſtward.—The enemy attempted to get back to Fluſhing; but, being haraſſed by the Cruiſer and Rattler, and the wind coming more eaſterly againſt them, they were obliged to run the gauntlet to the weſtward, keeping cloſe to the beach, under the protection of the batteries.—Having found a paſſage for the Antelope within the Stroom Sand, ſhe was enabled to bring her broadſide to bear on the headmoſt ſchooners before they got the length of Oſtend. The leader ſtruck immediately, and her crew deſerted her. She was, however, recovered by the followers; the artillery from the town and camp, and the rowing gun-boats from the pier, kept up a conſtant and well-directed fire for their ſupport; our ſhot, however, which went over the ſchooners, going on ſhore among the horſe artillery, interrupted it in a degree; ſtill however, it was from the ſhore we received the greateſt annoyance; for the ſchooners and ſchuyts crowding along, could not bring their prow guns to bear, without altering their courſe towards us, which they could not venture; and their ſide guns, though numerous and well-ſerved, were very light. In this manner the Penelope and Antelope engaged every part of their long line from four till eight, while the Aimable, Cruiſer, and Rattler, continued to preſs their rear. Since two o'clock the ſternmoſt praam ſtruck her colours and ran on ſhore; but the artillery-men from the army got on board, and ſhe renewed her fire on the Aimable with the preciſion of a land battery, from which that ſhip ſuffered much. Captain Bolton ſpeaks much in praiſe of Lieutenant Mather, who is wounded. Several of the ſchooners and ſchuyts immediately under the fire of the ſhips were driven on ſhore in like manner, and recovered by the army. At eight, the tide falling, and leaving us in little more water than we drew, we were reluctantly obliged to haul off into deeper water to keep afloat, and the enemy's veſſels that were not on ſhore, or too much ſhattered, were thus able to reach Oſtend; theſe and the Oſtend diviſion have hauled into the baſon. I have anchored in ſuch a poſition as to keep an eye on them; and I ſhall endeavour to cloſe with them again if they move into deeper water. I have to regret that, from the depth of the water in which theſe veſſels move, gun-boats alone can act againſt them with effect. Four have joined me, and I have ſent them in to ſee what they can do with the praam that is on ſhore. I have great ſatisfaction in bearing teſtimony to your Lordſhip of the gallant and ſteady conduct of the

Cap-

Captains, Commanders, Officers, ſeamen, and marines, under my orders. Captains Hancock and Maſon bore the brunt of the attack, and continued it for ſix hours againſt a great ſuperiority of fire, particularly from the army on ſhore, the howitzer ſhells annoying them much. Theſe Officers deſerve the higheſt praiſe I can give them. They ſpeak of the conduct of their Lieutenants, Officers, and crews, in terms of warm panegyric. Meſſrs. Budd and Dalyell, from the Antelope, acted in the abſence of two Lieutenants of thoſe ſhips. Lieutenants Garrety and Patful, commanding the Favourite and Stag cutters, did their beſt with their ſmall guns againſt greater numbers of greater calibre. Lieutenant Hillier, of the Antelope, gave me all the aſſiſtance and ſupport on her quarter-deck his ill ſtate of health would permit, Lieutenant Stokes and Mr. Sleſſer, Acting Lieutenant, directed the fire on the lower and main-decks with coolneſs and preciſion. It would be the higheſt injuſtice if I omitted to mention the intrepid conduct of Mr. Lewis, the Maſter, Mr. Nunn and Mr. Webb, Pilots, to whoſe ſteadineſs, ſkill, and attention, particularly the former, I ſhall ever feel myſelf indebted, for having brought the Antelope into action, within the ſands, where, certainly, the enemy could not expect to be met by a ſhip of her ſize, and for having allowed her to continue engaged with Commodore Verheul to the laſt minute it was poſſible to remain in ſuch ſhoal water, with a falling tide. It is but juſtice to ſay, the enemy's Commodore purſued a ſteady courſe, notwithſtanding our fire, and returned it with ſpirit to the laſt. I could not detach open boats into the enemy's line to pick up thoſe veſſels which had ſtruck, and were deſerted, mixed as they were with thoſe ſtill firing. Captain Hancock ſent me one ſchuyt that had hauled out of the line and ſurrendered. She had a lieutenant and twenty-three ſoldiers of the 48th regiment, with five Dutch ſeamen on board. She is ſo uſeful here, I cannot part with her yet. Encloſed is a liſt of our loſs, which, though great, is leſs than might have been expected, owing to the enemy's directing their fire at our maſts. The Rattler and the Cruiſer have, of courſe, ſuffered moſt in the latter reſpect, but are nearly ready for ſervice again. The ſmoke would not allow us to ſee the effect of our ſhot on the enemy; but their loſs, conſidering the number of them under our guns for ſo long, muſt be great in proportion. We ſee the maſt-heads above water of three of the ſchooners and one of the ſchuyts which were ſunk.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) W. SIDNEY SMITH."

Return of Killed and Wounded on board his Majeſty's Ships and Veſſels under the Orders of Commodore Sir W. S. Smith, in Action with the Enemy's Flotilla on its Paſſage from Fluſhing to Oſtend, 16th May.

Antelope, 2 ſeamen and 1 private marine wounded.—Penelope, 3 ſeamen killed, and 4 ſeamen wounded. — Aimable, Mr. Chriſtian, maſter's mate, Mr. Johnſon, midſhipman, 4 ſeamen, and 1 boy killed; Lieutenant W. Mather, Mr. Shawell, purſer, Mr. Connor, midſhipman, and 11 ſeamen, wounded.—

ed.—Cruiſer, 1 ſeaman killed; Mr. George Ellis, clerk, and 3 ſeamen, wounded.—Rattler, 2 ſeamen killed, and 5 ſeamen wounded.—Total, 2 petty officers, 10 ſeamen, and 1 boy killed; 1 lieutenant, 1 purſer, 4 petty officers, 25 ſeamen, and 1 private marine, wounded.

(Signed) W. SIDNEY SMITH.

LONDON GAZETTE, JUNE 23.

Extracts of Letters from Sir Charles Green and Commodore Hood, commanding his Majeſty's Military and Naval Forces employed in the Expedition againſt Surinam.

Sir Charles Green ſtates, in a letter dated Paramaribo, May 13, that the expedition having ſailed from Barbadoes on the 7th April, anchored on the 25th and 26th following, about ten miles off the mouth of the river Surinam. On the 26th, a corps, conſiſting of the flank companies of the 16th and 64th regiments, the rifle company of the 2d battalion 60th regiment, made up by detachments from the battalion companies of the 16th, 64th, and 6th Weſt India regiments, to about 600 men, and the 1ſt brigade of royal artillery, beſides armed ſeamen, was detached in different veſſels under convoy of his Majeſty's ſhip Hippomenes, Captain Shipley. This corps was commanded by Brigadier-General Maitland, who was directed to effect a landing at the Warappa Creek, about ten leagues to the eaſtward of the Surinam river, where the enemy occupied a poſt. The object of this operation was to obtain a water communication with the Commewyne river, to procure plantation boats in ſufficient number to tranſport the troops down that river towards its junction with the Surinam, and thereby facilitate our approach to take a poſition in the rear of Fort New Amſterdam; and alſo with a view to cut off a conſiderable detachment of the enemy ſtationed at Fort Brandwacht. On the ſame day, preparations were made for landing a body of troops to take poſſeſſion of Bram's Point, where there is a battery of ſeven eighteen-pounders, which defends the entrance into the river Surinam. Brigadier-General Hughes undertook to ſuperintend this ſervice; the wind proving favourable, his Majeſty's ſhips Emerald, Pandour, (having the 64th regiment on board,) and Drake brig of war, got under weigh to attack the battery, when a fire was opened on the ſhips, which, however, was ſoon ſilenced by a few broadſides, and the enemy ſtruck their colours. A detachment of troops under Brigadier-General Hughes immediately landed, and took poſſeſſion of Bram's Point, making priſoners a captain and 44 men. The entrance being thus ſecured, the commodore made ſignal for the ſhips to go into the river as ſoon as poſſible; in the courſe of that and the following day, the moſt conſiderable part of the fleet anchored in the river.

The Britiſh commanders ſummoned the Dutch governor on the 27th, and on the following morning he anſwered in the negative. "Here," ſays General Green, "I muſt beg leave to obſerve to your lordſhip, that the coaſt of Surinam is of very difficult approach, ſhallow, and full of banks; that a landing is only to be attempted at the top of the tide, and at particular

cular points; the coaſt is uncleared, and from wood, and the marſhy nature of the ſoil, it is impoſſible to penetrate into the interior, except by the rivers and the creeks. —The ſhores on both ſides of the river Surinam are equally difficult of acceſs, for the ſame cauſes, until you reach the battery Friderici, with the exception of one ſpot on the eaſtern ſhore, where a plantation, called Reſolution, has been lately eſtabliſhed. Our points of attack were therefore confined; and the enemy, by means of their forts, ſhips of war, and other armed veſſels, were completely maſters of the navigation of the river Surinam above Fort Amſterdam.—The defences of the river, after paſſing Bram's Point, are Fort Amſterdam, ſituated on the confluence of the rivers Surinam and Commewyne: upwards of 80 pieces of ordnance are mounted in this fortreſs. — Fort Leyden is armed with 12 heavy guns, and ſituated on the right bank of Surinam, where it meets the Commewyne; is oppoſite to, and commanded by, Fort Amſterdam, at the diſtance of about 2000 yards. —The battery Friderici is about 200 yards lower down, and armed with 12 heavy guns.

"On the left bank of the river, nearly oppoſite to Fort Amſterdam, is Fort Purmurent, having ten guns mounted; its rear and flanks protected by impracticable marſh and woods.—The fire of all theſe works and batteries interſect in the channel for ſhips going up the river. —The town of Paramaribo is defended towards the water by a battery of about ten guns, mounted in Fort Zelandia, a place otherwiſe of no defence.—The 28th, the ſhips of war and other veſſels proceeded up the river as faſt as the tides would admit.

"Lieutenant-Colonel Shipley, commanding engineer, having examined the country as to the poſſibility of taking Forts Leyden and Friderici in rear, and found that a paſſage was practicable through the woods, a detachment of 140 men of the 64th regiment, under the command of the Hon. Lieutenant-Colonel Cranſtoun, with Major Stirke, of the 6th Weſt India regiment, ten men of the 6th Weſt India regiment, with ſide-arms, having felling axes, 20 of the Artificers' Corps provided in the ſame manner, and about thirty armed ſeamen, commanded by Captains Maxwell, Ferris, and Richardſon, of the navy, the whole under the command of Brigadier-General Hughes, accompanied by Lieutenant-Colonel Shipley, Lieutenant Arnold, of the royal engineers, and Mr. Hobbs, acting engineer, whoſe local knowledge proved extremely uſeful on this occaſion, landed, between ten and eleven at night, at Reſolution Plantation, and proceeded through the woods with negro guides. A great quantity of rain having recently fallen, it was found, that the path, at all times difficult, had become almoſt impaſſable; but no obſtacle could damp the enterpriſing ſpirit of our ſeamen and ſoldiers, who, with perſevering courage, after a laborious march of five hours, arrived near the rear of Friderici battery. The alarm having been given, a conſiderable fire of grape ſhot was made upon the troops before they quitted the wood, whilſt forming for the attack, and of muſketry as they approached the

battery. The aſſault of our intrepid ſeamen and troops with fixed bayonets, was ſo animated and vigorous, as to prevent any further reſiſtance. The enemy fled to Fort Leyden, having ſet fire to the powder magazine, by the exploſion of which a few Britiſh officers and men were ſeverely wounded. Brigadier-General Hughes uſed no delay in moving on to the attack of Fort Leyden; but being under the neceſſity of marching by a narrow road, which was enfiladed by four or five guns, received a conſiderable fire of grape-ſhot on his march, and of muſketry on his nearer approach, which, however, was ſoon put a ſtop to by a repetition of the ſame impetuous attack on our part; and the enemy, after ſome firing, called for quarter, which was generouſly granted by the conquerors, although in the moment they were highly exaſperated at the conduct of the Batavian troops in blowing up the powder-magazine at Fort Friderici, after it had been in our poſſeſſion. A captain, with ſome other officers and 120 men, were taken at this poſt, about thirty having made their eſcape acroſs the river Commewyne to Fort New Amſterdam.

"This brilliant affair produced important advantages, and the poſſeſſion of a country abounding with reſources of all kinds. After ſilencing the fire at Fort Amſterdam, by which three men were killed in Fort Leyden, the troops were tranſported to the oppoſite bank of the Commewyne, in order to form a junction with Major-General Maitland, who had landed at the Warappa Creek, and, after a ſhort reſiſtance, taken the enemy's poſt with two guns."

The general then proceeds to ſtate, that Brigadier-General Maitland having conveyed his troops in a number of Plantation boats, landed on the ſouth ſide of the river, and being joined by a part of the 16th regiment, on the 4th they paſſed through a wood, and came within a mile of Fort New Amſterdam, when a flag of truce was ſent to the head-quarters on the Commewyne, with propoſals for capitulation. Hoſtilities were therefore ſuſpended; when Captain Maxwell being ſent to ſettle the terms, brought two capitulations, and on the evening of the 5th Brigadier-General Maitland took poſſeſſion of Fort New Amſterdam, as well as of the Dutch frigate and ſloop.

The general then pays the higheſt compliments to Brigadier-General Maitland, Brigadier-Gen. Hughes, and the following commanders, whoſe gallant conduct had been reported to him, by the ſuperior officers above mentioned, in the higheſt terms of commendation, viz.—Captain Shipley, of the Hippomenes; Colonel M'Lean, 60th regiment; Major Hardiman, 1ſt battalion of the Royals; and Captain M'Kenzie, of the navy, who commanded the ſeamen and troops up the river. The gallant conduct of Brigadier-Gen. Hughes, in his command at Fort Leyden, has excited the moſt unqualified commendations of the commander in chief. He alſo reports, in the higheſt terms, Lieutenant-Colonel Shipley, of the royal engineers; Captains Maxwell, Ferris, and Richardſon, of the navy; Major Stirke, of the 6th Weſt India regiment; and major of brigade, Brownrigg; Lieutenant Jamiſon, of

of the 64th; Lieutenant Arnold, of the royal engineers; and Mr. Hobbs, acting engineer. The general is exceſſive in his praiſes of Lieutenant-Colonel Shipley, to whom he declares to have obligations far beyond his power of expreſſing.

The articles of capitulation are, the garriſons to be priſoners of war; to be tranſported to Holland as ſoon as veſſels can be provided for the purpoſe; the troops to be at liberty to ſerve the Batavian Republic, but not againſt his Britannic Majeſty, or his allies; and finally, that they are not to be compelled to enter the Britiſh ſervice. Private property ſecured to the poſſeſſors.

In another capitulation with the Dutch naval commander, Commodore Bloys, the Dutch frigate Proſerpine, and Pylades ſloop of war, with three merchant-ſhips and a ſchooner, the latter ſtated to be private property, and reſerved for deciſion as ſuch, were ſurrendered, and the ſame conditions granted to their crews as to the ſoldiers. The braſs and iron ordnance, of various calibre, mounted and diſmounted, compriſed 282 pieces.

Return of the Killed and Wounded at the Aſſault and Capture of the Forts Leyden and Friderici.

Three rank and file killed; 1 field-officer, 3 ſubalterns, 1 ſtaff, 1 ſerjeant, and 7 rank and file, wounded.—Officers wounded, Lieutenant-Colonel the Hon. G. Granſtoun, 64th regiment; Lieutenant Arnold, royal engineers; Mr. Hobbs, aſſiſtant engineer; Lieutenant Roſs, 64th regiment; and Lieutenant Brownrigg, 87th regiment.

Return of Killed and Wounded in the Royal Navy on the ſame Occaſion.

One lieutenant, 1 warrant officer, 1 petty officer, and 2 ſeamen, killed; 3 lieutenants and 5 ſeamen wounded.—Officers killed, Lieutenant Smith, firſt of the Centaur, mortally wounded, died the following day; W. Shuldham, midſhipman of the Centaur; Mr. ——, boatſwain of the Drake.—Officers wounded, Lieutenants King and Henderſon, of the Centaur; and Lieutenant Brand, of the Unique.

Return of Batavian Priſoners taken at the Conqueſt of the Colony of Surinam, on the 26th of April 1804, and following Days.

ARMY.—1 lieutenant-general, 1 lieutenant-colonel, 1 major, 19 captains, 22 firſt lieutenants, 30 ſecond lieutenants, 1 ſurgeon-major, 6 firſt ſurgeons, 10 ſecond ſurgeons, 2 ſerjeant-majors, 79 ſerjeants, 130 corporals, 24 drummers, 1434 privates, 13 women, and 11 children.

NAVY.—1 commodore, 2 captains, 3 lieutenants, 6 midſhipmen, 3 ſurgeons, and 192 petty officers and ſeamen, 1 ſerjeant, 4 corporals, and 29 privates of marines.

N. B. Total number of priſoners (navy included), excluſive of ſtaff and departments, is 2001.

LONDON GAZETTE, JULY 24.

Copy of a Letter from the Right Hon. Lord Keith, K. B. Admiral of the

Blue, &c. to William Marſden, Eſq. dated at Ramſgate, the 22d Inſtant.

SIR,

I tranſmit, for their lordſhips' information, a copy of a letter from Captain Owen, of his Majeſty's ſhip the Immortalité, to Rear-Admiral Louis, acquainting him that the enemy's flotilla, outſide of Boulogne Pier, had been ſurpriſed at their moorings by the late gale of wind, and ſuſtained very conſiderable loſs in attempting to regain their ports. Their lordſhips will not fail to obſerve how much Captain Owen expreſſes himſelf to be ſatisfied with the merits of Captains Jackſon and Heywood, of the Autumn and Harpy, and Lieutenants Richardſon and Price, commanding the Bloodhound and Archer gun-brigs.

I have the honour to be, &c.

KEITH.

His Majeſty's Ship Immortalité, Boulogne, Eaſt Seven or Eight Leagues, July.

SIR,

The wind yeſterday ſet in ſtrong from the N. N. E. and N. E. by N. and made ſo much ſea, that the enemy's veſſels in the road of Boulogne became very uneaſy; and about eight P. M. the leemoſt brigs began to get under weigh, and work to windward, whilſt ſome of the luggers ran down apparently for Etaples; their force was then forty-five brigs and forty-three luggers. I made a ſignal to look out on theſe veſſels, which was immediately obeyed by the Harpy, Bloodhound, and Archer, who cloſed with them, giving their fire to ſuch as attempted to ſtand off from the land; the Autumn was at this time getting under weigh, and loſt no time in giving her ſupport to the veſſels already on this ſervice, and continued with them during the whole weather tide, to fire, from time to time, on ſuch of the enemy's veſſels as gave them opportunity. At day light this morning there were nineteen brigs and eight luggers only remaining in the bay; and about ſix o'clock theſe began to ſlip ſingle and run to the ſouthward for Etaples or the river Somme, the Autumn and brigs being then too far to leeward to give them any interruption. As ſoon as the tide permitted this ſhip and the leader to weigh, we ſtood in with Boulogne, when I perceived that a brig, a lugger, and ſeveral large boats, were ſtranded on the beach weſt of the harbour; the enemy were ſhipping and endeavouring to ſave from them what they could, but I have not a doubt the riſing tide would complete their deſtruction; three other brigs and a lugger were on the rocks near the village of Portee, totally deſtroyed, a brig and two luggers remained at anchor cloſe to the rocks with whefts up, and the people huddled together abaft; the brig had loſt her topmaſt, topſail, and lower yards, and one of the luggers the head of her mainmaſt; the ſea was making a perfect breach over them, and if the gale continues their ſituation is hopeleſs. The merits of Captains Jackſon and Heywood, as well as thoſe of Lieutenants Richardſon and Price, are ſo well known to you, that I need not only ſay, they acted on this occaſion with the ſame deciſive promptneſs they have always ſhewn; and though the night prevented

vented my ſeeing all that paſſed, there cannot be a doubt but that their well-timed attack cauſed the enemy's confuſion, and occaſioned much of their loſs, which, taking every circumſtance, is, I doubt not, far beyond what fell within our obſervation. I have not yet been able to collect the reports of theſe officers, but will forward them the moment that they join me.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) E. W. C. R. OWEN.

Rear-Admiral Louis.

LONDON GAZETTE, JULY 28.

Copy of a Letter from Captain R. D. Oliver, of the Melpomene, off Havre, July 24, 1804.

MY LORD,

Since my letter to your lordſhip of the 17th inſtant, we had very light and variable winds for three days, which were ſucceeded by a gale from the northward, when the bombs had ſome difficulty to keep clear of the ſhore. Yeſterday the wind having got to the S. W. I ſtood in with the ſquadron, and at eleven made the ſignal for the bombs to try their range; they placed themſelves with the utmoſt preciſion immediately off the pier-heads, and at a quarter paſt eleven began a moſt tremendous fire of ſhells and carcaſſes, which was continued without intermiſſion for an hour and a half; in a very few minutes the town was obſerved to be on fire, and as the pier was very full of veſſels, it is impoſſible but they muſt have ſuffered conſiderably. The veſſels which had been outſide the pier, during the bombardment of the 16th, were ſo much annoyed as to retire, ſome into the pier, and ſome up the river; one of them was towed on ſhore under the batteries, and has been ſince taken to pieces.

The enemy's mortar batteries have been very conſiderably increaſed ſince the attack of the 16th; and although the fire from them on the bombs was as great as, I will venture to ſay, was ever experienced, they being conſiderably within the range, yet it is with the moſt inexpreſſible pleaſure I acquaint your lordſhip that not a man has been hurt. A ſhell paſſed through the mizen-ſtay ſail of the Zebra; another carried away the ſpare top-ſail-yard of the Merlin, and two chain plates, and grazed her ſide; and a 42 pound ſhot cut the ſpare top-maſt and ſome other ſpars, and lodged in the booms of the Hecla; this is all the damage done. It is impoſſible for me to find words to expreſs my admiration of the conduct of the Captains Sykes, James, Paul, and Beauchamp, and the other officers and crews of the bombs, for the able manner in which they placed and managed their veſſels; and alſo to the officers and men of the Royal Artillery embarked on board of them, for the judicious manner in which they fired the ſhells.

Some luggers came out of the pier during the bombardment and fired their guns, but they were made to keep at a reſpectful diſtance by the vicinity of the Merlin, Pluto, Locuſt, and cutters, which were always ready to give aſſiſtance where wanted, as were the other ſhips in the ſquadron in the ſituations aſſigned to them.

I have the honour to be, &c.

ROB. DUDLEY OLIVER.

Right Hon. Lord Keith, K. B.

LONDON GAZETTE, AUG. 7.

A Letter from Captain Robert Dudley Oliver, Commander of his Majesty's Ship the Melpomene, to William Marsden, Esq. dated off Havre, the 2d Instant, encloses the following:—

Melpomene, off Havre, Aug. 2, 1804.

MY LORD,

The wind having changed yesterday to the N. E. I determined to make another attack on the numerous vessels in Havre Pier, as well as those which were moored outside, amounting to twenty-eight brigs and as many luggers, as stood in with the squadron, as per margin*. At half past seven P. M. the bombs were well placed off the Pier Heads, when they began a well-directed fire, which was kept up with great spirit for about an hour and a half. The town was very soon observed to be on fire in two places; and seven brigs, which were on the outside of the Pier, found it necessary to move; one lost her mainmast. As the wind came more off the land, and a strong ebb tide setting out, I ordered the bombs to discontinue firing. At half past nine we anchored with the squadron about five miles from the Light-houses. As the Explosion had fired away all her shells, and the Zebra most of her powder, I had them supplied from the Meteor; and at half past five this morning got under weigh, and stood in with the squadron again. Before eight the bombs took up their position near the Pier Heads, and kept up a constant fire for near three hours with shells and carcasses; so many shells burst on and about the Piers, that the enemy's fire was observed latterly to slacken considerably, and it was evident they were in the greatest confusion: some brigs and luggers, however, got under weigh, and came out to endeavour to annoy the bombs, but all the other ships and vessels of the squadron were so well placed as to give chase to them immediately; and it was only by cutting away their boats, which were astern, and retreating very speedily into shoal water, that they escaped, but not before they had run the gauntlet of all the ships and cutters, and were very closely engaged for a considerable time by the Merlin, Favourite, Locust gun-brig, and Hope cutter; and on this occasion I feel particularly indebted to the exertions of Captains Brenton and Foot, and Lieutenants Lake and Dobbin, whose vessels were very often during the action in very shoal water, with a falling tide; indeed nothing but the bad sailing of the Merlin prevented Captain Brenton from cutting off the sternmost brig. The Locust lost her main-top-mast, but I have not heard of any other loss. The conduct of the Captains Sykes, James, Paul, and Beauchamp, commanding the bombs on both these occasions, was highly meritorious; and although their ships were frequently struck, it gives me great pleasure to add that no lives have been lost. What damage may be done to the

* Melpomene, Ariadne, Trusty, Magnanime, Merlin, and Favourite; Hecla, Meteor, Explosion, and Zebra bombs; King George, Hope, Nancy, Countess of Elgin, and Locust cutters.

enemy

enemy by near five hundred ſhells and carcaſſes thrown into the town and baſon laſt evening and this morning, it is impoſſible to calculate; but I may without vanity ſay, that if the exertions of the enemy's flotilla be not much greater on our ſhore than on their own, we have little to dread from them.

I cannot conclude without expreſſing my obligations to every officer and man employed in this ſquadron.

I am, &c.

(Signed) R. DUDLEY OLIVER.

Right Hon. Lord Keith, K. B.

LONDON GAZETTE.

EAST-INDIA HOUSE, AUG. 8.

A Letter from Captain Nathaniel Dance, Commander of the Eaſt India Company's Ship Earl Camden, was received this Morning, of which the following is a Copy:—

For the information of the honourable court, I beg leave to acquaint you, that the Earl Camden was diſpatched from Canton by the ſelect committee, the 31ſt of January laſt, and the ſhips noted in the margin * were put under my orders, as ſenior commander; alſo, the Rolla Botany Bay ſhip, and the country ſhips, as per margin †, were put under my charge, to convoy as far as our courſes lay in the ſame direction. I was alſo ordered to take under my protection a Portugueſe Europe ſhip, that was lying in Macao Roads, whoſe ſupracargo had ſolicited it from the ſelect committee.

Our paſſage down the river was tedious, and the fleet much diſperſed; the ſhips being under the directions of their ſeveral Chineſe pilots, I could not keep them collected as I wiſhed.

The Ganges, a faſt ſailing brig, was put under my orders by the ſelect committee, to employ in any manner that might tend to the ſafety or convenience of the fleet, till we had paſſed the Straits of Malacca. I was then to diſpatch her to Bengal.

We paſſed Macao Roads on the night of the 5th of February, and I conceive the Rolla had anchored ſo near Macao, as not to ſee the fleet get under weigh and paſs through; although at the time I had no idea that could be poſſible, eſpecially as I ſaw the Ocean in ſhore of us getting under weigh, burning blue lights, and firing a gun; the Portugueſe ſhip, I ſuppoſe, muſt have been in the ſame ſituation as the Rolla. During the night of the 5th of February I carried an eaſy ſail, and on the following day hove to for above two hours, hoping to ſee thoſe ſhips; but there was no appearance of them, nor did they ever join the fleet.—On the 14th February, at day-break, we ſaw Pulo Auro bearing W. S. W. and at eight A. M. the Royal George made the ſignal for ſeeing four ſtrange ſail in the S. W. I made the ſignal for

* Warley, Alfred, Royal George, Coutts, Wexford, Ganges, Exeter, Earl of Abergavenny, Henry Addington, Bombay Caſtle, Cumberland, Hope, Dorſetſhire, Warren Haſtings, Ocean.

† Lord Caſtlereagh, Carron, David Scott, Minerva, Ardaſier, Charlotte, Friendſhip, Shaw Kiſſaroo, Jahaungeer, Gilwell, Neptune.

the four ſhips noted in the margin * to go down and examine them; and Lieutenant Fowler, of the royal navy, late commander of the Porpoiſe, and paſſenger with me, having handſomely offered to go in the Ganges brig, and inſpect them nearly, I afterwards ſent her down likewiſe, and from their ſignals I perceived it was an enemy's ſquadron, conſiſting of a line-of-battle ſhip, three frigates, and a brig.

At one P. M. I recalled the look-out ſhips by ſignal, and formed the line of battle in cloſe order.

As ſoon as the enemy could fetch in our wake, they put about: we kept on our courſe under an eaſy ſail. At near ſun-ſet, they were cloſe up with our rear, and I was in momentary expectation of an attack there, and prepared to ſupport them; but at the cloſe of day we perceived them haul to windward. I ſent Lieutenant Fowler in the Ganges brig, to ſtation the country ſhips on our lee-bow, by which means we were between them and the enemy; and having done ſo, he returned with ſome volunteers from the country ſhips.

We laid to in line of battle all night, our men at their quarters; at day-break, of the 15th, we ſaw the enemy about three miles to windward, lying to: we hoiſted our colours, offering him battle, if he choſe to come down. The enemy's four ſhips hoiſted French colours, the line-of-battle ſhip carrying a rear-admiral's flag; the brig was under Batavian colours.

At nine A. M. finding they would not come down, we formed the order of ſailing, and ſteered our courſe under an eaſy ſail; the enemy then filled their ſails, and edged towards us.

At one P. M. finding they propoſed to attack, and endeavour to cut off our rear, I made the ſignal to tack and bear down on him, and engage in ſucceſſion, the Royal George being the leading ſhip, the Ganges next, and then the Earl Camden. This manœuvre was correctly performed, and we ſtood towards him under a preſs of ſail; the enemy then formed in a very cloſe line, and opened their fire on the head-moſt ſhips, which was not returned by us till we approached him nearer. The Royal George bore the brunt of the action, and got as near the enemy as he would permit him; the Ganges and Earl Camden opened their fire as ſoon as their guns could have effect; but before any other ſhip could get into action, the enemy hauled their wind, and ſtood away to the eaſtward under all the ſail they could ſet. At two P. M. I made the ſignal for a general chaſe, and we purſued them till four P. M. when, fearing a longer purſuit would carry us too far from the mouth of the Straits, and conſidering the immenſe property at ſtake, I made the ſignal to tack, and at eight P. M. we anchored in a ſituation to proceed for the entrance of the Straits in the morning. As long as we could diſtinguiſh the enemy, we perceived him ſteering to the eaſtward under a preſs of ſail. The Royal George had one man killed, and another wounded, many ſhot in her hull, and more in her ſails; but few ſhot touched either the Camden or Ganges, and the fire of the enemy ſeemed to be ill di-

* Alfred, Royal George, Bombay Caſtle, Hope.

rected,

rected, his ſhot either falling ſhort, or paſſing over us. Captain Timins carried the Royal George into action in the moſt gallant manner. In juſtice to my brother commanders, I muſt ſtate, that every ſhip was cleared and prepared for action; and, as I had communication with almoſt all of them during the two days we were in preſence of the enemy, I found them unanimous in the determined reſolution to defend the valuable property entruſted to their charge to the laſt extremity, with a full conviction of the ſucceſsful event of their exertions; and this ſpirit was fully ſeconded by the gallant ardour of all our officers and ſhips' companies. From Malacca I diſpatched Lieutenant Fowler, in the Ganges brig, to Pulo Pinang, with a packet from the ſelect committee to the captain of any of his Majeſty's ſhips, ſoliciting their convoy to this very valuable fleet. On arrival at Malacca, we were informed that the ſquadron we had engaged was that of Admiral Linois, conſiſting of the Marengo, of 84 guns, the Belle Poule and Semillante, heavy frigates, a corvette of 28, and the Batavian brig William, of 18 guns.—The 28th February, in the Streights of Malacca, lat. 4° 30′ N. we fell in with his Majeſty's ſhips Albion and Sceptre. I was then in a very poor ſtate of health, and Mr. Lance went on board the Albion, and, by his very able repreſentation to Captain Ferrier of the great national conſequence of the hon. company's ſhips, he was induced to take charge of the fleet. On the 3d of March I diſpatched the Ganges brig with a letter to the right hon. the governor-general, giving an account of our action, to be conveyed to the Honourable Court. We arrived at St. Helena the 9th of June, under convoy of his Majeſty's ſhips Albion and Sceptre, and ſailed the 18th, under convoy of his Majeſty's ſhip Plantagenet, with the addition of the Carmarthen, Captain Dobree, and five whalers. Accompanying this I ſend a chart of the entrance of the ſtraits of Malacca, with the ſituations of the fleet on the 14th and 15th February, which will, I truſt, convey a more diſtinct idea of the action than any written deſcription.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your moſt obedient humble ſervant,
NATHANIEL DANCE.

Earl Camden, Aug. 6, 1804.

Names of the Whalers.—William Fenning, Brook Watſon, Thomas or Young Tom, Betſey, Eliza, and the Black-houſe, from the Coaſt of Guinea, joined us at ſea.

LONDON GAZETTE, OCT. 3.

Copy of a Letter from the Right Hon. Lord Keith, K. B., Admiral of the Blue, &c., to W. Marſden, Eſq. dated on board his Majeſty's Ship the Monarch, off Boulogne, the 3d Inſtant.

SIR,

Their Lordſhips are aware that my attention has, for ſome time paſt, been directed to the object of aſcertaining the moſt effectual mode for annoying the enemy's flotillas at their anchorages in front of their ports, under protection of their land batteries. Having, on the afternoon of the 1ſt inſtant, arrived at this anchorage, and finding the weather

weather promiſing to be favourable, and about 150 of the flotilla on the outſide of the pier, I reſolved to make an experiment, on a limited ſcale, of the means of attack which had been provided. The final arrangements for this purpoſe were made on the morning of yeſterday. The Officers named below * were put in charge of the principal veſſels which at this time were to be uſed. The armed launches, and other boats of the ſquadron, were appointed to accompany and protect them. The Caſtor, Greyhound, and ſome ſmaller veſſels, were directed to take up an advanced and convenient anchorage for covering the retreat, giving protection to men who might be wounded, and boats that might be crippled, and for towing off the boats in general, in the event of the wind freſhening and blowing upon the coaſt.

The operation commenced at a quarter paſt nine o'clock laſt evening, and terminated at a quarter paſt four this morning, during which time ſeveral veſſels, prepared for the purpoſe, were exploded amongſt, or very cloſe to, the flotilla; but on account of the very great diſtance at which they lay from each other, no very extenſive injury ſeems to have been ſuſtained, although it is evident that there has been very conſiderable confuſion among them, and that two of the brigs and ſeveral of the ſmaller veſſels appear to be be miſſing ſince yeſterday at the cloſe of day. I have great ſatisfaction in reporting, that, notwithſtanding a very heavy diſcharge of ſhells, ſhot, and muſketry, was kept up by the enemy throughout the night, no caſualty whatever, on our part, has been ſuſtained. The enemy made no attempt to oppoſe their rowing-boats to ours. Their Lordſhips will not expect, that, at the preſent moment, I am to enter much into detail; but I think it my duty to ſtate to them my conviction, that, in the event of any great accumulation of the enemy's force in their roadſteads, an extenſive and combined operation of a ſimilar nature will hold forth a reaſonable proſpect of a ſucceſsful reſult.

The conduct of the Officers and men, who have been employed on this occaſion, deſerves my higheſt commendation: I cannot more forcibly impreſs their merits upon their Lordſhips' attention, than by remarking, that the ſervice was undertaken, not only in the face of, but immediately under, the whole line of the enemy's land batteries, and their field artillery and muſketry upon the coaſt, but alſo under that of upwards of 150 armed veſſels, ranged round the inner ſide of the Bay; and that the Officers and men who could ſo deliberately and reſolutely advance into the midſt

* Officers in charge of the exploſion veſſels above referred to:—

Captains—Macleod, of the Sulphur; Jackſon, of the Autumn; Edwards, of the Fury; Collard, of the Railleur; Searle, of the Helder defence ſhip.

Lieutenants—Stewart, of the Monarch; Lowry, of the Leopard; Payne of the Immortalitè; Templer, of the Sulphur.

Midſhipman—Mr. Bartholomew, of the Inflexible.

Captains Winthrop, of the Ardent, and Owen, of the Immortalitè, moſt zealouſly and uſefully ſuperintended the operations from the ſouthward, and the Hon. Captain Blackwood, of the Euryalus, from the northward. KEITH.

of the flotilla, under such circumstances, must be considered worthy of being entrusted with the performance of any service, however difficult or dangerous it may appear to be, and consequently to be highly deserving of their Lordships' protection.

I have the honour, &c.

KEITH.

William Marsden, Esq.

LONDON GAZETTE, OCT. 23.

Admiral Cornwallis, in a letter to W. Marsden, Esq. dated on board the Ville de Paris in Torbay, the 20th instant, encloses the following dispatch from Captain Moore, relative to the capture of the Spanish frigates:—

Indefatigable at Sea, Oct. 6, 1804.

SIR,

I have the honour to acquaint you, that I have executed the service you did me the honour to charge me with. On the morning of the 29th of September, the Indefatigable got off Cadiz; on the 30th, we fell in with the Medusa; Captain Gore having informed me the Amphion was in the Streights' mouth, and that the Triumph was off Gibraltar, and that Sir R. Barlow meant to go into Cadiz for the trade there, on his way to England, I thought fit to send the Medusa to apprise Sir R. B. of the nature of my order, that he might then judge whether or not he should go into Cadiz; and I directed Captain Gore to rejoin me with the Amphion as soon as possible off Cape St. Mary. On the 2d instant I was joined by the Lively; and on the 3d, by the Medusa and Amphion; the latter having communicated what I thought necessary to Sir R. B.

Yesterday morning Cape St. Mary bearing N. E. nine leagues, the Medusa made the signal for four sail W. by S. I made the signal for a general chase. At eight A. M. discovered them to be four large Spanish frigates, which formed the line of battle a-head on our approach, and continued to steer in for Cadiz, the van ship carrying a broad pendant, and the ship next to her a Rear-Admiral's flag; Captain Gore being the headmost ship, placed the Medusa on the weather-beam of the Commodore; the Indefatigable took a similar position along-side of the Rear-Admiral; the Amphion and Lively each taking an opponent in the same manner, as they came up; after hailing to make them shorten sail, without effect, I fired a shot across the Rear-Admiral's fore foot, on which he shortened sail; and I sent Lieutenant Ascott, of the Indefatigable, to inform him that my orders were to detain his squadron; that it was my earnest wish to execute them without bloodshed; but that his determination must be made instantly: after waiting some time, I made the signal for the boat, and fired a shot a-head of the Admiral. As soon as the Officer returned with an unsatisfactory answer, I fired another shot a-head of the Admiral, and bore down close on his weather-bow; at this moment the Admiral's second a stern fired into the Amphion; the Admiral fired into the Indefatigable, and I made the signal for close battle, which was instantly commenced with all the alacrity and vigour of English sailors. In less than ten minutes,

minutes, la Mercedes, the Admiral's ſecond a-ſtern, blew up alongſide the Amphion, with a tremendous exploſion. Captain Sutton having, with great judgment, and much to my ſatisfaction, placed himſelf to leeward of that ſhip, the eſcape of the Spaniſh Admiral's ſhipwas rendered almoſt impoſſible; in leſs than an half hour ſhe ſtruck, as did the opponent of the Lively. Perceiving at this moment the Spaniſh Commodore was making off, and ſeeming to have the heels of the Meduſa, I made the ſignal for the Lively to join the chaſe, having before noticed the ſuperior ſailing of that ſhip. Captain Hammond did not loſe an inſtant; and we had the ſatisfaction, long before ſunſet, to ſee from our maſthead that the only remaining ſhip had ſurrendered to the Meduſa and Lively.

As ſoon as our boats had taken poſſeſſion of the Rear-Admiral, we made ſail for the floating fragments of the unfortunate Spaniſh frigate which blew up; but, except forty taken up by the Amphion's boats, all on board periſhed. This ſquadron was commanded by Don Joſeph Buſtamente, Knight of the Order of St. James, and a Rear-Admiral. They are from Monte Video, Rio de la Plata, and, from the information of the Captain of the flag-ſhip, contained about four millions of dollars, eight hundred thouſand of which were on board the Mercedes which blew up. Other accounts ſtate the quantity of ſpecie to be much greater, public and private, and there is beſides much valuable merchandize on board the captured ſhips. Our loſs has been very trifling. I have not yet had the returns from the other ſhips, but the Indefatigable did not loſe a man. The Spaniards ſuffered chiefly in their rigging, which was our object. The Captains of the different ſhips conducted themſelves ſo ably, that no honour could accrue to me but the fortunate accident of being ſenior officer. The zeal, activity, and ſpirit of the Officers, ſeamen, and marines of the ſquadron, is beſt evinced by the complete manner in which they performed their work. Lieutenants Gore, Parker, and Aſcott, of the Indefatigable, and Lieutenants Haviland and Hole, of the Marines, gave me that ſupport which their uniform good conduct formerly taught me to rely on. Mr. Griffith's, (the Maſter), conduct has my perfect approbation. I preſume to recommend, in the ſtrongeſt manner, Lieutenant I. Gore, of the Indefatigable, to your favour and protection.

I have the honour to be, &c.

GRAHAM MOORE.

Force of the Spaniſh ſquadron.—La Medeé, (flag-ſhip), forty-two guns, 18 pounders on the main-deck, and 300 men, taken; two men killed, and ten wounded.—La Fama, (Commodore's ſhip,), thirty-ſix guns, 12-pounders on the main deck, and 280 men, taken; no returns.—La Clara, thirty-ſix guns, 12 pounders on the main-deck, and 300 men, taken; no returns.—La Mercedes, thirty-ſix guns, 12 pounders on the main-deck, and 280 men, blew up; ſecond Captain and forty men ſaved.

In another letter, dated from Plymouth Sound, Oct. 19, Captain Moore informs the Admiral of his arrival, with the Indefatigable, Amphion; and two of the Spaniſh frigates

frigates; and ſubjoins the following account of the treaſure on board the Spaniſh ſhips, as delivered to him by the major of the ſquadron:

A General Statement of the Effects brought by the Frigates of this Diviſion, commanded by Don Joſeph de Buſtamente y Guerra, Chief of the Squadron of the Royal Navy.

On Account of the King.—Medée, 35 ſacks of Vienna wool, 20 cheſts and ſacks of caſcarilla, 1627 bars of tin, 203 pigs of copper, and 521,940 dollars in ſilver.—Fama, 300 bars of tin, 28 planks of wood, and 330,000 dollars in ſilver.—Mercedes, 20 ſacks of Vienna wool, 20 cheſts and ſacks of caſcarilla, 1139 bars of tin, 961 pigs of copper, and 221,000 dollars in ſilver.—Clara, 20 ſacks of Vienna wool, 20 cheſts and ſacks of caſcarilla, 1666 bars of tin, 571 pigs of copper, and 234,694 dollars in ſilver.—Total, 75 ſacks of Vienna wool, 60 cheſts and ſacks of caſcarilla, 4732 bars of tin, 1735 pigs of copper, 28 planks of wood, and 1,307,634 dollars in ſilver.

On Account of the Merchants.—Medée, 32 cheſts of platina, 952,619 dollars in ſilver, 279,502 gold, reduced into dollars, and 124,600 ingots of gold, reduced into dollars.—Fama, 316,597 dollars in ſilver, 217,756 gold, reduced into dollars, and 25,411 ingots of gold, reduced into dollars. Mercedes, 590,000 dollars in ſilver.—Clara, 622,400 gold, reduced into dollars.—Total, 32 cheſts of platina, 1,859,216 dollars in ſilver, 1,119,653 gold, reduced into dollars, and 150,011 ingots of gold, reduced into dollars.

On Account of the Marine Company.—Medée, 8905 ſeal ſkins.—Fama, 14,930 ſeal ſkins.—Clara, 10 pipes of ſeal oil.—Total, 26,925 ſeal ſkins, and 10 pipes of ſeal oil.

Return of the killed and wounded.—Indefatigable, none.—Meduſa, her return not received.—Amphion, Lieut. W. Bennett wounded, three ſeamen and one marine wounded, badly.—Lively, two killed; four wounded.—La Medée, (the Spaniſh Admiral,) two killed; ten wounded.—La Clara, ſeven killed; twenty wounded.—La Fama, eleven killed; fifty wounded.—La Mercedes, blown up, the ſecond captain and forty-five men ſaved by the Amphion, all the reſt periſhed.

(Signed) G. Moore.

London Gazette, Oct. 27.

Copy of a Letter from the Right Hon. Lord Keith, K. B. Admiral of the Blue, &c. to W. Marſden, Eſq. dated off Ramſgate, the 24th inſtant.

Sir,

I herewith tranſmit, for their lordſhips' information, a copy of a letter from Captain Owen, of his Majeſty's ſhip the Immortalité, to Rear-Admiral Louis, detailing the particulars of an action between that ſhip, the Oreſtes ſloop, and Baſiliſk gun-brig, and a diviſion of the enemy's flotilla, paſſing, yeſterday, from the eaſtward towards Boulogne. It will no doubt afford their lordſhips much ſatisfaction to obſerve the very favourable report which Captain Owen makes on the conduct of his Majeſty's officers and men; and equal regret to remark

mark the extent of the loſs that has been ſuſtained, and that the ſhallowneſs of the water alone prevented that active and enterpriſing officer from cutting any part of this diviſion off from the ſhore. I encloſe a liſt of the killed and wounded on board the Immortalité; and have the honour to be, &c.

KEITH.

H. M. S. Immortalité, off Boulogne, Oct. 23, 1804.

SIR,

Being off Cape Griſnez, and proceeding to my ſtation before Boulogne, I this afternoon, about half paſt three, diſcovered a diviſion of the enemy's veſſels, conſiſting of three praam ſhips, ſeven brigs, and fifteen luggers, which ſoon after bore up to the weſtward, keeping cloſe to the beach, under cover of their batteries, and accompanied by horſe artillery, making the beſt of their way to ſhelter themſelves within the Banc de Laine. By making all ſail to windward, I was enabled to cloſe the praams (which kept together) about a quarter before five, and to open my fire upon them within the diſtance of grape ſhot, under the high land of Cape Blanc Nez, the enemy ſtill puſhing to the weſtward, and returning at firſt a briſk fire, but it latterly ſlackened much. This running fight continued till near ſix, when, having been thrice obliged to ſheer out into deeper water, we found ourſelves ſtill within the end of the Banc de Laine, where the falling tide prevented us from following them, and obliged us to haul off. Our little Calais ſquadron was to windward following the enemy, of which the Oreſtes and Baſiliſk joined me in the firſt of the attack, giving me every ſupport and aſſiſtance during the whole of the action; their commanders gave me much ſatisfaction in conducting them. The other veſſels of that ſquadron did not get within gun ſhot; Captain Brown will, of courſe, make his report to Vice Admiral Holloway; but I ſpoke him in paſſing, and was pleaſed to learn he had ſuſtained no damage. I endeavoured to cloſe the enemy again as they paſſed from behind the Banc to round Cape Griſnez, and did get ſight of a few of the veſſels; but though we paſſed within half gun-ſhot of the cape, the enemy were ſo effectually ſcreened from our ſight by the dark ſhade of the land, that I could do nothing, and am unable to ſay whether the whole number got down to Boulogne, or whether (as I ſuſpect) a part of them anchored in Whitſand Bay.

Lieutenant Payne, though ill, was upon deck, and afforded me, as he has done in every inſtance, the greateſt aid; and it is not poſſible for me to ſpeak too highly of the conduct of every officer and man; each, in his ſtation, gave me the fulleſt ſatisfaction; but it gives me ſe ious pain to add, that, of theſe brave fellows, one was killed and ten wounded, (three mortally,) beſi es the third lieutenant, Charles Burrough Strong, of whoſe aſſiſtance I was deprived before a ſhot was fired by us, and whoſe loſs I feel the more, as two years' ſervice with me in this ſhip has fully proved to me his worth; his wounds, however, are not dangerous. My thanks are due to Mr. Henry Thornton, our pilot, for his ſteady, attentive good conduct

duct and alacrity, and regretting that the nature of the coaſt in that part where we cloſed the enemy enabled them to ſkulk from our further purſuit.

I have the honour to be, &c.
(Signed) E. W. C. R. OWEN.

P. S. From the manner in which our grape-ſhot covered the enemy's veſſels, their loſs in men muſt have been very great. I never ſaw guns pointed better, or ſo coolly.

Liſt of the killed and wounded men on board his Majeſty's ſhip the Immortalité, in an action with a diviſion of the enemy's veſſels off Cape Blanc Nez, Oct. 23, 1804.

Killed.—J. Wilſon, ſeaman.
Wounded.—S. B. Strong, third lieutenant; G. Barker (ſince dead); J. Dewal (ſince dead); W. Terrent (ſince dead); J. Brown, W. Hamilton, P. Humes, J. Watſon, and W. Robinſon, ſeamen; J. Allen and W. Gubbett, privates of marines.

(Signed) E. W. C. R. OWEN.

Copy of another Letter from the Right Hon. Lord Keith, K. B. Admiral of the Blue, &c. to W. Marſden, Eſq. dated off Ramſgate, the 25th inſtant.

SIR,

I am ſorry to acquaint their lordſhips, that his Majeſty's gun-brig the Conflict has been run on ſhore on the enemy's coaſt, and I fear has fallen into their poſſeſſion, while endeavouring, under the orders of Captain Hancock, of the Cruizer, to obſtruct the paſſage of a diviſion of the enemy's flotilla, proceeding from Oſtend to the weſtward on the night of the 23d. I herewith tranſmit the particulars of that unfortunate event, detailed in Capt. Hancock's letter to me, and Lieutenant Ormſby's letter to him, from which it appears, that Captain Hancock, and Lieutenants Ormſby and Forbes, as well as the other officers and men employed on this occaſion, have manifeſted great gallantry and perſeverance, and that their failure has only been occaſioned by the conſtruction of the enemy's veſſels admitting of their paſſing cloſer to the ſhore than ours. I have no doubt that the caſe of Acting Lieutenant Garland will intereſt their lordſhips much.

I am, &c.

KEITH.

Cruizer, off Nieuport, at Anchor, Six A. M. Oct. 24.

MY LORD,

I beg to acquaint your lordſhip, that part of the enemy's flotilla, conſiſting of two praam ſhips, one bearing the flag of Chief of Diviſion, and both under French colours, with eighteen ſchuyts, put to ſea yeſterday afternoon from Oſtend, at four P. M. to run to the weſtward, juſt at the moment his Majeſty's ſloop under my command, with the gun-brigs and cutters named in the margin*, were ſtanding in to reconnoitre that port. As ſoon as I could give the neceſſary directions to the gun-brigs to put themſelves under my orders, &c. I made ſail in purſuit of the headmoſt praam ſhip, which I brought to cloſe action at fifteen

* Blazer, Conflict, Tigreſs, Admiral Mitchell, Griffin, and Eſcort.

minutes

minutes paſt five, in which I was very ably ſupported by the gun-brigs and cutters, and continued it with great apparent effect, till thirty-five minutes paſt ſix, the enemy's fire being entirely ſilenced, and for the laſt half hour only keeping up a faint fire of muſketry. The tide was, however, falling ſo rapidly, and the enemy kept in ſuch ſhoal water, that it was not poſſible to cloſe with him, to take that advantage which by our fire we had ſo manifeſtly over him. It falling alſo dark, and being in leſs than three fathoms water, I conceived it proper to haul off and anchor, having no perſon on board acquainted with the ſhoals to the weſtward of Oſtend. It is with extreme concern I acquaint your lordſhip, that in Lieutenant Ormſby's gallant zeal to cloſe with the enemy, agreeably to my orders, the Conflict took the ground, and the tide left her ſo rapidly, that every endeavour he uſed to get her afloat was unſucceſsful, and he was under the neceſſity of quitting her with his people. The darkneſs that came on before the cloſe of the action, prevented me from being aware of this unfortunate accident, till Lieutenant Ormſby came on board the Cruizer with his people, after we had anchored. I immediately ordered him with his people back to the Conflict, to uſe every exertion to get her afloat when the tide made, or, in the event of his not being able to ſucceed, to deſtroy her, being then in hopes that the enemy were not aware of her ſituation.

I ſent the Admiral Mitchell cutter to protect and aſſiſt him; and the Cruizer's boats were alſo ſent under Mr. Fothergill, maſter of the Cruizer, who very commendably volunteered his ſervices. The ebb tide prevented the boats getting in for a conſiderable time; when they got near, they had the mortification to find the Conflict high and dry on the beach, and in complete poſſeſſion of the enemy. His boats accordingly returned to the Cruizer at two A. M. making their report of the ſtate of the Conflict. As I conſidered it my duty to make every attempt to ſave the king's ſhip, or at leaſt prevent her from falling into the hands of the enemy, I determined to attack her with the two cutters, by laying her on board at high water, when I knew the cutters could get cloſe alongſide of her. They were accordingly ſent, having, in addition to their own crews, Lieutenant Ormſby and the whole of the Conflict's ſhip's company, to which I added ten picked men and half the marines from the Cruizer, under the orders of Lieutenant A. Garland, acting lieutenant of the Cruizer, the whole being under the command of Lieutenant Forbes, of the Griffin cutter. Lieut. Forbes proceeded, with great gallantry and ſpirit, to put his orders in execution, but found, on arriving cloſe to her, the enemy had winded the head of the Conflict in ſhore, with her head ſails full to forge her on the beach, and had beſides hove her cloſe upon the ſand, as the tide roſe; it not being therefore poſſible to carry her in this ſituation, he returned to the Cruizer. It is with great pain I have to relate to your lordſhip, the cutter received very conſiderable damage in ſtanding in, from the howitzers and field artillery which the enemy had collected on the beach during the night,

night, by which one man was killed and ſeven wounded; amongſt the latter, much have I to regret that Lieut. A. Garland, acting lieutenant of the Cruizer, has loſt his right leg very high up, who was with admirable gallantry, with his party, getting into the boats to board the enemy, even under the diſcouraging circumſtances of her being ſtill aground when he received the wound. I hope it will not be thought intruſive, although it has not been my fortune to meet with that ſucceſs which the gallant exertions of the officers and men under my command entitled them to, but only to relate misfortunes, if, in juſtice to their merits, I beg to convey to your lordſhip the ſtrongeſt teſtimony of the zeal and gallantry with which they cloſed with the enemy.

I muſt alſo intrude on your lordſhip to recommend to your protection (if he ſurvive his wound) Lieutenant A. Garland, acting lieutenant of the Cruizer, who has ſerved his time and paſſed, and whoſe general good conduct as an officer, ſince he has been with me, entitles him to my warmeſt approbation, independent of his late misfortune, which, I truſt, will plead my excuſe for thus treſpaſſing on your lordſhip. I encloſe the copy of a letter from Lieutenant Ormſby to me, giving the particulars of the unfortunate loſs of the Conflict, which leaves me nothing to add, but to repeat my admiration of his conduct whilſt engaged with the praam, and to regret the ſad accident by which that veſſel is got into the poſſeſſion of the enemy.

I have directed Lieut. Hinton, with the gun brigs, to watch the Conflict; and, ſhould they ſucceed in getting her afloat, to attack her; but, from the appearance of the weather, and the wind being to the northward, I am of opinion ſhe will go to pieces on the beach. I herewith encloſe a liſt of the killed and wounded. None of the gun-brigs have ſuffered in their maſts, &c. nor has the Cruizer received any material injury, except her ſails, ſtanding and running rigging, which are much cut. One of the praams was obſerved by the boats to be high and dry on the beach at ten o'clock this morning, about three miles to the weſtward of the Conflict, but ſhe got off, I apprehend, at high water, and proceeded to the weſtward.

I have the honour to be, &c.

JOHN HANCOCK.

Liſt of Killed and Wounded.

Cruizer, one lieutenant, two ſeamen, and one marine (badly), wounded.—Blazer, none killed or wounded.—Conflict, one ſeaman killed; five ſeamen wounded.—Griffin, two ſeamen wounded.—Tigreſs, no report.—Admiral Mitchell, none killed or wounded.—Eſcort, none killed or wounded.—Total, one ſeaman killed; one lieutenant, nine ſeamen, and one marine, wounded.

Lieutenant Abraham Garland, of the Cruizer, wounded.

Cruizer, off Nieuport, Oct. 24, 1804, Six A. M.

SIR,

It is with extreme mortification that I have to acquaint you with the loſs of his Majeſty's gun-brig Conflict; for in a few minutes after you hailed me, deſiring me to keep as cloſe as poſſible to the praam,

ſhe grounded; the man in the ſtarboard chains having two fathoms, but having the three foremoſt breechings at that time carried away, I had ſtepped forward to hurry them in fitting others, when the pilot quitted his poſt at the helm, and went below: my firſt care was engaging the praam, which was paſſing inſide of us, and as ſoon as ſhe paſſed I ſtarted all the water, and threw every thing overboard that was practicable, to lighten her, but finding ſhe ſunk very faſt, having only four feet alongſide, and another praam coming up faſt on the outer ſide of us, I judged it moſt adviſable to hoiſt the boats out and ſave the people, as juſt at that time ſeeing the Cruizer's lights, and thinking that if I did not catch her immediately, the whole of the people would be ſacrificed, as the boats would be too crowded to get any diſtance, and I had hopes that when the flood made, I might, with the aſſiſtance I might get from the ſquadron, be enabled to get her off; I am ſorry the reſult has been ſo very contrary to my hopes and wiſhes. Lieutenant Forbes, I preſume, has acquainted you with the particulars. Our loſs in the evening was one man badly wounded, and one ſlightly; in the night, one killed and three wounded. The officers and crew in general behaved as brave men.

I have the honour, &c.

C. C. ORMSBY.

LONDON GAZETTE, NOV. 20.

Copy of a Letter from Capt. Hancock, of his Majeſty's Sloop the Cruizer, to Admiral Lord Keith, dated Cruizer, at Sea, off Yarmouth, Ten A. M. *Oct.* 17, 1804.

MY LORD,

I have the honour to acquaint your lordſhip, that being laſt night, at nine P. M. with his Majeſty's ſloop under my command, and the gun brigs Bold and Ann, and Florence cutter, cloſe in with Oſtend, in five fathoms water, which ſtation I had taken from the moment the wind came to the eaſtward, to follow with every poſſible efficacy and energy your Lordſhip's inſtructions in the important duty entruſted to me, of watching the enemy's movements at that port and Fluſhing, we obſerved a ſtrange ſail ſtanding in ſhore, which, on diſcovering us, wore and made all ſail, ſteering at firſt with the wind abaft the beam; we immediately made all ſail in chaſe, which continued the whole night, in which the ſtranger diſplayed much ſkill and ability in all his manœuvres, and tried us on every point of ſailing, with various ſucceſs; he ſometimes gaining on us, and we in our turn nearing him, till five A. M. in which time (eight hours) we had run ninety-ſeven miles, by the log: during the latter part of the chaſe, the wind freſhened conſiderably; but this gave us not the advantage I expected, as he preſerved his diſtance till a quarter before five, A. M., when both his top-maſts went away; he then attempted a maſterly manœuvre to eſcape, which the haze, the darkneſs of the morning, and the lee tide, gave him a fair proſpect of ſucceeding in, by clearing up his remaining ſails, and coming inſtantly to an anchor, although in twenty-five fathoms water,

ter, in hopes we ſhould either paſs him unperceived, or get to leeward. Although I was not aware, to the full extent, of this accident and manœuvre, I never loſt ſight of him; and, at the time it happened, I obſerved we were nearing him ſo very faſt, that I had begun to reduce the ſail; but, as we were going then more than eleven knots, I had but a few minutes time before I was up with him, and the wind blowing ſo freſh as to riſk the loſs of all our maſts if I attempted to haul to wind with the ſail I had then ſet, I was under the neceſſity of paſſing him, which I did, however, within hail, and to windward, and not receiving any anſwer, except that he was from Philadelphia, in bad Engliſh, I ordered three guns to be fired into him. I then plainly diſcovered him to be a large armed brig, with nine ports on a ſide. Having in a few minutes taken two reefs in the topſails, and cleared the decks of wrecked ſpars and ſplit ſails, we tacked, and ranged up within ten yards of his lee-quarter, he having cut his cable, and again attempted to make ſail, when, juſt as I was on the point of hailing him, preparatory to giving him our broadſide, he called out, and begged us not to fire, as he had ſtruck.

On boarding him, I was pleaſed to find my opinion confirmed, that I had captured Captain Blackeman, ſo well known during the late and preſent wars, in theſe ſeas, having received information he was at ſea in a brig. The veſſel he commanded proved to be le Contre-Amiral Magon, French privateer brig, quite new, this being her firſt cruiſe, pierced for eighteen, and mounting ſeventeen guns, of different calibres; viz. fourteen long ſix-pounders, two eighteen-pound carronades, and one long nine-pounder, and manned with eighty-four men, French, Danes, Swedes, and Americans; had been out from Dunkirk eighteen days, and had captured, during his cruiſe, the ſhip Beliſarius, of Newcaſtle, Matthew Hunter, on the 3d inſtant, off Tynemouth; the brig Scipio, Richard Robertſon, Maſter, and the Content's Increaſe, George Bell, Maſter, both laden with coals, off Foley Bridge, on the 10th inſtant: the two former were immediately diſpatched for Dunkirk, but the latter was recaptured, about two hours after, by an Engliſh man-of-war brig; ſhe was proceeding for Dunkirk or Oſtend, and had been laying to for ſome hours in the evening, waiting for water to croſs the Bank, and, I apprehend, little expected to find Engliſh cruiſers within the Stroom Sand. The brigs and cutters in company, who have bore up with the Cruizer in chaſe, were run out of ſight by twelve A. M.

I beg to recommend to your lordſhip's notice Lieutenant J. Pearſe, ſenior lieutenant; Lieutenant Luſk, ſecond; and Mr. Laſh, maſter; with the whole of the warrant and petty officers, ſeamen, and marines, through whoſe united exertions this active and enterpriſing enemy has been prevented making further depredations, which, from his local knowledge of our coaſts, added to the ample means he poſſeſſed in this brig, from her ſuperior ſailing and force, muſt have been highly detrimental to the trade of this country; nor can I, in juſtice, omit availing myſelf of this opportunity to expreſs to your lordſhip my thanks to Johannes

Whymmer, pilot of the Cruizer, who, on this and all former occaſions, by his correct knowledge of the coaſt and ſhoals, and zeal for his Majeſty's ſervice, has afforded me the more eſſential confidence and aſſiſtance.

I am happy to add, that the maſters of the captured veſſels, as alſo their crews, amounting to twenty Engliſh ſeamen, were on board the Contre-Amiral Magon at the time of capture, and are now on board the Cruizer.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) JOHN HANCOCK.

Admiral Lord Keith, K. B.
&c. &c. &c.

LONDON GAZETTE, DEC. 15.

Copy of a Letter from the Right Honourable Lord Keith, Admiral of the Blue, &c. &c. to W. Marſden, Eſq. dated on board the Monarch, off Ramſgate, 11th December, 1804.

SIR,

Diviſions of the enemy's flotilla, paſſing from the eaſtward towards Boulogne, having frequently, when purſued by his Majeſty's ſhips and veſſels, taken ſhelter in the harbour of Calais, their entry into which has been particularly covered and protected by the advanced pile battery of Fort Rouge, I conſidered it an object of ſome importance to effect the deſtruction of that work, and lately directed Capt. Sir Home Popham, of the Antelope, amongſt other objects, to hold in view a favourable opportunity for making this attempt.

I now tranſmit, for their lordſhips' information, a letter, and the enclofures to which it refers, which I have received from that officer, reporting the reſult of an aſſault which he directed to be made upon it early on the morning of the 9th inſtant, and from which there is reaſon to conclude that the Fort has ſuſtained material damage; but that from the unfortunate circumſtance of its not having been poſſible, under the exiſting ſtate of the weather and tide, to carry up two of the exploſion veſſels to the point of attack, the injury has been far leſs extenſive than might have been otherwiſe expected. — The conduct of Lieut. Hew Stewart of the Monarch, on this recent occaſion, will not fail, I am ſure, to excite their lordſhips' admiration and praiſe. I have great pleaſure in conveying to their lordſhips Captain Sir Home Popham's teſtimony to his diſtinguiſhed merit, and to the zealous and activē aſſiſtance which he received from Capt. Brownrigg, Lieut Lake, and Mr. Bartholomew.

I have the honour to be, &c.

KEITH.

Antelope, Downs, Dec. 10.

MY LORD,

I avail myſelf of the firſt moment of my return to the Downs to acquaint you, that towards noon on Saturday the 8th, the wind promiſed to come to the S. E.; and knowing it to be your lordſhip's intention to attack the enemy at every aſſailable point, I ſent the Dart, on the cloſe of the evening, to an aſſigned ſtation between Sengate and Fort Lapin, accompanied by the Suſannah exploſion veſſel, and two carcaſſes, with a view of making an aſſault againſt Fort Rouge. Lieut. Stewart, of the Monarch, commanded the exploſion

ſion veſſel; Mr. Bartholomew, acting lieutenant of the Antelope, had the charge of the firſt carcaſs intended to be applied, and Capt. Brownrigg requeſted to take the other. Your lordſhip is aware how difficult it is to aſcertain the preciſe injury done to the enemy in an enterpriſe of this nature, which, in moſt caſes, muſt be undertaken in the night: but that you may be poſſeſſed of the beſt information in that reſpect, I ſent the Fox cutter, whoſe maſter is an active, intelligent man, and well acquainted with Fort Rouge, to reconnoitre the place as cloſe as poſſible without riſk, and I annex his report to Lt. Stewart's, as the cleareſt account that can be given of the able and officer-like manner in which the Suſannah was placed, and the evident conſequences of ſuch an application, even under circumſtances of conſiderable diſadvantage. I very much regret that Mr. Bartholomew could not fetch the port; for I am poſitive he would have laſhed the carcaſs to the piles; he however very prudently returned with it to the Dart; and although ſomething prevented the ſecond carcaſs from going off, which evidently had been ſtriking againſt the piles, from the indention at one end, yet he recovered and brought it alſo on board. I am moſt perfectly ſatisfied with the zeal and activity which Captain Brownrigg manifeſted on this occaſion; the Dart was admirably placed, and every aſſiſtance afforded from her that could inſure the ſucceſs of this ſervice, which muſt now be conſidered as confined to the efforts of the Suſannah; and I take this opportunity of moſt particularly recommending Lieut. Stewart to your lordſhip's notice; which, I hope, will alſo be extended to Mr. Bartholomew, notwithſtanding he could not fetch the battery: and your lordſhip muſt be alive to the enterpriſing conduct of theſe two officers on a former occaſion. I cannot conclude my report without aſſuring your lordſhip, that Lieutenant Lake of the Locuſt gun-brig, who was appointed to cover the boats, behaved in a moſt exemplary manner, by keeping ſo cloſe in as to draw all the fire upon his own veſſel; and I have great ſatisfaction in ſtating, that not an officer or man was hurt in this operation.

I have the honour, &c.

H. POPHAM.

Right Hon. Lord Keith, K. B. &c.

His Majeſty's Ship Dart,
Dec. 10.

SIR,

In purſuance of your inſtruction, and according to the arrangement you made for the attempt on Fort Rouge only, I left this ſhip at two A. M. and proceeded in ſhore with the Exploſion veſſel in my charge, until the water ſhoaled to two and a half fathoms, when I tacked, and ſtood off ſo as to enable me to fetch the battery, which I did about half paſt two, and placing her bowſprit between the piles, left her in that ſituation. In a few minutes I obſerved her ſwing with her broad-ſide to the battery, in conſequence of the bowſprit being carried away; and as an anchor was dropped the inſtant ſhe ſtruck the piles, I had not the ſmalleſt doubt of her remaining there until the exploſion took place, which was in a few minutes. I could not fetch the covering brig, as it had every appearance of coming on to blow

from the S. E. in which quarter it was when I left the Dart; I hope you will excuſe my running in the galley to the Downs.

I have, &c.

HEW STEWART.

Sir Home Popham, K. M.
Antelope.

Fox Cutter, off Calais,
Dec. 9.

SIR,

According to your order, I proceeded off Fort Rouge, and examined it very ſtrictly. As I proceeded towards the ſhore I ſaw a great quantity of plank and timber floating, and would have picked up ſome, but was afraid I ſhould loſe the tide, as I wiſhed to examine it at low water. In ſtanding in I could diſcern a great number of people all around the S. W. end of the fort, and from the Weſt Head all the way to the Sand-Hills. I did not diſcover any alteration on the eaſt ſide of the fort; but when I got to the weſtward of the fort, I could plainly diſcover the moſt part of it to be damaged, and the breaſt-work knocked down; and I have every reaſon to believe it was very much injured, by ſuch a number of people being aſſembled there, and ſeeming at work upon it.

I am, &c.

(Signed) W. BLAKE.

Intereſting Narrative of the Loſs of his Majeſty's Ship the Apollo, J. W. T. Dixon, Eſq. Captain; with about Forty Sail of her Convoy, on the Coaſt of Portugal, Three Leagues North of Cape Mondego, when on her Paſſage from the Weſt-Indies, on the Second of April 1804.

Monday, the 26th of March, ſailed from the Cove of Cork, in company with his Majeſty's ſhip Carysfort, and 69 ſail of merchantmen, under convoy for the Weſt-Indies, 27th, were out of ſight of land, with a fair wind, blowing a ſtrong gale, and ſteering about W. S. W. The 28th, 29th, and 30th, weather and courſe nearly the ſame. 31ſt, the wind came more to the weſtward, but more moderate. Sunday, the 1ſt of April, at noon, obſerved in latitude 40 deg. 51 min. north. Longitude, per account, 12 deg. 29 min. weſt. At eight o'clock, on Sunday evening, the wind ſhifted to the S. W. blowing freſh; courſe S. S. E. At ten, up main-ſail, and ſet the main ſtay-ſail. At a quarter paſt ten, the main ſtay-ſail ſplit by the ſheet giving way; called all hands upon deck. At half paſt ten, ſtrong breezes and ſqually; took in the fore top-ſail and ſet the fore-ſail. At half paſt eleven the main top-ſail ſplit; furled it and the main-ſail. The ſhip was now under her fore-ſail, main and mizen ſtorm ſtay-ſails; the wind blowing hard, with a heavy ſea.

About half paſt three, on Monday morning, the 2d, the ſhip ſtruck the ground, to the aſtoniſhment of every one on board, and by the above reckoning, we then conjectured, upon an unknown ſhoal. She continued ſtriking the ground very heavy ſeveral times, by which her bottom was materially damaged, and making much water; the chain-pumps were rigged with the utmoſt diſpatch, and the men began to pump, but in about ten minutes ſhe beat and drove over the ſhoal. On endeavouring to ſteer her, found the rudder carried away. She then got before the wind. The pumps were kept going, but, from the

the quantity of water ſhe ſhipped, there was every probability of her ſoon foundering, as ſhe was filling, and ſinking very faſt.

After running about five minutes, the ſhip ſtruck the ground again with ſuch tremendous ſhocks, that we were fearful ſhe would inſtantly go to pieces, and kept ſtriking and driving further on the ſands, the ſea making breaches completely over her. Cut away the lanyards of the main and mizen rigging, and the maſts fell with a tremendous craſh over the larboard ſide: the foremaſt went immediately after. The ſhip then fell on her ſtarboard ſide, with the gunwale under water. The violence with which ſhe ſtruck the ground, and the weight of the guns, thoſe on the quarter-deck tearing away the bulwark, ſoon made the ſhip a perfect wreck abaft; only four or five guns could poſſibly be fired to alarm the convoy, and give notice of danger. On her ſtriking the ſecond time, moſt pitiful cries were heard every where between decks, many of the men giving themſelves up to inevitable death. I was told that I might as well ſtay below, as there was an equal likelihood of periſhing if I got upon deck. I was determined to go, but firſt attempted to enter my cabin, and was in danger of having my legs broke by the cheſts floating about, and the bulk-heads were giving way. I therefore deſiſted, and endeavoured to get upon deck, which I effected, after being ſeveral times waſhed down the hatchway by the immenſe volume of water inceſſantly pouring down. The ſhip ſtill beating the ground very heavy, made it neceſſary to cling faſt to ſome part of the wreck, to prevent being waſhed by the ſurges, or hurled by the dreadful concuſſions overboard, the people holding faſt by the larboard bulwark of the quarter-deck, and in the main channel, while our good captain ſtood naked upon the cabin ſky-light grating, holding faſt by the ſtump of the mizen-maſt, and making uſe of every ſoothing expreſſion which could have been ſuggeſted to encourage men in ſuch a perilous ſituaton. Moſt of the officers and men were entirely naked, not having had time to ſlip on even a pair of trowſers. Our horrible ſituation every moment became more dreadful, until day-light appearing, about half paſt four o'clock, diſcovered to us the land, at about two cables' diſtance, a long ſandy beach, reaching to Cape Mondego, three leagues to the ſouthward of us. On day-light clearing up, we could perceive between twenty and thirty ſail of the convoy aſhore, both to the northward and ſouthward, and ſeveral of them perfect wrecks. We were now certain of being on the coaſt of Portugal, from ſeeing the above cape, though, I am ſorry to ſay, no perſon in the ſhip had the leaſt idea of being ſo near that coaſt. It blowing hard, and a very great ſwell of the ſea, (or what is generally termed waves running mountains high,) there was little proſpect of being ſaved. About eight o'clock, there being every likelihood of the ſhip going to pieces, and the after-part laying loweſt, Capt. Dixon ordered every perſon forward, which it was very difficult to comply with, from the motion of the main-maſt working on the larboard gunwale, there being no other way to get forward. Mr. Cook, the boatſwain, had his

thigh broke, in endeavouring to get a boat over the ſide. Of ſix fine boats not one was ſaved, being all ſtove, and waſhed overboard with the booms, &c. Soon after the people got forward the ſhip parted at the gangways. The crew were now obliged to ſtow themſelves in the fore-channels, and from thence to the bowſprit end, to the number of 220; for, out of 240 perſons on board when the ſhip firſt ſtruck, I ſuppoſe twenty to have previouſly periſhed between decks and otherwiſe. Mr. Lawton, the gunner, the firſt perſon who attempted to ſwim aſhore, was drowned: afterwards Lieut. Wilſon, Mr. Runcie, ſurgeon, Mr. M'Cabe, ſurgeon's mate, Mr. Standley, maſter's mate, and ſeveral men, ſhared the ſame fate, by reaſon of the ſea breaking in enormous ſurges over them, though excellent ſwimmers. About thirty perſons had the good fortune to reach the ſhore, upon planks and ſpars, among whom were Lieut. Harvey and Mr. Callam, maſter's mate. Monday night our ſituation was truly horrid, the old men and boys dying through hunger and fatigue: — alſo Meſſrs. Proby and Hayes, midſhipmen. Capt. Dixon remained all this night upon the bowſprit.

Tueſday morning preſented us no better proſpect of being relieved from the jaws of death, the wind blowing ſtronger and the ſea much more turbulent. About noon this day, our drooping ſpirits were ſomewhat raiſed by ſeeing Lieut. Harvey and Mr. Callam hoiſting out a boat from one of the merchant ſhips to come to the aſſiſtance of their diſtreſſed ſhipmates. They ſeveral times attempted to launch her through the ſurf; but being a very heavy boat, and the ſea on the beach acting ſo powerfully againſt them, they could not poſſibly effect it, though aſſiſted by nearly 100 of the merchant ſailors and Portugueſe peaſants. Several men went upon rafts this day, made from pieces of the wreck, but not one ſoul reached the ſhore; the wind having ſhifted, and the current ſetting out, they were all driven to ſea; among whom was our captain, who, about three in the afternoon, went on the jib-boom with three ſeamen; anxious to ſave the remainder of the ſhip's company, and too ſanguine of getting ſafe on ſhore, he ventured upon the ſpar, ſaying, on jumping into the ſea, "My lads, I'll ſave you all." In a few ſeconds he loſt his hold of the ſpar, which he could not regain: he drifted to ſea, and periſhed. Such was alſo the fate of the three brave volunteers who choſe his fortune.

The loſs of our captain, who until now had animated the almoſt lifeleſs crew; as well as the noble exertions of Lieut. Harvey and Mr. Callam to launch the boat not ſucceeding; every gleam of hope vaniſhed, and we looked forward for certain death the enſuing night, not only from cold, hunger, and fatigue, but the expectation of the remaining part of the wreck going to pieces every moment. Had not the Apollo been a new and well-built ſhip, that ſmall portion of her could never have reſiſted the waves, and ſtuck ſo well together, particularly as all the after part from the cheſs-trees was gone, the ſtarboard-bow under water, the fore-caſtle deck nearly perpendicular, the weight of the guns hanging to the

the larboard bulwark on the inſide, and the bower and ſpare anchors on the outſide, which it was not prudent to cut away, as they afforded reſting places to a conſiderable number of men, there being only the fore-chanels and cathead where it was poſſible to live in, and about which were ſtowed upwards of 150 men; it being impracticable to continue any longer in the head, or upon the bowſprit, by reaſon of the breakers waſhing completely over thoſe places. The night drawing on, the wind increaſing, frequent ſhowers of rain, the ſea waſhed over us, and looking every inſtant for the forecaſtle giving way, when we muſt have all periſhed together, afforded a ſpectacle truly deplorable, the bare recollection of which even now makes me ſhudder. The piercing cries of the people this diſmal night, at every ſea coming over them, which happened every two minutes, were pitiful in the extreme; the water running from the head down all over the body, keeping us continually wet. This ſhocking night the remaining ſtrength of every perſon was exerted for his individual ſafety. From the crowding ſo cloſe together in ſo narrow a compaſs, and the want of ſomething to moiſten their mouths, ſeveral poor wretches were ſuffocated, which frequently reminded me of the black hole, with this only difference, that theſe poor ſufferers were confined by ſtrong walls, we by water; the leaſt movement without clinging faſt would have launched us into eternity. Some unfortunate wretches drank ſalt water, ſeveral their own urine, ſome chewed leather, myſelf and many more chewed lead, from which we conceived we found conſiderable relief, by reaſon of its drawing the ſaliva, which we ſwallowed. In leſs than an hour after the ſhip firſt ſtruck the ground, all the proviſions were under water, and the ſhip a wreck, ſo that it was impoſſible to procure any part. After the moſt painful night that it is poſſible to conceive, on day-light appearing, we obſerved Lieut. Harvey and Mr. Callam again endeavouring to launch the boat. Several attempts were made without ſucceſs, a number of men belonging to the merchant ſhips being much bruiſed and hurt in aſſiſting. Alternate hopes and fears now pervaded our wretched minds; fifteen men got ſafe on ſhore this morning on pieces of the wreck. About three in the afternoon of Wedneſday the 4th, we had the inexpreſſible happineſs of ſeeing the boat launched through the ſurf, by the indefatigable exertion of the above officers, aſſiſted by the maſters of the merchant ſhips, with a number of Portugueſe peaſants, who were encouraged by Mr. Whitney, the Britiſh conſul, from Figuiera. All the crew then remaining on the wreck were brought ſafe on ſhore, praiſing God for a happy deliverance from a ſhipwreck which has never had its parallel. As ſoon as I ſtept out of the boat, I found ſeveral perſons whoſe humanity prompted them to offer me ſuſtenance, though improperly, in ſpirits, which I avoided as much as poſſible. Our weak ſtate may be conceived, when it is conſidered that we received no nouriſhment from Sunday to Wedneſday afternoon, and continuully expoſed to the fury of the watery elements.

After

eating and drinking a little, I found myself weaker than before, occaſioned, I apprehend, from having been ſo long without either. Some men died ſoon after getting on ſhore, from imprudently drinking too large a quantity of ſpirits. All the crew were in a very weak and exhauſted ſtate, the greater part being badly bruiſed and wounded. About forty ſail of merchant ſhips were wrecked at the ſame time on this dreadful beach. Some ſhips ſunk with all their crew, and almoſt every ſhip loſt from two to twelve men each; yet the ſituation of the remainder was not equal to that of the frigate's ſhip company, as the merchant ſhips drawing a leſs draught of water, were moſtly driven cloſe on the ſhore, and no perſon remained on board them after the firſt morning. The maſters of the merchant ſhips had tents upon the beach, and ſome proviſions they had ſaved from the wrecks, which they very generouſly diſtributed, and gave every aſſiſtance to the Apollo's ſhip's company. Thus was loſt one of the fineſt frigates in the Britiſh navy, with ſixty-one of her crew. The number of ſouls loſt in the merchants' ſhips was alſo very conſiderable. Dead bodies were every day floating aſhore, and pieces of wreck covered the beach upwards of ten miles in extent.

Particulars of the Loſs of the Duke of Cumberland Packet, at Antigua, in the Hurricane of the 4th of September, 1804.—*By an Eye-Witneſs.*

On the morning of Monday the 3d of September, the Duke of Cumberland Packet was lying at anchor in the Road of St. John's, waiting for the mail, which was expected to come on board that day.

His Majeſty's ſhip Serapis, a 44, armed *en flute*, lay about two miles farther out, waiting to convoy the packet down to Tortola. The wind had been blowing very freſh from the north during the night, and at noon had conſiderably increaſed. His Majeſty's ſhip de Ruyter, an old 74, which had lately been brought there to be fitted up as a priſon-ſhip, lay at anchor in Deep Bay; ſhe had a very weak crew on board, and made ſignals of diſtreſs to the Serapis; a boat came on board the packet at 12 o'clock, from the latter veſſel, requeſting the aid of ſome men, in order to aſſiſt them in relieving the de Ruyter; but this Captain Lawrence could not with propriety grant. At this time we ſtruck our top-gallant maſts, and at two P. M. we let go the beſt bower anchor, having been hitherto riding with the ſmall bower only.

The gale continued to increaſe, and at ſix o'clock it blew a perfect ſtorm from the N. W. by W. when we ſtruck our yards and topmaſts.

The men had hardly finiſhed this work when it was diſcovered that the veſſel had parted her beſt bower cable. This ſurpriſed and alarmed us exceedingly, as the rope was nearly new, and we had been aſſured that the bottom of the roadſtead was a hard ſand: it muſt have been cut upon a ſhip's anchor, or on a bed of coral. We immediately bent the remaining part of it to the ſtream anchor, and the ſtream cable to the kedge. The wind continued to rage with unabated

bated violence, the ſhip pitched immoderately, and dreading leſt the cable ſhould give way, at ten o'clock we let go the two remaining anchors. Every thing had now been done for the ſafety of the ſhip that was in the power of the crew; the reſt we confided to Providence; and having recommended ourſelves to the protection of the Almighty, we remained idle but anxious ſpectators of the ſcene before us, and awaited the event in ſilent dread. To men who were ſo deeply intereſted in the effects of the ſtorm, no ſcene could be ſo truly awful: the wind raged with a violence known only in tropical climates—the rain fell like a deluge—the waves had riſen to a moſt ſtupendous height—the ſhip was pitching her forecaſtle under water—our beſt cable was already gone, and we momentarily expected to part the reſt. To add to the horrors of our ſituation, the lightning, flaſhing now and then, diſcovered to us, notwithſtanding the extreme darkneſs of the night, that, as ſoon as we ſhould part or drive away from our moorings, a reef of horrid rocks lay to leeward ready to receive us. Thus ſituated, every man was ſenſible that it was abſolutely impoſſible to combat ſingly the terrible agitation of the elements, and our feeble expectations of ſaving our lives were reſted ſolely on the frail hope of the ſhips riding out the tempeſt.

The maſts of the de Ruyter had been frequently ſhewn to us by the glare of the lightning, and we could perceive that ſhe was driving from her moorings. They diſappeared all at once, and we concluded that ſhe had foundered. We ſuppoſed the Serapis had ſhared the ſame fate. About eleven o'clock, the windlaſs gave way, with a tremendous noiſe: the ſailors immediately clapped ſtops upon the cables, and ſecured them by means of ring-bolts on the decks. Theſe were continually breaking, and were as often replaced.

The cable had now held ſo long, that we began to entertain ſome faint hope of riding out the gale, and we dared for a moment to quit the deck for ſome refreſhment; but no ſooner were we ſat down, when a loud groan from the crew ſummoned us on deck: we dreaded the worſt: the captain came running forward, and ſoon put an end to our doubts by exclaiming—"All's now over! Lord God, have mercy upon us!" The cable had parted; the ſhip hung about two minutes by the ſtream and kedge, and then began to drive broadſide on, dragging them along with her. Our feelings at this moment are not to be deſcribed, nor can I think on any ſimilar ſituation to which they can be compared. At this time, ſome of the ſeamen, torn by deſpair, ſeemed for a moment to forget themſelves; the cries of their homes, their wives, and their children, reſounded through the ſhip; but they ſoon became ſenſible of their folly, and reſumed their uſual firmneſs.

As ſoon as the ſhip parted, which was about 12 o'clock, every man clung to a rope, and determined to ſtick to it ſo long as the ſhip remained entire: the wind had veered ſomewhat to the weſt, which prevented her from ſtriking on the reef of rocks which we ſo much dreaded. It was now one o'clock: we had drifted an hour, without knowing whither. We

continued

continued holding faſt by the rigging, our bodies beat by the heavieſt rain, and laſhed by every wave. A dreadful ſilence enſued, every one being too intent on his own approaching end, to be able to communicate his feelings to another; nothing could be heard but the horrid howling of the tempeſt. A little after one we ſtruck, and inſtantly went off again; this, together with ſeveral lights before us at a diſtance, convinced us that we were driving towards the harbour of St. John's, and that we had ſtruck on the bar. We ſaw a large object before us, which we dreaded was Rat Iſland, (a perpendicular rock in the middle of the harbour, with a fort upon it), we were faſt approaching it, and that the garriſon might be ſpectators of our fate, for it was in vain to think of aſſiſtance; we fired two alarm guns; but from the tremendous noiſe of the wind and waves, we doubted if they could be heard. We ſoon found that this object was a large ſhip, on which we were directly driving. We came up with her, and went cloſe under her ſtern. A faint hope now appeared of being ſtranded on a ſandy beach, for we knew that, although the harbour is chiefly bounded with rock, yet that there were a few mud and ſand banks, and our wiſhes led us to hope the beſt. The captain therefore ordered the carpenter to get the hatchets all ready to cut away the maſts, in order to make a raft for thoſe who choſe to venture on it. We could now plainly perceive land not far diſtant, on which we were driving, and as we knew it to be a huge rock, we run up the fore and mizen ſtayſails, thinking by this means to divert the courſe of the ſhip, but at the ſame moment the wind chopped from N. N. W. to Weſt, being no leſs than ſix points of the compaſs, and continued to blow with the ſame fury; this kept us clear of the projecting land, and drove us beyond it a ſhort diſtance, when the ſhip ſtruck; her firſt ſtrokes were apparently upon a ſandy beach, and we could plainly diſcern two large ſhips aſhore, juſt abreaſt of us. We now fondly imagined that we would be driven on board theſe ſhips, but in this we were diſappointed; we drove paſt, beating with violence at every wave, and in a few ſeconds found the ſhip bring up on ſome horrid rocks, at the foot of a ſtupendous precipice. Every hope now vaniſhed, and we began already to conſider ourſelves as beings of another world; the veſſel was daſhed with extreme violence on the rocks, and we could diſtinctly hear the cracking of her timbers below: in order to eaſe the veſſel, and, if poſſible, prevent her from parting, we immediately cut away the mizen-maſt, and ſhortly after the fore-maſt; the main-maſt we allowed to remain, in order to ſteady the ſhip, and, if poſſible, prevent her from canting to windward, which would inevitably have drowned us all. The veſſel had ſtruck about two o'clock, and in half an hour afterwards we found that the water was up to the lower deck. Never was day-light ſo anxiouſly wiſhed for as by the unfortunate crew of this ſhip. After having hold ſo long of the ſhrouds, we were forced to cling three hours longer before the dawn appeared, during which time we were under continual dread of the ſhip's parting,

ing, and launching us into eternity: the ſea was making a complete breach over her, laying on her beam-ends; and ſtiff and benumbed as we were, it was with the utmoſt difficulty we could preſerve our hold againſt the force of the waves, every one of which ſtruck and nearly drowned us. The break of day diſcovered to us all the horrors of our ſituation: the veſſel was laying upon large rocks, at the foot of a craggy, overhanging precipice, twice as high as the ſhip's main-maſt; the mizen-maſt, which, although cut away, ſtill hung in a diagonal direction, ſupported by ſome ropes, reached within about four fathoms of the rock! the land forming a ſort of bay around us, alſo approached us a-head, and the extremity of the jib-boom was not far from it; we could plainly diſcern many ſhips on ſhore in various parts of the harbour, and the wind and rain beat upon us with unabated violence: the ſhip lay a miſerable wreck; one wave had carried away her ſtern boat, unſhipped her rudder, and waſhed overboard her quarter boards, binnacle, and round-houſe; her fore and mizen-maſts lay alongſide, ſupported by ſmall ropes, and the ſhip had bilged her larboard ſide. Our firſt thoughts, after the dawn appeared, were naturally directed to the poſſibility of ſaving our lives; and we all agreed, that the only hopes of doing ſo was by means of the mizen-maſt: we immediately got the top-maſt and top-gallant-maſts launched out on it, which reached within a few feet of the rock, but the part of the precipice which it approached, was ſo perpendicular, as to afford us but faint hopes of relief, unleſs it might be procured by means of ſome buſhes which grew on the brow of the rock: a ſailor ſoon made trial of it; but to our great mortification we ſaw him heave a rope, on the end of which was formed a nooſe, and which catching hold of ſome of the largeſt buſhes, brought them away in an inſtant, and diſcovered to us that the roots of the ſhrubs were faſtened to nothing but a much decayed weather beaten rock, incapable of affording them ſupport ſufficient to withſtand the ſmalleſt weight. Another ſeaman, who ſeemed from deſpair to have imbibed an extraordinary degree of courage, followed the firſt man out on the maſt, with the intention of throwing himſelf from the end upon the mercy of the rock: he had proceeded to the extremity of the top-gallant-maſt, and was on the point of leaping among the buſhes, when the pole of the maſt, unable to ſuſtain his weight, gave way, and precipitated him into the boſom of the waves: as the fall was at leaſt forty feet in height, it was ſome time before he made his appearance above the ſurface of the water, and when he did, every one expected to ſee him daſhed to pieces among the rocks, but he had fortunately carried down with him the piece of the broken maſt, to which were faſtened ſome ſmall ropes, and by clinging faſt to them, he preſerved his head above water, at the intervals of the waves receding, until a tackle was fixed to hoiſt him up. All our hopes of being ſaved by means of the mizen maſt were now blaſted; and yet ſome deciſive meaſure ſeemed abſolutely neceſſary; for as the ſtorm did not abate in the ſmalleſt degree,

gree, we began ſtill more to dread that the ſhip would part, as ſhe had already bilged on the larboard ſide; the whole crew had beſides been ſo fatigued, diſpirited, and benumbed, that they were hardly able to hold out any longer. It was in vain to expect outward aſſiſtance, as we were not ſeen from the town, and the ſhips which were in ſight of us had it not in their power to afford us the leaſt aid. Some negroes did make their appearance on the top of the rock, and we requeſted them to deſcend a little way in order to receive a rope; but whether from fear or mere ſtupidity I do not know, but in ſpite of all our entreaties, promiſes, and threats, theſe creatures ſtood gaping in the moſt idiotical manner, ſometimes at us, and ſometimes at themſelves, without making the leaſt motion to approach us. Whilſt we were meditating in ſullen ſilence on our ſituation, Mr. Doncaſter, the chief mate, unknown to any one, went out on the bowſprit, and, having reached the end of the jib-boom, was then ſeen to throw himſelf headlong into the water; he had hardly fallen, when a tremendous wave threw him upon the rock, and left him dry; there he remained a few moments without motion, until a ſecond wave waſhed him ſtill farther up, when, clinging to ſome roughneſs in the cliff, he effectually preſerved his hold. He remained there a few minutes to recruit himſelf, and then began to ſcramble up the rock. Mr. Doncaſter's preſervation was moſt miraculous; all the ſhip's company were unanimous in declaring that it was next to an impoſſibility: it ſeemed, indeed, a ſingular interpoſition of Providence in our behalf.

In about half an hour, he with infinite difficulty reached the ſummit of the cliff. Moſt anxiouſly had we been watching every ſtep which he took, and praying for his ſafety, conſcious that our preſervation depended ſolely upon it. He immediately came round to that part of the precipice which was over againſt our quarter, and, deſcending a little way, he received a rope thrown from the main-top; this he faſtened to ſome trees on the top of the cliff, and we paſſed the other end of it to the head of the mizen top-maſt. This being done, a few of the moſt expert ſeamen warped themſelves up upon it, carrying with them the end of another rope, upon which a tackle was bent, and which they faſtened alſo to the trees: the other end of the tackle was made faſt to the mizen maſt, and the fold of it paſſed to the crew upon deck. By means of this rope, which we faſtened to our waiſt, and the firſt rope, by which we ſupported ourſelves, warping along it with our hands, we were all, in the ſpace of three hours, ſafely hoiſted to the top of the cliff, except a few of the moſt active ſeamen, who were left to the laſt, and obliged to warp themſelves up as the firſt had done. The whole ſhip's company, conſiſting of Captain Lawrence, Mr. Lawrence, the maſter, Mr. Doncaſter, the chief mate, Mr. Lowrie, the ſurgeon, with twenty-four ſeamen and petty officers, and three paſſengers, Mr. Verchild, Mr. Wood, and Lieutenant Webber, of the artillery, having now aſſembled on the rock, we took leave of our miſerable

miſerable veſſel, and bent our way towards the town. Nor did our difficulties end here; the whole plain before us, in conſequence of the rain which had fallen and ſtill was pouring down in great abundance, preſented the appearance of a large lake, through which we found our way with much difficulty. In thoſe places where roads or furrows had been made, we frequently plumped up to the neck, and were in great danger of being carried down by the ſtream. After wading about three miles through fields of canes, whoſe tops could hardly be ſeen above the water, we reached the town of St. John's, where we were ſo courteouſly received, that I believe we ſhould have died for want of food and neceſſaries, had it not been for the kind offices of a mulatto taylor, to whom we ſent for clothes, and who carried us to a houſe where we were furniſhed with beds and proviſions. In a few hours afterwards the wind chopped round to the ſouth, from which quarter it blew with the ſame violence the whole of the 4th and part of the 5th. The hurricane laſted forty-eight hours, during which time it made a complete ſweep of half the compaſs, beginning at north, and ending at ſouth. This favourable change ſaved the ſhip from breaking up, and on the morning of the 5th we found her lying nearly dry, among the rocks, with five large holes in her larboard ſide, and we were enabled to ſave ſome of our linen that was floating in the hold.

Correſpondence between the Lord Chancellor of Ireland and the Earl of Fingall.

Dublin, 15th Auguſt, 1803.

My Lord,

According to your lordſhip's requeſt I have ſigned with great pleaſure, a warrant for your lordſhip's appointment to be juſtice of the peace for the county of Meath. At this moment, my lord, it is peculiarly important that every perſon intruſted ſpecially with the preſervation of the public peace, ſhould know and conſcientiouſly purſue the ſtrict line of his duty. Your lordſhip's diſtinguiſhed loyalty at all times, and on all occaſions, leaves me no room to doubt that you will exert yourſelf to the beſt of your judgment for this important purpoſe, and the ſame diſtinguiſhed loyalty that probably marked your lordſhip, as one to whom nothing could be ſafely uttered, tending to demonſtrate any diſpoſition towards the rebellious outrages which have of late produced ſuch dreadful effects, and excited ſo much alarm. But, I fear there have been too many in whoſe preſence and hearing demonſtrations have been made and uttered, which ought to have alarmed the minds of loyal men, and induced them to communicate the ground of that alarm to thoſe in authority under the government, and eſpecially to the juſtices of the peace in their ſeveral diſtricts, but who have thought fit to retain the impreſſion made on their minds within their own breaſts, and to leave the chance of diſcovery to other means. The perſons to whom I allude, have principally been perſons profeſſing to hold the ſame religious faith with your lordſhip, and over whom I moſt ſincerely hope your lordſhip's high character

may

may give that influence which juſtly belongs to it. It would be highly important, therefore, that your lordſhip, in the diſcharge of your duty as a magiſtrate, ſhould take every opportunity of clearly ſtating, and moſt ſtrongly inculcating and enforcing the great duty of allegiance, and that, that duty is not confined to forbearance from open rebellion, or even from acts tending towards rebellion, that true allegiance is an active duty, requiring every man not only to ſuppreſs rebellion when it ſhall ſhew itſelf in violence, but to diſcloſe to that government under which he lives, whether he be a natural born ſubject of that government or ſojourner only under its protection, every thing which can raiſe ground for ſuſpicion of diſloyalty in others; and it is particularly important that your lordſhip ſhould, as a magiſtrate, ſtate and enforce, that perſons knowing of a treaſonable purpoſe who do not diſcloſe it, are guilty in the eye of the law of that crime which has been denominated miſpriſion of treaſon, and if they yield any kind of aſſent to the intended treaſon, they become traitors themſelves. Your lordſhip's enlarged and liberal mind diſtinguiſhing clearly between ſpiritual and temporal concerns, muſt feel that there can be no duty of religion contrary to the duty of allegiance, and indeed no man, however ignorant or prejudiced, can read the Holy Scriptures without finding that the duty of allegiance to a Pagan government, was ſtrongly and repeatedly enforced by Chriſt and his apoſtles, and eſpecially by the latter, who found the Chriſtians of their time too much diſpoſed to conſider their faith in Chriſt, as abſolving them from their allegiance to the country in which they lived. I am truly ſorry to ſay, that I fear in this country all who profeſs to be miniſters of the goſpel of Chriſt, do not teach Chriſt's doctrine of allegiance to their flocks, and I particularly lament to find in the minds of men who aſſume the higheſt rank amongſt the miniſters of the Roman perſuaſion, the frequent uſe of language tending to raiſe in the minds of the ignorant, an opinion that none are to be conſidered as members of the Catholic Church of Chriſt, that none are therefore to be eſteemed as brethren in Chriſt, but thoſe who profeſs adherence to the See of Rome. Until the minds of men are brought to a different temper—until the prieſts of the Roman perſuaſion ſhall ceaſe to inculcate to thoſe under their inſtruction, doctrines ſo repugnant to their temporal allegiance—until they ſhall ceaſe to inculcate that all who differ from them in religious opinions, are to be conſidered as guilty of defection from the See of Rome, that is as guilty of rebellion (including his Majeſty's ſacred perſon in that deſcription), it cannot be expected that vulgar men ſhould think themſelves bound by any tie of allegiance to a king thus repreſented to them, as himſelf guilty of a breach of what is termed a higher duty of allegiance. That liberty of conſcience which thoſe of the Roman perſuaſion deſire for themſelves, they ought to allow to others, and they do not allow that liberty of conſcience, but on the contrary ſanction the worſt of perſecutions wherever they treat any man

man ſincerely believing in Chriſt the Redeemer of Mankind, as not a member of the Catholic or Univerſal Church founded by Chriſt and his apoſtles, becauſe that man does not believe all that they believe of the See of Rome and of the doctrines taught by it. I can conſider no man (whatever his profeſſion of loyalty may be) as truly the loyal ſubject of a king whom he thus holds up to his people as the object of diſaffection, nay of hatred, becauſe that king holds a different opinion in matters of religion from thoſe who adhere to the See of Rome, and becauſe he refuſes any obedience in matters temporal to that See. It will be your duty, my lord, as a juſtice of the peace, with the moſt anxious attention, to reſpect no man whoſe conduct ſhall tend to diſturb it; to exhort all men by patience and forbearance, as well as by exertion, to uſe their utmoſt endeavour to preſerve it, and however anxiouſly they may wiſh for a change in the eſtabliſhment provided for by the law of the land for the maintenance of religion, however conſcientiouſly they may think that the ends of religion would be better anſwered by putting thoſe of the Romiſh perſuaſion in place of thoſe of the Catholic faith, they cannot, conſiſtently with the duty of their allegiance, purſue that purpoſe by abetting, or even by declining to reſiſt and ſuppreſs the rebellious conſpiracy formed for that purpoſe.—I have no doubt that the firm and diſtinguiſhed loyalty which has marked your lordſhip's character in every other ſituation of life, will guide your ſteps in the diſcharge of your duties as a magiſtrate. May God, to whom all our errors and imperfections are known, protect and guard you, and lead you to that end which will moſt accord with the beneficent purpoſes for which the office of magiſtracy were intended, and for which alone, I am perſuaded, you prevail on yourſelf to undertake ſo arduous a charge under circumſtances of ſo much difficulty.

I have the honour to be, with the moſt ſincere reſpect and eſteem, my lord, your lordſhip's faithful humble ſervant,

(Signed) REDESDALE.

Aug. 15, 1803.

MY LORD,

I have the honour to receive your lordſhip's letter, and am much obliged to you for appointing me a magiſtrate of the county of Meath, at a time when the taſk is ſo arduous. I muſt beg leave to aſſure you, that nothing but my moſt anxious deſire to be uſeful by every means in my power, would have induced me to ſolicit the commiſſion of the peace. Permit me to return your lordſhip my beſt thanks for the very able and excellent inſtructions contained in your letter—it ſhall be my unceaſing endeavour to prove myſelf not unworthy the poſt of truſt confided to me, for which I ſhould feel myſelf very ill qualified if I did not underſtand the duties of active loyalty to be ſuch as are laid down by your lordſhip. I have always been taught that, that man was a traitor and violated his allegiance who concealed any plot againſt the ſtate—to this opinion all thoſe who profeſs the ſame religious faith that I do are bound by the moſt ſolemn pledge. I am ſorry any have deviated from it,

they cannot be, I am perſuaded, thoſe remarkable for their religious and good conduct. It gives me much concern, and I ſhould be very ſorry it were generally conceived, that your lordſhip, the perſon to whom the Catholics of another part of the United Kingdom never ceaſe expreſſing their obligations; with your ſuperior talents, enlightened and liberal mind, holding the high ſituation you do in this country, with ſo much credit to yourſelf and advantage to the public, ſhould have any opinion in any degree unfavourable of the Iriſh Catholics. My lord, the Catholic religion is the ſame every where; I very reluctantly enter upon the ſubject. Religious diſputes I have always conſidered the greateſt misfortunes any country could experience. I muſt, however, beg leave to ſtate to your lordſhip what I have always found to be the conduct and faith of the Catholic. I need not ſpeak of his attachment to and reſpect for an oath; were he leſs delicate, why ſhould he labour under any excluſion now, or have ſuffered many years of penal reſtriction. I muſt ſay I never heard a Catholic wiſh for the overthrow of the Proteſtant eſtabliſhment, and ſetting up in its place one of his own religion—this was not, as is well aſcertained, the object of the promoter of the rebellion in 1798; nor do I believe it was of the ruffians and murderers who diſgraced this country on a late occaſion.—The Catholic is ready at this moment to ſacrifice his life, his property, every thing dear to him, in ſupport of the preſent conſtitution, in defence of that beloved Sovereign to whom your lordſhip does not ſeem to think we look up with that veneration and gratitude which I aſſure you we do. The Catholic wiſhes no other family on the throne, no other conſtitution, but certainly wiſhes to be admitted, whenever it ſhall be deemed expedient, to a full ſhare in the benefits and bleſſings of that happy conſtitution under which we live—a participation which, I truſt, we have and ſhall continue to prove ourſelves not undeſerving of. Catholic loyalty and allegiance, I need not tell your lordſhip, would oblige every one of that perſuaſion to reſiſt or repel even the head of the ſee of Rome, were it poſſible to ſuppoſe that the uſurper, who now diſturbs the peace of the world, would ſend him here with his invading army. My Lord, the doctrine of allegiance is perfectly underſtood, and unceaſingly preached by the Catholic clergy. I have juſt ſeen an addreſs in the newſpapers from Dr. Coppinger to his flock at Cloyne, in which Catholic principles and allegiance are much more fully explained and inculcated than I could attempt doing. The late exhortation of the Rev. Dr. Troy, in Dublin, your lordſhip has probably ſeen, and his character for diſtinguiſhed loyalty is known to every one. In 1796, when Hoche's fleet were in Bantry Bay, the Rev. Dr. Moylan, publiſhed an addreſs to his people in Cork, for which, had the French landed, he would undoubtedly have loſt his head. Surely, my lord, ſolemn pledges and diſtinguiſhed acts of loyalty are the beſt proofs that can be given.——I have, my lord, taken the liberty of ſtating to your lordſhip what I conſider Catholic principles and Catholic conduct. Standing

ing in the ſituation I do, I feel it my duty to vindicate the Catholics from any unfavourable opinion entertained. That your lordſhip ſhould know and properly appreciate their ſentiments and conduct is my only aim, and would be, I am ſure, highly gratifying to them.——I beg pardon for treſpaſſing ſo long on your lordſhip; but when there is a queſtion of the conduct and opinions of ſo large a portion of his Majeſty's ſubjects, at a time that every man is wanting to defend the empire, you will, I truſt, excuſe me; and I think I could not give your lordſhip a better proof that I ſhall endeavour to merit the good opinion you are ſo kind as to entertain of me, which I hope I ſhall never forfeit.—— &c. &c. &c.

(Signed) FINGALL.

Dublin, Aug. 21, 1803.

MY LORD,

Many parts of your lordſhip's letter have given me much pain. I have no doubt that your lordſhip has every feeling of Chriſtian charity towards thoſe who differ from you in religious opinion; but I have daily experience, that the ſame charity does not prevail amongſt a great many who profeſs to be of the ſame religious perſuaſion as your lordſhip. I am fully perſuaded that the want of true Chriſtian charity, one towards the other, has been the real cauſe of all the unfortunate events which have of late diſgraced this country; and I think it the duty of every man, however he may differ in points of faith from others, to endeavour to impreſs the great doctrine of Chriſtian charity on the minds of all, as the only means of reſtoring peace to this diſtracted country. Your lordſhip ſeems to imagine, that thoſe inhabitants of Ireland, who adhere in matters of faith to the doctrines of the See of Rome, are diſpoſed to diſcontent; becauſe, as your lordſhip is pleaſed to expreſs yourſelf, they are not admitted to a full ſhare of the benefits and bleſſings of the happy conſtitution under which they live. If your lordſhip means they are diſcontented becauſe they are not admitted to be members of either houſe of Parliament; or to hold certain great offices; or becauſe they are excluded from the throne; I muſt confeſs, I cannot believe that the lower orders of the people in Ireland, amongſt whom the ferment principally prevails, have any anxiety on the ſubject, except as it may be raiſed in their minds by others; and your lordſhip muſt allow that no diſturbances, of the ſame deſcription, are excited amongſt the Quakers, who certainly are liable to more diſabilities, for conſcience ſake, than thoſe of which your lordſhip complains. I am afraid, or rather I am perſuaded, that the difference ariſes from the different temper given to their minds by their religious inſtructors: that the Quaker is taught to live in charity with all men, whilſt thoſe who follow the See of Rome are unfortunately taught a very confined charity, being told they are excluſively members of the church of Chriſt: and thoſe whoſe minds have not been enlarged by education or habit, feel it difficult to conceive how thoſe whom they are taught to conſider as not members of the

church, can be deemed Chriſtians; and accordingly, your lordſhip will find, upon inquiry, that the appellation of heathen is applied by thoſe to every Proteſtant. If thoſe who are conſidered as holding a higher rank in the prieſthood uſed their influence to correct this impreſſion on the minds of the lower orders, we might hope, that by degrees they might be taught to conſider all who believe in Chriſt as their Redeemer, though not adhering to the See of Rome, as their brethren in Chriſt; but unfortunately that is not the caſe. Dr. Troy, in his paſtoral inſtruction on the duties of Chriſtian citizens, publiſhed in 1793, holds up high the excluſive doctrine; which thoſe who think humility a Chriſtian virtue, in all reſpects moſt becoming ſo weak and fallible a creature as man, cannot but conſider as ſavouring of preſumption. Dr. Huſſey, in his paſtoral letter, publiſhed in 1797, expreſſes himſelf in a ſtronger language; and, indeed, it is difficult for a loyal ſubject to read that publication, without feeling, that, eſpecially at the time of its appearance, it could not tend to produce loyalty, or even ſubmiſſion to the government of the country, in the minds of thoſe to whom it was addreſſed. Whilſt ſuch impreſſions, ſo excited, are rankling in the minds of men, very little regard can be paid to addreſſes of the nature to which your lordſhip refers me. They are given to the winds, as long as the prieſts of the See of Rome ſhall think fit to hold up to their flocks, that all who do not yield obedience to that See, are guilty of rebellion againſt it; are not to be conſidered as members of the church of Chriſt; and therefore are not, (in the eyes of the vulgar at leaſt) to be conſidered as Chriſtians. I am fully perſuaded, that thoſe who liſten to their doctrines, will never bear Chriſtian charity towards thoſe who are ſo repreſented; and will never be loyal and dutiful ſubjects of a king, thus held out to them as himſelf a rebel.——In fine, my lord, thoſe who clamour for liberty of conſcience (which in truth they have), muſt be taught to allow liberty of conſcience to others; and thoſe who deſire complete participation, muſt treat thoſe with whom they deſire to participate, as brothers. Until, therefore, the prieſts of the Romiſh perſuaſion ſhall think it their duty to preach, honeſtly and conſcientiouſly, the great doctrine of univerſal charity in Chriſt; until they ſhall, in all their inſtructions to thoſe under their care, repreſent, honeſtly and conſcientiouſly, all who ſincerely believe in Chriſt, the Redeemer of mankind, to be brethren in Chriſt, however miſtaken they may ſuppoſe any of them to be in certain points of faith; until they ſhall teach their flocks that deſiring liberty to think for themſelves, they ought alſo to permit others to think for themſelves, and not to murder them becauſe they differ in religious opinions; peace never can be eſtabliſhed in the land; and the loyal addreſſes of Dr. Troy and Dr. Coppinger, will, as I have before ſaid, be given to the winds. They can have no effect; they may indeed reach the eyes or the ears, but never will enter the hearts of thoſe to whom they are addreſſed. There are parts of your letter to which I will not advert, becauſe I cannot without pain, or without giving pain. I have the honour to be, &c. REDESDALE.

Auguſt 27, 1803.

MY LORD,

I feel indeed much concern that any part of the letter I had the honour of addreſſing to your lordſhip, ſhould have given you pain. You need not, I hope, my lord, any aſſurance that nothing could be more foreign to my intentions. This I took the liberty of requeſting Mr. Wickham, whom I had the honour of ſeeing this morning, to do me the favour of mentioning to your lordſhip on the earlieſt occaſion. I merely ſtated to your lordſhip what my own feelings were, and what I have always found to be the opinion of the Catholics. I do not apprehend, that in expreſſing any further wiſh of the Catholic body, which it is impoſſible ſhould not be entertained, I hinted at any diſcontents; on the contrary, I did aſſure, and do now aſſure your lordſhip, we are now ready to make every ſacrifice, encounter every danger, for the defence of the King and Conſtitution, and for the preſervation of the Peace. Thoſe who are moſt affected by any remaining reſtrictions, it is well known, have never excited clamour or tumult; but have always been foremoſt in oppoſing them. I cannot attempt to vindicate all thoſe who have at different times addreſſed the Catholics; but the late exhortations, I muſt beg leave to ſay, are intended and calculated to inſpire ſentiments of loyalty, obedience, and Chriſtian charity: and they will, I truſt, have that effect. Such have been the inſtructions I have conſtantly heard given by the Catholic clergy to their flocks.—Nothing to excite ill-will or diſlike to any perſon on account of his religious belief, but the moſt perfect brotherly love and affection to all. Your lordſhip will, I hope, allow me to repeat my regret that any thing I have written ſhould have given you pain, or me reaſon to feel it, which I ſhould in a very high degree indeed, if I was conſcious of having intentionally advanced any thing that would appear improper or unreaſonable to your lordſhip.

I have the honour to be, &c.

FINGALL.

Dublin, 28*th Aug.* 1803.

MY LORD,

The higheſt reſpect and eſteem I bear for your lordſhip, whoſe loyalty and humanity have been at all times conſpicuous, and the manner in which your lordſhip, in the letter with which I was honoured yeſterday, has expreſſed your regret that any part of your former letter ſhould have given me pain, compels me again to trouble your lordſhip with a few words. The pain I felt aroſe from an apprehenſion that I could not hope for ſuch a change in the ſentiments of thoſe of the people of Ireland, who adhere to the See of Rome, towards thoſe who refuſe obedience to it, as might lead to their living together in peace. In ſome parts of Europe, misfortune appears to have produced ſo much of humility, that the perſons, who have occupied the choice of that See, have been inclined to bend towards countries in which ſome of its moſt important pretenſions have been rejected; and in this ſtate of humiliation, it might have been hoped that a ſenſe of the weakneſs and imperfections of man might have been ſo far felt, as to lead the adherents to that See, in Ireland, no longer to teach their followers a

doctrine ſo repugnant (as it appears to me) to the repoſe of mankind, as that to which I had alluded in my letter. I conclude from your lordſhip's letter to me, that there is no perſon amongſt the adherents of the See of Rome, in Ireland, whoſe mind, however cultivated, however liberal in other reſpects, can be thought to conſider any perſons as Chriſtians, who refuſe obedience to that See. I conclude alſo, that the prieſts of that perſuaſion ſtill teach their flocks, that all who refuſe obedience, are guilty of a wicked rebellion againſt divine authority, which muſt produce their eternal damnation in the next world, and render them objects of horror and diſlike in this. As long as this doctrine (which, with all humility I ſay it, appears to me to be repugnant to every idea of Chriſtian charity taught by the Scriptures) ſhall be preached to their congregations; and until thoſe congregations ſhall be taught that Proteſtants of every deſcription, although in their opinion in error on certain points, are to be conſidered as members of the church of Chriſt, and their brethren in the faith of Chriſt, it ſeems to me, that there can be no hope that exhortations to loyalty and obedience to a proteſtant government will have any effect. Men of education and property may feel loyalty and obedience to ſuch a government to be proper, or at leaſt expedient; but preaching to men of lower orders, and eſpecially to thoſe without property, loyalty and obedience, under ſuch circumſtances, cannot be ſincere, without ſuppoſing their minds of a refinement of which they are utterly incapable: and ſeems therefore to me to be either mockery or folly. Perhaps I am too preſumptuous in forming this opinion, but it ſeems to me confirmed by recent events, and I cannot otherwiſe account for the fact ſo generally aſſerted by the prieſts of the Romiſh perſuaſion, that during the late rebellion, their exhortations to loyalty and obedience had no effect. I find it alſo confirmed by the circumſtances, that thoſe prieſts were, I preſume, utterly ignorant that thoſe under their inſtructions had ever conceived in their minds the horrid purpoſes which they manifeſted on the 23d of July, and which perſons came from all parts of Ireland with deſign to effect.

I have the honour to be, &c.

REDESDALE.

Sept. 4, 1803.

MY LORD,

I muſt beg your lordſhip will be kind enough to excuſe my not having ſooner acknowledged the receipt of the laſt letter you did me the honour to addreſs me, which has been occaſioned by my abſence from town for ſome days paſt. Honoured as I muſt feel by your lordſhip's correſpondence, and the expreſſions of perſonal regard towards me contained in your letters, I am the more anxious to impreſs your lordſhip with that favourable opinion of the perſons in this country who profeſs the ſame religious faith I do myſelf, which it has been my endeavour to prove to your lordſhip they are deſerving of. Nothing but my wiſh to procure for them an object ſo deſirable, and my high reſpect for your lordſhip, would have induced me to touch at all on a diſcuſſion of religious ſubjects; and not having been, I

fear, fortunate enough yet to ſatisfy your lordſhip's mind, as to the objections you make to our religion, I ſhould be glad, with your lordſhip's permiſſion, to ſtate them to ſome of our ſuperior clergy, who would, I am pretty certain, enable me to convince your lordſhip, that our religious doctrine preaches charity and brotherly love to all mankind, without diſtinction of religion; true and ſincere allegiance to our good king; inviolable attachment to the conſtitution and our country; from an honeſt and conſcientious conviction that ſuch is the duty of a good ſubject, and a good catholic, be the religion of the Monarch what it may. For my own part, my lord, I cannot attribute the unfortunate ſituation of this country to any thing connected with matters of religious faith; jacobiniſm, and French principles and politics, the want of morality, and the depraved ſtate of the human mind, are, I conceive, the ſources of our misfortunes; religion may have been made a tool by wicked and deſigning people: this has often happened in every country, and is eaſily effected when religious differences exiſt. The diſtracted and melancholy ſtate we are in, every body muſt lament; how it is to be mended, is a matter for the ſtateſman; and ſurely it would be difficult to find an object more worthy of your lordſhip's high talents and abilities.

I have the honour to be, &c.

FINGALL.

Sept. 6, 1803.

MY LORD,

I find myſelf as little qualified as your lordſhip repreſents yourſelf to be, to diſcuſs with the perſons to whom you refer me the points you mention. I can only ſay, that the impreſſion made on the minds of thoſe of the lower orders, certainly does not correſpond with the doctrines which your lordſhip repreſents to be the doctrines of the religion you profeſs. I have no doubt that your lordſhip heartily and conſcientiouſly embraces and acts upon thoſe doctrines; the whole tenor of your life ſhews that you have done ſo; but the whole tenor of the conduct of the lower orders of the people of the Romiſh perſuaſion, ſhews, that ſuch doctrines are not effectually taught to them; and if I am to judge from the writings, as well as the conduct of ſome of the higher orders of the laity, as well as of the clergy, I cannot believe that they are thoroughly impreſſed with the feelings which appear to guide your lordſhip's liberal and beneficent mind. On the contrary, in many inſtances it appears to me, that the conduct of ſome high amongſt the prieſthood, is calculated to excite in the minds of thoſe under their care, hatred to their proteſtant fellow-ſubjects, and diſloyalty to their government. I am aſſured, from very high and very reſpectable authority, that (at leaſt in one diſtrict) the prieſts who were inſtrumental in ſaving the lives of the loyaliſts in the late rebellion, are univerſally diſcountenanced by their ſuperiors; and that a prieſt proved to have been guilty of ſanctioning the murderers in 1798, tranſported to Botany Bay, and ſince pardoned by the mercy of government, has been brought back in triumph by the ſame ſuperior, to what, in defiance of the law, he calls his pariſh,

and there placed as a martyr, in a manner the moſt inſulting to the feelings of the Proteſtants; to the juſtice of the country; and to that government, to whoſe lenity he owes his redemption from the puniſhment due to his crimes.—It is ſtrongly reported, that the ſucceſſor to Dr. Huſſey (whoſe diſaffection was ſo manifeſt, that perhaps government conſulted its diſpoſition to lenity much more than its duty, when it permitted him to return to Ireland) is to be a man alſo notoriouſly diſaffected. If the appointment is to be made in the uſual manner at the recommendation of the higher order of your clergy, I cannot think that much of loyalty is to be expected from thoſe who recommend ſuch a man. If the authority of the See of Rome ſuperſedes the ordinary recommendation, it muſt be recollected that that authority is now in the hands of France; indeed it cannot be forgotten, that your whole prieſthood acknowledge obedience to one who is the vaſſal of France, who exiſts as a temporal prince at leaſt only by the permiſſion of France, the avowed enemy of the government under which we live; under ſuch circumſtances, it cannot be believed, that any honeſt and conſcientious means have been or will be taken by the prieſts of the Romiſh perſuaſion to make the lower orders of the people, compoſing their congregations, loyal ſubjects of the Proteſtant government of this country.

I have the honour to be, &c.

REDESDALE.

INTERCEPTED LETTERS.

[On board the Engliſh Eaſt-India ſhip, called the Admiral Alpin, lately captured by the French, were found eighty-four letters from perſons in this country to perſons in India, the ſhip being bound to Madras. Amongſt thoſe letters which have been publiſhed by the French, the two following are worthy of notice; one from Lord Grenville to the Governor-General, the Marquis Welleſley; and the other to the ſame perſon from his brother, Mr. Henry Welleſley. It muſt be obſerved that theſe letters have undergone a double tranſlation. The manner muſt have ſuffered, and perhaps the matter.]

Letter from Lord Grenville to the Marquis of Welleſley, dated July 12, 1803.

MY DEAR WELLESLEY,

Two days ago I received your letter of the 16th February, and I now reply to it, though I am not entirely certain, when I ſhall have an opportunity of tranſmitting to you my anſwer. In regard to your ſtay in India, this queſtion has been long ago decided; and ſo great is the diſtance which ſeparates us, that before this can reach you, the time fixed for your departure will have arrived. I am not certain whether the event of the war which our wiſe miniſters have at laſt declared, may not have induced them to beg you to continue your ſtay in India ſome time longer. No one was better able than they to appreciate the certainty of this event, ſo that we ought to ſuppoſe they have taken all thoſe meaſures which the moment required; but every thing, however, ſhews that they were taken as much unawares as if that event had been little expected. It is conſequently not improbable, that when they found

war

war unavoidable, that is to say, on the day when they declared it, they may have dispatched orders to you to remain in India. But as I am entirely ignorant on this subject, I cannot reason on it. Should this not be the case, I hope nothing will prevent me from having the pleasure of seeing you next year, supposing at that period that you have still a country to revisit.—When I make use of this expression, do not imagine that my dissatisfaction with the conduct of the government has made any change respecting the means and resources of this country; I have never been among the number of growlers *(aboyeurs)* on this subject. It is not so much opinion (if I do not deceive myself), as a perfect knowledge equivalent to a certainty, which induces me to say that the country possesses not only abundant and ample means of defence, but means sufficient to make our enemy repent of his hostile conduct, and to force him to fear, and consequently to respect us. But hitherto there has been so much indecision, timidity, and slowness in all the measures taken to obtain resources, and all our courage at this moment exhibits so much the impression of fear, that I cannot have the satisfaction of being warranted in doing justice under that point of view to the talents which have been called into action, and to the dispositions which have been made.——My plan of political conduct, as you must have seen, differs more and more from that of government. In regard to the opinion I expressed on the peace, I have the satisfaction to find that justice is done to me in all countries. Not only have subsequent events proved that the small body with whom I acted in concert on this occasion, were composed of the only persons who then knew how to appreciate this measure and its consequences; but it has been generally acknowledged, that we rightly foresaw what would take place. All the infamous calumnies of government have fallen with double force on their own heads. In every thing I have since done, and in every thing I have abstained from doing, you will, I hope, perceive those sentiments, and those principles, from which no opinion, however unfavourable it may be to the personal conduct of any individual, shall never make me deviate.——Had I been certain of an opportunity, I should have written you a detail of what has taken place since April last, in regard to the projected change in the government, and would have explained to you, (as far as I had been able to understand) the basis of the conduct which Pitt has since observed. It gives me great pleasure to see, that while my quarrel with Addington becomes every day more serious, all the motives which made Pitt and me differ in opinion and conduct daily decrease. We have not yet been able to assimilate completely our plans of political conduct. Our situation, indeed, in one essential point of view, is entirely different. Though he did not recommend Addington to his present employment (and, indeed, who is there that knows him would have done it), he nevertheless gave him a certain portion of influence more active than my opinion would have permitted me to grant, in the formation of the new administration. I advised their

their measures a long time after I had ceased to have any intercourse with them, and he approved of them in different points, which appeared to me the most criminal, and which were indeed so, as proved by the event. He is consequently more hampered in his conduct than I am, and he does not at present enjoy the inestimable advantage which I possess, of never having concealed nor compromised my opinion, in regard to matters of so much political importance; but, I believe that his ideas on their political conduct are not much different from mine, if they differ at all, and to all this must be added a resentment justly merited from the personal conduct of Mr. Addington towards him. He does not endeavour to conceal his sentiments. If he has written to you (which he certainly must have done had he not contracted the bad habit of never writing to any one) he must have expressed to you, I am persuaded, all these sentiments without reserve; and it is under this persuasion, that I enlarge so much to you on his opinions. The measure indeed, which he has lately adopted (I allude to his motion of adjournment, or his vote of censure, ill-judged in itself, as I think it was, and unfortunate in its result, since it lessened his public influence), has at least the merit of expressing, in an unequivocal manner, his disapprobation of the conduct of government.——I will not hazard a conjecture in regard to the new events which may take place before your arrival, and the only advice I wish to give you is, what I have more than once suggested, not to engage for any thing until you return, but to retain the liberty of acting according to such motives as you shall judge proper to direct your conduct when you are on the spot, and according as the different relations between persons at the head of affairs in the different subdivisions of parties shall have enabled you to judge what suits you best. In regard to the idea thrown out in the extract you have sent me from your letter to Mr. Addington, you ought, in my opinion, to consider it only as one of those remote events which may take place. As for eternal enmity, I detest the idea; and, if I have an eternal enmity, it is against the partizans of a principle so detestable. But much is due to public opinion, as well as to the personal situation and character of individuals, which ought to be respected long after they have ceased to have resentment, or to take pleasure in giving proofs of it; and nothing appears to me less probable, than to see Pitt and me at any near period (I believe I may say at no period of our lives) reconciled, and disposed to establish with Addington relations of confidence and friendship. The papers, if you have them, will inform you, that all our conversation at present turns on invasion, and that we at length begin to take measures for enabling us to face our enemies, if they should be able to effect a landing, which, though very improbable, is not certainly in any manner impossible. To speak of conquering or subjugating ten or twelve millions of men, if prepared for battle, and directed by a government desirous and capable of animating their efforts, would be completely ridiculous. But experience has shewn, that the number of inhabitants alone, and even

even advantage of local ſituation, are nothing, if the direction of the defence remains in the hands of men diſtinguiſhed only by their imbecillity and weakneſs. In Holland even, and ſtill more in Germany, Italy, and Swiſſerland, the countries were given up, not by the inhabitants, but by the weakneſs of their governments; and, in like manner, if in this iſland, or in Ireland, we ſhould experience any conſiderable check, we ſhall owe it not to the timidity or ignorance of the nation, but ſolely to thoſe of government. You muſt be already enabled to judge how far theſe qualities exiſt in the preſent government, if (as I ſuppoſe) you have, before you receive this letter, read the correſpondence of Lord Hawkeſbury with Otto and Lord Whitworth, and compared the dates of the different counter-orders in regard to the Cape, during the courſe of our communications with France. It would be ſuperfluous to add to the length of this letter, by expatiating on the pleaſure which I experienced on finding in your letter thoſe expreſſions of friendſhip which revive our old and continual intimacy. I never did more for you than you would have done for me on a like occaſion; and if the intrigue planned againſt you is totally without effect, and your meaſures are juſtified before they have been condemned, I cannot flatter myſelf with having contributed to this reſult by my efforts, but you may, in my opinion, conſider the affair as terminated. It does not appear that a ſingle word of it was mentioned in Parliament before Chriſtmas, and I really believe that you have nothing to fear. The only thing to be apprehended on this ſubject, can be only the pain and diſagreeableneſs of a conteſt of this particular nature.

Letter rom Mr. Henry Welleſley to Marquis Welleſley, his Brother. Dated London, July 28, 1803.

My Dear Mornington,

I have juſt learnt from Lady Welleſley, that an overland diſpatch will be ſent off on the 28th, and I hope this letter will reach you in time to enable you to make preparations for quitting India in January next. I ſhall now communicate to you, as ſhortly as poſſible, every thing that has taken palce, in regard to India, ſince my arrival, and then you will be enabled to judge what degree of ſupport you have to expect from the preſent miniſters, and whether the board of Control has not been actually transferred from the Council to the Court of Directors. I arrived in London in June, and immediately waited on Lord Caſtlereagh, who received me with the greateſt politeneſs. He ſpoke of you in the moſt favourable terms. He approved of all your meaſures, but at the ſame time, it is perfectly evident that he cannot obtain what the Court of Directors has reſolved not to grant. He ſpoke a great deal of the college, and appeared to be fully convinced of the importance as well as the neceſſity of the inſtitution. He believed he ſhould be able, he ſaid, to make the Directors conſent to its continuance according to your plan, with ſome modifications, which you would not think of much conſequence. He told me that

that the Directors had written to him on this and on other ſubjects, ſeveral cool letters, and that nothing could be more diſagreeable than the ſituation in which he was placed. I told Lord Caſtlereagh that on this occaſion the Court of Directors had decidedly broken their word, for one of the principal conditions on which you was to remain ſtill a year longer in India, was, that they ſhould not at all interfere in your nominations; that they had diſplaced a man who had paſſed through all the inferior ranks in the ſervice of the company. I then told him that your health was very good, and that there was no ſacrifice you was not ready to make for the public ſervice; but that I thought it impoſſible you could remain in India beyond January next, unleſs you were ſtrongly ſolicited on that ſubject by his Majeſty's miniſters, and by the Court of Directors. That in regard to his Majeſty's miniſters, I thought they were of opinion that your ſtay in India was a thing very deſirable under many points of view; and that, in regard to the Court of Directors, they ought to know whether they wiſhed for it or not. He made no reply to the firſt point. In regard to the ſecond he was very explicit, for he told me that the Court of Directors had been ſo incenſed on account of the opinions which you had manifeſted in ſome of your diſpatches, (which proves that they have not the leaſt idea of the true intereſts of India, and that in this reſpect they are obſtinate fools,) that he was perſuaded they would rather wiſh to ſee you reſign, though it was impoſſible for them not to acknowledge that your ſtay in India might be very uſeful to the public intereſt. In another converſation I had with Lord Caſtlereagh, he ſpoke a great deal of the Mahratta negociations, and I ſucceeded in convincing him of the juſtneſs of your meaſures at Poonah, and of the great advantages that muſt reſult from them, if we ſhould eſtabliſh our influence in that court. He again aſked me, if you had come to a fixed determination in regard to the period of your return to England? I repeated what I had ſaid to him on another occaſion, to which he made no reply. He ſpoke to me of the nomination of Barlow, and aſked me if I thought you would approve of it? I told him that you had the beſt opinion of Barlow; but, that you thought no ſervant of the company ought to ſucceed to the Governor-Generalſhip. I told him alſo that the new nomination was uſeleſs, as Barlow had been previouſly deſtined to ſucceed you proviſionally, and that it was better to wait for your return before any perſon was preſented for this new nomination. In my opinion there is a certain ſecret intrigue, in regard to the nomination of Barlow, and it is this.—When the miniſters propoſed Lord Wm. Bentinck for Madras, the Court of Directors made the moſt formal objections to that nomination; but they were at length obliged to yield, conſoling themſelves with the idea that one of their own ſervants would be appointed Governor-General.——I ſaw Addington at a dinner given by Lord Caſtlereagh. He ſpoke to me of you in the moſt affectionate terms. He ſpoke to me alſo of the nomination of Barlow, as a meaſure that ought to be very agreeable to you. The

reſult

reſult of my converſations with Lord Caſtlereagh, has convinced me that miniſters feel the importance of your continuance in India, and that they are very deſirous you ſhould remain there, but they are not ſufficiently ſtrong to conteſt that point with the Court of Directors, who are equally determined to force you to return. I think they might make new and ſucceſsful attempts to induce the Court of Directors to ſolicit the prolongation of your ſtay, but after having ſeen them recently violate the engagement they entered into, not to interfere in any of your nominations, it would neither be prudent nor dignified, to take any ſtep which might give reaſon to ſuſpect that you wiſhed to remain in India, or that any other motive but a full perſuaſion that it is only for the public good could induce you to remain an hour longer than the period you had fixed for your return. I received from the preſident a civil but a very cool reception. He ſpoke to me of ameliorations in commerce, but did not ſay a word of my perſonal ſervices. He ſeemed diſpoſed to find ſome fault in every thing that we did at Poonah, and we ſeparated, after a converſation of ten minutes, with his telling me that he had ſo much buſineſs, that he had not had time to read the diſpatches (though they had been five days at the India Houſe), but that he hoped to have frequent opportunities of talking with me on the affairs of India. I have not ſeen him ſince, (though I remained a fortnight at London to have an opportunity) and the Court had not even the civility to aſk me to one of the dinners which are given every Wedneſday. I have ſince been obliged to return to Cheſter Houſe on account of my health, which is ſtill very bad. Another motive which induces me to wiſh for your return, is the ſituation of the different parties in England. I ſuppoſe you have received a letter on this ſubject from Lord Grenville; but I will tell you every thing I know, and what I had in part from an intimate friend of Pitt. It appears that Addington propoſed, ſome weeks ago, to Pitt to join the miniſtry, on certain conditions. Pitt, on this overture of Addington, began a negotiation with him; explained the conditions on which he wiſhed to form part of the miniſtry: declared that he would not inſiſt upon the introduction of any perſon to whom the king might have any objection; but that he would inſiſt on the whole affair being kept ſecret until it was totally arranged; and that, at the ſame time, he would reſerve to himſelf the power of withdrawing from the negotiation, ſhould it be conceived that his ſervices could not be uſeful to the public. On theſe conditions he gave the outlines of his plan to Addington, mentioned ſeveral perſons whom he wiſhed to propoſe, among whom was Lord Grenville; ſtill, however, continuing to declare that he would not introduce any perſon in oppoſition to the king, but that he would reſerve to himſelf the power of retiring. Addington propoſed this plan to his colleagues, who rejected it, and the negotiation was broken off. At preſent all Addington's friends declare that Pitt refuſed to join the miniſtry, becauſe he wiſhed they would allow him to introduce Grenville,

Grenville, &c. Pitt, as you muſt have ſeen, has ſince oppoſed Addington in the Houſe of Commons, and they are no longer on ſpeaking terms. Lord Grenville (who is the organ of Canning) told me that Pitt has ſuch a contempt for Addington, that he would not at preſent act with him on any conditions whatever. At the ſame time, Pitt daily oppoſes in the Houſe of Commons the Defence Bill, as a counſellor would do, and by the means which he employs, he has rendered it fit for anſwering the propoſed end, which it never otherwiſe would have done. On one occaſion he divided the Houſe, and, to the aſtoniſhment of every body, his diviſion was under fifty. I nevertheleſs think, as many others do, that it is impoſſible things ſhould long remain on their preſent footing, and I believe that Pitt will return to office in the courſe of a year. This makes me wiſh that you ſhould be on the ſpot, to form part of the new miniſtry, which would then be excellent if Pitt were at the head. What do you think, pray? You would be able to obtain every thing you wiſh in regard to India, and if you thought proper, to return again as Governor-General.—Auguſt 5. I began this letter at London, but having met Lord Caſtlereagh, he told me that the diſpatches would not be ſent off before ten days. Pole had been with Addington to ſpeak to him of me, and he has promiſed me that he will conſult Lord Caſtlereagh on the means of forcing the Directors to reward me for my ſervices in India. I however expect nothing from them.

Summary of the Proces Verbal drawn up at Warſaw of the Attempt to poiſon Louis XVIII. and his Family.

"A perſon named Coulon, a native of Lyons, diſcloſed to the Baron de Milleville, equerry to the Queen of France, the particulars of the plot. It appeared that he kept a billiard table at Warſaw, and that on the 20th of July two perſons came to his room, and made many inquiries relative to the King, and his own ſituation; that the following day they returned, and made freſh inquiries reſpecting Louis XVIII. They wiſhed, they ſaid, to know whether his Majeſty went out often—by what number of men he was uſually accompanied—and whether his attendants were armed? They then aſked Coulon whether he himſelf was in debt, and whether he would not be glad to find an opportunity to obtain immediately a conſiderable ſum of money for a particular ſervice? Being anſwered in the affirmative, they obſerved to him, that as he was known to the perſons belonging to the houſehold of the King, he might eaſily obtain admiſſion into the kitchen; and if he conſented to throw, unperceived, into the boiler a little parcel which would be given to him, his fortune would be made; 400 louis d'ors would be given to him in the firſt inſtance, and 100 more for every individual of the royal family who might die in the courſe of a twelvemonth. On the following day, after many viſits from them, another ruffian, whom Coulon had not before ſeen, called on him in the evening, and requeſted him to take a walk with him, in order

that

that they might ſpeak more freely on a ſubject of great concern, which had been mentioned to him the preceding day: in the courſe of their walk, they were met by one of the two who had firſt opened the project. They enquired whether he was decided to perpetrate the deed? Coulon anſwered, 'Yes;' upon which they went to a houſe, where they ordered Champaign wine, and gave him additional inſtructions reſpecting the manner of executing the plot, adviſing him to drink with the cook, &c. Coulon inſiſted on receiving ſome money on account of the 400 louis which had been promiſed him; upon which one of the ruffians, who was in liquor, ſaid, 'I don't know whether Boyer (the name of the commercial agent at Warſaw) would conſent to give ſo large a ſum.' His companion, condemning this indiſcretion, replied, 'Why do you mention Boyer; he is not in town—he will not return theſe two days.' At laſt they gave him a ducat to get ſome wine to drink with the cook, and made an appointment for the following night, when they were to give him the parcel which was to be thrown into the boiler. They parted at one o'clock in the morning.

"The ſame day Coulon diſcloſed the plot to the Baron de Milleville, and the Duke de Pienne, by whom it was communicated to Comte de Avaray, captain of the guard to Louis XVIII. who haſtened to inform M. de Hoym, preſident of the chamber, and governor of the town, of the circumſtance, and who had orders from his Pruſſian Majeſty for ſuperintending all the concerns and ſafety of the French royal family. At firſt, the preſident received the information with the moſt feeling emotion, and promiſed to repair perſonally, either to the place of rendezvous fixed by the ruffians, or to the ſpot appointed for paying him the money. He alſo promiſed to ſend perſons to ſecure the whole gang, and Coulon himſelf in caſe he ſhould have forged the ſtory in order to obtain a reward. The ſenſibility of the Preſident Hoym was highly increaſed by the alarming reports which were ſpread every day of plots to take away the life of the King at the eve of his departure for Ruſſia. The 23d of July, Coulon, being ordered by the Baron de Milleville, went to the appointed ſpot, at a place called the New Village, ſituated in the middle of the lines which ſurround Warſaw; there he was joined by one of the men, and ſoon after by another, who was concealed in a corn-field, and who actually delivered him the parcel, and a bottle of liquor for his own uſe. They agreed upon a ſignal, by which they were to know when the deed had been effected. They told him that when it was executed, he might repair to a place called Les Cing Potences, where he would be joined by his employers, and taken to France with his wife; and in caſe they could not meet there, he was to go to Stockayer, where he would find them at the poſt maſter's houſe, and that he ſhould there receive the 400 louis. Upon his aſking for ſome money, they gave him only ſix crowns, alledging, that they had been already cheated more than once. The Preſident Hoym, however, afraid of committing his maſter with the French Emperor, declined either to go or

ſend

ſend to the appointed ſpot, contrary to his promiſe. Coulon delivered the parcel and the bottle to M. de Milleville, on the 24th in the morning. The Comte D'Avaray went at 10 o'clock to M. de Hoym's, and preſented him the parcel, which contained three carrots charged with arſenic. M. de Hoym, from exceſs of fear, refuſed to interfere any farther in the buſineſs, ſaying, it ſhould be referred to the police office; and even refuſed to affix his ſeal to the parcel, which was ſealed by the Archbiſhop of Rheims and the Comte D'Avaray. On that day Louis XVIII. was informed of the plot. His Majeſty expreſſed the greateſt and moſt tender ſolicitude for his faithful ſervants, but diſplayed an unalterable tranquillity of mind with reſpect to his own perſonal ſafety. He wrote to the Preſident, Hoym, who did not wait on his Majeſty till the following day, and then confined himſelf to vague aſſurances that the buſineſs ſhould be followed up with activity by the police officers. A formal demand was made by the King, that a report ſhould be made by an aſſembly of profeſſional men, reſpecting the contents of the parcel; which being anſwered in an evaſive manner, the King ordered that the parcel ſhould be opened and examined before his own phyſician, M. Le Faire, aided by the moſt eminent phyſician of Warſaw, Dr. Bergenzoni, and Dr. Guteil, an apothecary. One of the carrots, being opened, was found perfectly ſound, the upper part being covered with a kind of muſtich, or paſte, of a colour ſimilar to that of the root, the middle part was found to contain a powder, which was diſcovered to contain a mixture of three different ſorts of arſenic, white, yellow, and red. The *proces verbal* was ſigned by all preſent, and the parcel ſealed again, and ſent to the police office, with all the neceſſary documents. Upon application being made by the King to M. de Tilly, chief magiſtrate, for a proſecution to be inſtituted, that officer declined to interfere, or even to order the ſuſpected perſons to be apprehended, obſerving, 'that it did not concern the Tribunal of Criminal Juſtice, and that the law of the country did not permit him to arreſt any perſon who had not actually been *convicted* of a crime!'—Le Comte de la Chapelle was left at Warſaw with full powers to proſecute the buſineſs before the Criminal Tribunal. The King left Warſaw on the 30th on his way to Grodno, with the Duke d'Angouleme. M. de Hoym granted his Majeſty an eſcort of Huſſars, who had ſtrict orders not to quit his royal perſon until they had committed him to the care of a ſimilar eſcort of Ruſſians, who awaited his arrival on the frontiers. The Queen and the Ducheſs d'Angouleme only remain at Warſaw, until they receive inſtructions from his Majeſty to join him at Welna, as ſoon as he has reached that city."

The above particulars have been confirmed by the ſignatures of the following perſonages:—Count D'Avaray, Alexander Auguſtus, Archbiſhop and Duke of Rheims, the Duke de Pienne, the Marquis de Bonnay, Count de la Chapelle, the Duke de Havre and Croy, the Abbé Edgeworth de Ferment, the Count de Damos Crux, and the Count Etienne de Damas.

A GENE-

A GENERAL BILL

OF

All the CHRISTENINGS and BURIALS,

From DECEMBER 13, 1803, to DECEMBER 11, 1804.

Chriſtened	Males 11390 / Females 10153	Buried	Males 8605 / Females 8433	Decreaſed in Burials this Year 2544.

Totals Males and Females Chriſtened 21543.—Total Males and Females Buried 17038.

Died under Two Years	4881	—Forty and Fifty	1935	—Hundred			
Between Two and Five	1924	Fifty and Sixty	1599	Hundred and One	4		
—Five and Ten	676	Sixty and Seventy	1198	Hundred and Three	1		
Ten and Twenty	458	Seventy and Eighty	810	Hundred and Five	1		
Twenty and Thirty	1237	Eighty and Ninety	413	Hundred and Ten			
Thirty and Forty	1824	Ninety and a Hundred	77	Hundred and Twenty			

DISEASES.						CASUALTIES.	
Abortive & Still-born	601	Croup	24	Quinſy	1	Broken Back	1
Abſceſs	55	Dropſy	792	Rheumatiſm	10	Broken Limbs	2
Aged	1420	Evil	4	Scurvy	1	Broken Neck	1
Ague	2	All Fevers	1702	Small Pox	622	Broken Ribs	3
Apoplexy and ſud-den	413	Fiſtula	2	Sore Throat	20	Bruiſed	2
Aſthma and Phthiſic	527	Flux	13	Sores and Ulcers	11	Burnt	25
Bedridden	7	French Pox	69	St. Anthony's Fire	4	Choaked	1
Bile	4	Gout	158	Spaſm	6	Drowned	126
Bleeding	12	Gravel, Stranguary, and Stone	8	Stoppage in the Stomach	10	Exceſſive Drinking	4
Burſten and Rupture	14	Grief	6	St. Vitus's Dance	2	Executed *	6
Cancer	56	Head-ach	1	Surfeit	1	Found dead	13
Chicken Pox	3	Headmouldſhot, Horſhoehead, and Water in the Head	148	Swelling	3	Frighted	1
Childbed	230	Jaundice	93	Teeth	404	Killed by a Boar	1
Colds	9	Inflammation	603	Thruſh	102	Killed by Falls, &c.	55
Colick, Gripes, twiſting of the Guts	4	Itch	1	Tumour in Womb	1	Killed by Fighting	1
Conſumption	3447	Leproſy	1	Worms	10	Killed themſelves	23
Convulſions	3115	Lethargy	2			Murdered	1
Cough and Hooping Cough	697	Livergrown	5			Poiſoned	2
Cow Pox	1	Lumbago	1			Scalded	7
Cramp	2	Lunatick	141			Shot	1
		Meaſles	619			Smothered	2
		Mortification	368			Suffocated	6
		Palſy	146			Total	284
		Pleuriſy	20				

* There have been executed in Middleſex and Surrey 10; of which number 6 only have been reported to be buried (as ſuch) within the Bills of Mortality.

PRICES OF THE STOCKS FOR 1804.

Date	Bank Stock	3 prCt Reduc.	3 pr Ct Consol.	4 pr Ct Consol.	5 prCt Navy.	5 prCt 1797.	Long Ann	Short Ann.	India Stock.	Exchcq Bills.	Omnium	Irish 5 pr Ct.	Imperial 3 pr Ct.	Lottery Tickets.
January	155½	57	56⅞	73½	90	95⅝	16⅞	3⅞	173¼	3s. Par.	6½ pr.	84	55¾	20 0 0
	145½	54½	55⅛	70⅛	89¼	90⅝	15⅞	3⅛	169	1 do.	1¾ do	81½	53¼	17 9 0
February	155¼	56⅜	56¼	73⅛	89⅛	94⅛	16⅞	3⅜	173¾	3 do.	4¾ do.	83	55¼	17 8 0
	151	54⅞	54½	71½	87½	92¼	16⅛	3¼	168	Par.	2 do.	—	53⅞	17 6 0
March	154	56⅞	57¼	73¼	90⅛	95	16¾	3¾	173	2s. Par.	3¾ do.	83⅜	56⅜	17 11 0
	152½	55⅞	55⅛	72⅝	88½	94⅜	16¼	3⅜	168¾	Par.	¾ do.	—	54½	17 7 0
April	153	56⅝	55⅝	—	90½	—	—	—	170½	2s. Par.	1½ do.	81⅝	55⅞	18 0 0
	147	55⅛	55½	—	89⅛	—	—	—	167	Par.	—	81⅝	55⅛	17 11 0
May	153½	55⅝	57⅛	72⅞	92⅞	95¾	16⅜	3⅞	173¼	3s. Par.	5 do.	85	54½	25 0 0
	149½	54⅝	55⅝	71⅜	90¾	94¼	16	3	170½	1 do.	3¾ do.	82⅝	—	18 0 0
June	154½	55¾	—	73	92⅞	95⅝	16¾	3	171	5 do.	4½ do.	85	54¾	
	152½	54½	—	71½	92⅛	94⅞	16¼	—	169½	1 do.	2¼ do.	84½	53⅞	
July	157½	57⅜	58⅞	75¾	—	99⅛	17¼	3½	177	2 do.	7½ do.	86	56¼	17 17 0
	154½	55⅞	56½	72¾	—	96⅛	16½	—	172	Par.	4½ do.	87⅞	54¾	
August	162	57⅝	58⅝	75⅞	92⅞	99⅜	17⅜	3½	177	2s. Par	7 do.	88⅜	56⅝	17 18 0
	159¼	57⅛	56½	75⅛	91⅞	97¾	17¼	3⅛	175¼	1 do.	6 do.	87¼	56¼	17 17 0
September	160½	57¾	57½	76	92⅝	99⅝	17⅜	3⅛	178	1 do.	7 do.	—	57¼	18 5 0
	160	57⅝	56⅞	75¾	91¼	99¼	17¼	3¼	176	Par.	6¼ do.	—	56⅜	17 18 0
October	160¼	56⅝	57⅜	72⅜	90⅝	—	—	—	177	2s. Par.	7 do.	84¾	57¼	28 10 0
	—	56¼	56¾	72⅝	89¼	—	—	—	176½	Par.	5¾ do.	84⅜	56½	18 15 0
November	169	57⅜	58⅝	74¼	91¾	99⅛	17¼	2¾	180½	Par.	8¾ do.	86⅞	56⅞	18 10 0
	161¼	56⅜	57¼	72½	89⅞	97⅞	16⅝	2⅝	176	2s. dif.	6¼ do.	84⅜	56⅝	18 7 0
December	168½	58½	59	75⅛	—	99¼	17½	2¾	182⅞	Par.	9¾ do.	87⅞	57½	18 12 0
	166½	56⅞	58⅝	74⅛	—	91½	16⅝	2⅛	181½	2s. dif.	8¼ do.	86½	56½	18 10 0

METEOROLOGICAL TABLE FOR 1804.

	Six's Thermometer without.			Thermometer without.			Thermometer within.			Barometer. *			Hygrometer.			Rain.
	Greateſt Height.	Leaſt Height.	Mean Height.	Greateſt Height.	Leaſt Height.	Mean Height.	Greateſt Height.	Leaſt Height.	Mean Height.	Greateſt Height.	Leaſt Height.	Mean Height.	Greateſt Height.	Leaſt Height.	Mean Height.	
	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg	Deg.	Deg.	Deg.	Inches.	Inches.	Inches.	Deg.	Deg.	Deg	Inches.
1803.																
January - -	55	27	45,0	55	28	45,5	59	47	54,4	30,18	28,68	29,60	97	77	88,8	1,673
February - -	51	25	38,9	51	26	38,9	59	48	51,7	30,51	29,05	30,03	95	69	83,0	1,537
* March - - -	62	28	43,2	62	28	43,4	60	48	53,7	29,92	29,15	29,63	96	68	83,9	1,539
April - - -	71	34	46,3	70	36	46,8	61	52	55,5	30,28	29,22	29,71	94	65	81,0	1,604
May - - -	73	44	59,6	73	42	60,2	67	60	62,7	30,29	29,64	29,92	92	64	76,7	1,248
June - - -	87	47	64,7	85	50	64,3	71	61	65,9	30,40	29,68	30,11	88	62	75,6	0,522
July - - -	80	49	62,8	79	53	63,6	69	62	65,8	30,23	29,44	29,84	94	60	75,6	3,705
Auguſt - - -	81	49	63,2	81	50	63,2	70	62	65,4	30,30	29,18	29,88	93	62	76,2	2,801
September - -	81½	45	61,7	81	47	62,2	74	60	66,8	30,47	29,88	30,13	91	63	77,5	
October - -	68	38	53,6	68	38	53,8	63	57	60,3	30,16	29,18	29,70	95	68	83.4	2,046
November - -	59	34	45,9	58	34	46,3	62	50	57,0	30,27	29,22	29,84	94	73	85,7	3,993
December - -	51	19	37,1	50	20	37,5	58	44	51,1	30,40	29,06	29,80	95	74	86,9	0,505
Whole Year.			51,8			52,1			59,2			29,85			81,2	20,937

* The Quickſilver in the baſon of the Barometer is 81 feet above the level of low water ſpring tides at Somerſet Houſe.

The following authentic Extracts from the Corn-Regiſter, are take from Accounts collected from the Cuſtom-Houſe Books, and delivere to John James Catherwood, Eſq. Receiver of Corn Returns, by Au thority of Parliament.

An Account of the Quantities of all Corn and Grain exported from, and im ported into England *and* Scotland, *with the Bounties and Drawbac paid, and the Duties received thereon, for the year ended the 5th* January, 1805.

EXPORTED.

1804. ENGLAND.	British Quarters.	Foreign Quarters.	£. s. d.
Wheat	2,536	27,607	
Rye	2,464	52	
Barley	99,075		
Malt	11,131		
Oats	11,337	4,181	13,892 : 4 : 1
Beans	5,687		Bounties.
Peaſe	2,825	66	0 : 0 : 0 Draw
Indian Corn		45	backs.
	cwt. qrs. lbs.	cwt. qrs. lbs.	
Wheat Flour	97,960 0 10	15,028 1 27	
Barley Meal	62 2 0		
Oatmeal	2,306 2 7		
SCOTLAND.	Quarters.	Quarters.	
Wheat	85		
Rye	1,281		
Barley	7,663		
Bear or Big	8,173		
Malt	1,616		
Oats	1,609	28	
Groats	5		
Beans	188		9,392:211: Bou
Peaſe	31		ties.
Indian Corn		13	0 : 0 : 0 Dra
	cwt. qrs. lbs.		backs.
Wheat Flour	1,967 3 16		
Barley hulled	1,313 2 0		
Barley Meal	411 2 8		
Bear hulled	360 360		
Bear Meal	1,650 3 12		
Biſcuit	2,897 3 15		
Oatmeal	790 3 16		

IMPORTE

IMPORTED.

ENGLAND.	Quarters.	£.	s.	d.	
Wheat	398,906				
Rye	1,030				
Barley	4,616				
Oats	638,950				
Beans	11,831	18,593	12	6	Duties.
Peaſe	19,297				
Indian Corn	85	4,791	3	11½	Bounties on Corn outſtanding.
	cwt. qrs. lbs.				
Wheat Flour	28,529 2 21				
Indian Meal	6 3 21				
	Bolls.				
Oatmeal	20,559				
SCOTLAND.					
	Quarters.				
Wheat	52,218				
Rye	1,338				
Barley	6,313				
Oats	59,938				
Peaſe	306				
Indian Corn	5	4,410	0	0	Duties.
	cwt. qrs. lbs.				
Wheat Flour	1,256 0 14				
Indian Meal	1 2 16				
	Bolls.				
Oatmeal	31,317				

The following is an Account of the Average Prices of Corn in England and Wales, by the ſtandard Wincheſter Buſhel, for the year, 1804.

per Buſhel	Wheat.	Rye.	Barley.	Oats.	Beans.	Peaſe.
	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
	7 6	4 7½	3 9½	2 11½	4 9¼	5 1¼

A Liſt of Public Acts paſſed in the Second Seſſion of the Second Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

DECEMBER 15, 1803.

To continue, until ſix months after the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace, the reſtrictions contained in ſeveral acts made in the 37th, 38th, 42d, and 43d, years of the reign of his preſent Majeſty, on payments of caſh by the Bank of England.

For granting to his Majeſty the ſum of 8,000l. for the relief of certain curates in England.

To regulate the bonds iſſued by the Eaſt India Company, with reſpect to the rate of intereſt, and the duty payable thereon.

To continue ſeveral laws relating to the ſuſpending the operation of two acts of the 15th and 17th years of his preſent Majeſty, for reſtraining the negociation of promiſſory notes and bills of exchange, under a limited ſum, in England, and to the prohibiting the importation from, and permitting the exportation to Great Britain, of corn; and for allowing the importation of other articles of proviſion, without payment of duty, until the 25th day of March, 1805; and to the regulating the trade and commerce to and from the iſland of Malta, until ſix months after the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace.

To continue, until the 25th day of March, 1805, the act, of laſt ſeſſion, for diſcontinuing certain drawbacks and bounties on the exportation of ſugar, and for allowing other drawbacks and duties in lieu thereof.

For ſuſpending, until the laſt day of Auguſt, 1804, the operation of an Iriſh act, for reſtraining the negotiation of promiſſory notes and inland bills of exchange, under a limited ſum within Ireland.

To indemnify perſons in the United Kingdom as have omitted to qualify themſelves for certain offices and employments.

To continue, until ſix weeks after the commencement of the next ſeſſion of Parliament, the act for ſuſpending the Habeas Corpus in Ireland.

To continue until ſix weeks after the commencement of the next ſeſſion of Parliament, the act for the ſuppreſſion of rebellion in Ireland.

To continue until the 25th day of March, 1805, ſeveral acts of the 41ſt, 42d, and 43d years of his preſent Majeſty's reign, for regulating the bounties and drawbacks on the exportation of ſugar from Ireland.

For enabling the lord lieutenant or other chief governor or governors of Ireland, to prohibit, until the 25th day of March, 1805, the diſtillation of ſpirits from oats or oatmeal in Ireland; and for indemnifying ſuch perſons as have acted in adviſing or carrying into execution a proclamation of the lord lieutenant and council of Ireland for prohibiting ſuch diſtillation.

To continue until the 25th day of March, ſo much of an act made in the 41ſt year of his Majeſty's reign, as relates to the prohibiting the exportation from Ireland of corn or potatoes, or other proviſions; and to the permitting the importation into Ireland of corn, fiſh, and proviſions, without payment of duty.

T

To prevent the deſertion and eſcape of petty officers, ſeamen, and others from his Majeſty's ſervice, by means, or under colour of any criminal or civil proceſs.

To amend two acts paſſed in the 41ſt and 43d years of his preſent Majeſty, for permitting Portugal wine to be landed and warehouſed in the United Kingdom; and to allow Spaniſh wine to be ſo landed and warehouſed.

For raiſing the ſum of five millions, by loans on exchequer bills.

For continuing the duties on malt.

For continuing a duty on penſions, offices, and perſonal eſtates, in England; and certain duties on ſugar, malt, tobacco, and ſnuff.

To explain and amend two acts paſſed in the 42d and 43d years of his preſent Majeſty, relating to volunteers and yeomanry corps in Great Britain.

MARCH 9, 1804.

For puniſhing mutiny and deſertion.

For the regulation of his Majeſty's royal marine forces, while on ſhore.

To continue until three months after any reſtriction impoſed, by an act of the preſent ſeſſion of Parliament on the Bank of England from iſſuing caſh in payments ſhall ceaſe. An act made in the Parliament of Ireland in the 37th year of his preſent Majeſty, for confirming and continuing the reſtrictions on payments in caſh by the Bank of Ireland, and alſo an act made in the 43d year of his preſent Majeſty for amending the ſaid act.

To indemnify all perſons who have been concerned in iſſuing or carrying into execution an order of the lords of the treaſury, for permitting the exportation of ſeed corn to Portugal.

For allowing veſſels employed in the Greenland whale fiſhery, and clearing out from any port in Great Britain, to complete their full number of men at certain ports for the preſent ſeaſon.

For further continuing until the 25th of March, 1806, an act made in the 33d year of his preſent Majeſty, for rendering the payment of creditors more equal and expeditious in Scotland.

To enable his Majeſty to grant the inheritance in fee ſimple, of certain manors, meſſuages, lands, and hereditaments, in the pariſhes of Byfleet, Weybridge, Walton, Walton Leigh, and Chertſey, in the county of Surrey, to his Royal Highneſs Frederick Duke of York and Albany, for a valuable conſideration.

MARCH 23, 1804.

For charging, until the 25th day of March, 1805, certain rates and drawbacks upon goods, wares, and merchandize, imported into and exported from Ireland; and alſo, for charging certain inland duties of exciſe and taxes in Ireland, in lieu of former rates, duties, taxes, bounties, and drawbacks.

For charging, until the 25th day of March, 1805, certain increaſed countervailing duties on the importation into Ireland of the ſeveral goods, wares, and merchandize, therein mentioned, being the manufacture of Ireland.

For granting a duty on malt in Ireland.

For permitting, until the 5th day of May, 1805, the importa-

tion of hides, calve's ſkins, horns, tallow, and wool, (except cotton wool,) in foreign ſhips, on payment of the like duties as if imported in Britiſh or Iriſh ſhips.

To revive and continue, until eight months after the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace, an act made in the 42d of his preſent Majeſty, for repealing ſeveral acts relating to the admiſſion of certain articles of merchandize in neutral ſhips, and to the iſſuing orders in council for that purpoſe, and for making other proviſions in lieu thereof; and alſo, to indemnify all perſons who have been concerned in iſſuing or carrying into execution orders of council for permitting the importation of certain goods from America in neutral ſhips.

For raiſing the further ſum of two millions by loans or exchequer bills.

MAY 3, 1804.

For empowering his Majeſty, for a time and to an extent therein limited, to accept the ſervices of ſuch parts of his militia forces in Ireland as may voluntarily offer themſelves to be employed in Great Britain.

For empowering his Majeſty to direct the augmentation of his militia forces in Ireland, to an extent therein limited.

To amend and continue ſeveral laws relating to the allowing the importation of rape-ſeed and other ſeeds uſed for extracting oil, to the allowing the importation of ſeal ſkins cured with foreign ſalt, free of duty, to the 24th of June, 1809; and to the encouragement of the Greenland whale fiſheries, to the 25th of December, 1806; and to continue ſeveral laws relating to the allowing the uſe of ſalt, duty free, in the preſerving of fiſh in bulk or in barrels; and to the diſcontinuing the bounty payable on white herrings exported, to the 25th of March, 1809; to the permitting Sir William Biſhop, George Biſhop, and Angles Biſhop, to carry on the manufacture of Maidſtone Geneva, to the 5th July, 1809; and to the admiſſion to entry of oil and blubber of Newfoundland, taken by his Majeſty's ſubjects carrying on the fiſhery from and reſiding in the ſaid iſland, to 25th December, 1805.

To amend and continue until the 25th March, 1807, ſo much of an act made in the 41ſt year of his preſent Majeſty, as relates to his allowing plantation ſugar to be warehouſed.

To repeal ſo much of an act, paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion of Parliament, for granting to his Majeſty a contribution on profits ariſing from property, profeſſions, trades, and offices, as requires attornies, agents, and factors, to retain and pay the duties chargeable upon public annuities; and to extend the times for hearing appeals on aſſeſſments or ſurcharges made in purſuance of the ſaid act.

For increaſing the rates of ſubſiſtence to be paid on quartering ſoldiers.

For defraying the pay and clothing of the militia.

To revive and further continue, until the 25th March, 1805, and amend ſo much of an act, made in the 39th and 40th years of his preſent Majeſty, as grants certain allowances to adjutants and ſerjeant-majors of the militia of England, diſembodied under an act of the ſame ſeſſion of Parliament.

For

For defraying, until the 25th of March, 1805, the charge of the pay and clothing of the militia of Ireland, for holding courts martial on ſerjeant-majors, ſerjeants, corporals, and drummers, for offences committed during the time ſuch militia ſhall not be embodied; and for making allowances in certain caſes, to ſubaltern officers of the ſaid militia during peace.

To amend the act, for the better regulation of the linen manufacture of Ireland.

To enforce the due obſervance of the canons and rubrick reſpecting the ages of perſons to be admitted into the ſacred orders of deacon and prieſt.

To exempt veſſels in the Newfoundland trade from the proviſions of an act paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion of Parliament, for regulating veſſels carrying paſſengers from the United States.

For raiſing eight millions by loans or exchequer bills.

MAY 16, 1804.

For raiſing the ſum of fourteen millions five hundred thouſand pounds, by way of annuities.

For raiſing a certain ſum of money by way of annuities or debentures, for the ſervice of Ireland.

For granting to his Majeſty, until twelve months after a definitive treaty of peace, additional duties of exciſe on wine imported into Great Britain.

To revive and continue until the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace, an act, made in the laſt ſeſſion of Parliament, for providing for the more ſpeedy completion of the eſtabliſhment of officers in the militia of Great Britain; and for facilitating the filling up of vacancies therein.

For making allowances, in certain caſes, to ſubaltern officers of the militia in Great Britain while diſembodied.

To alter and amend ſo much of an act, paſſed in the 34th year of his preſent Majeſty, as relates to the amount of the ſums to be paid by perſons compounding for the performance of the ſtatute duty.

MAY 18, 1804.

For granting to his Majeſty, during the preſent war, and for ſix months after the expiration thereof by the ratification of a definitive treaty of peace, additional duties on the importation of certain goods, wares, and merchandize, into Great Britain; and on goods, wares, and merchandize, brought or carried coaſtwiſe within Great Britain.

JUNE 5, 1804.

To conſolidate and amend the proviſions of the ſeveral acts relating to corps of yeomanry and volunteers.

For more effectually preventing the ſale of exciſeable liquors in Scotland by perſons not duly licenſed.

JUNE 29, 1804.

For eſtabliſhing and maintaining a permanent additional force for the defence of the realm; and to provide for augmenting his Majeſty's regular forces; and for the gradual reduction of the militia in England.

To exempt from duties on export all linens of the manufacture of the United Kingdom.

For directing certain public accounts of Ireland to be laid annually before Parliament.

To

To indemnify ſolicitors, attornies, and others, who have neglected to enter certificates within the time limited; and to amend the act as relating to the entering ſuch certificates.

For the preventing of bribery and corruption in the election of members to ſerve in Parliament for the borough of Ayleſbury, in the county of Buckingham.

To amend two acts, for erecting a court-houſe for the holding of ſeſſions in Weſtminſter; and for purchaſing certain buildings and grounds in the ſaid city, for the uſe of the public.

For making further proviſion for making and maintaining an inland navigation, commonly called the Caledonian Canal, from the Eaſtern to the Weſtern ſea by Inverneſs to Fort William, in Scotland.

For veſting the capital meſſuage, with the appurtenances, ſituate in Kerwin-ſtreet, in the city of Dublin, called the palace of the Archbiſhop of Dublin, at St. Sepulchre's, in the crown; and for the application of the purchaſe money.

JUNE 30, 1804.

To continue, until the 1ſt of July, 1805, the operation of an act, to ſuſpend proceedings in actions, proſecutions, and proceedings, under certain acts relating to the woollen manufacture; and to certain perſons employed or concerned in the ſaid manufacture.

JULY 3, 1804.

To continue until the 1ſt July, 1805, an act paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion, for continuing two acts, the one paſſed in the 42d of his Majeſty, for regulating the prices at which grain, meal, and flour, may be exported from Great Britain to Ireland, and from Ireland to Great Britain; and the other, made in the laſt ſeſſion, for permitting the exportation of ſeed-corn from Great Britain to Ireland, and the importation of malt into Great Britain from Ireland.

JULY 10, 1804.

For eſtabliſhing and maintaining a permanent additional force for the defence of the realm, and to provide for augmenting his Majeſty's regular forces; and for the gradual reduction of the militia of Scotland.

For granting until the 25th March, 1805, certain duties on the importation of goods, &c. into Ireland, and alſo certain duties of exciſe on ſpirits, malt, and tobacco, in Ireland; and for the increaſe of certain public revenues in Ireland, by making the ſame payable in Britiſh currency.

For granting certain ſtamp duties in Ireland.

To amend the laws for regulating the linen manufacture of Ireland.

To enable his Majeſty to authorize the exportation of the machinery neceſſary for erecting a mint in the dominions of the King of Denmark.

To prevent the counterfeiting of ſilver coin iſſued by the governor and company of the Bank of England, called dollars, and ſilver coin which may be iſſued by the governor and company of the Bank of Ireland, called tokens.

For allowing the ſale of certain Eaſt India prize goods in the port of Liverpool.

To enable the lords commiſſioners

ers of the Treaſury of Great Britain to iſſue Exchequer Bills on the credit of the aids or ſupplies for the year.

JULY 14, 1804.

For eſtabliſhing and maintaining a permanent additional force to be raiſed in Ireland, for the defence of the realm, and to provide for augmenting the regular forces.

For enabling ſubjects of foreign ſtates to enliſt as ſoldiers in his Majeſty's ſervice, and for enabling his Majeſty to grant commiſſions to ſubjects of foreign ſtates to ſerve as officers or as engineers, under certain reſtrictions.

For ſettling and ſecuring a certain annuity on the Vicounteſs Kilwarden, and on the family of the late Lord Kilwarden.

To render valid certain marriages ſolemniſed in certain churches and chapels in which banns had not uſually been publiſhed before, on, or at the time of paſſing the marriage act, 26th George II.

For making compenſation to the proprietors of certain lands and hereditaments ſituate at Weedon Beck, in the county of Northampton, purchaſed for the ſervice of his Majeſty's ordnance.

To veſt certain meſſuages, lands, &c. in truſtees, for better ſecuring his Majeſty's docks, ſhips, and ſtores, at Chatham, and for the uſe of his Majeſty's ordnance at Warley Common and Woolwich.

JULY 20, 1804.

For the better ſupport of His Majeſty's houſehold, and of the honour and dignity of the crown of the United Kingdom; and for preventing accumulation of arrears in the payments out of the civil liſt revenues.

For enabling his Majeſty to raiſe the ſum of two millions five hundred thouſand pounds, for the uſe and purpoſes therein mentioned.

To obviate certain inconveniences which have been experienced in the accountant general's office in the Court of Chancery, in the execution of an act for granting a contribution on the profits ariſing from property, profeſſions, trades, and offices.

For regulating the appointment of commiſſioners to act in the execution of an act for granting to his Majeſty a contribution on the profits ariſing from property, profeſſions, trades, and offices.

To permit certain perſons in the Office of ordnance, and the quarter-maſter general, to ſend and receive letters free from the duty of poſtage; and to enable the Board of Ordnance, and the adjutant-general, quarter-maſter general, and barrack-maſter general, to authorize perſons in their offices to ſend letters free from the ſaid duty.

For further continuing for ſeven years, an act, made in the 12th year of his Majeſty, for encouraging the manufacture of leather, by lowering the duty payable upon the importation of oak bark.

For reviving, amending, and continuing ſeveral laws relating to the more effectual encouragement of the Britiſh fiſheries, until the 5th April, 1806, and to the encouragement of the trade and manufactures of the Iſle of Man, until 5th July, 1805.

To amend an act paſſed in the 39th and 40th of his Majeſty, intituled, "An act for ſettling diſputes

putes that may ariſe between maſters and workmen engaged in the cotton manufactory of England."

For explaining and amending ſeveral acts relating to hackney-coaches employed as ſtage-coaches.

For confirming the proviſions of an act, made in Ireland in the 32d of his Majeſty, ſo far as the ſame prohibits the import of malt into Ireland; and for repealing the power given to the lord lieutenant and council of Ireland, prohibiting the uſe of oats and oatmeal in the diſtillation of ſpirits in Ireland.

To continue, until ſeven years after the paſſing thereof, an act, made in the Parliament of Ireland in the 27th of his Majeſty, intituled, "An act for the better execution of the law and preſervation of the peace within the counties at large."

To permit the iſſue and negotiation of certain promiſſory notes, under a limited ſum, by regiſtered bankers in Ireland; and to reſtrain the iſſue and negotiation of certain other notes.

To render more eaſy the apprehending and bringing to trial, offenders eſcaping from one part of the United Kingdom to the other.

For granting to his Majeſty a ſum of money to be raiſed by lottery.

JULY 28, 1804.

To explain an act of the preſent ſeſſion, for conſolidating and amending the proviſions of the ſeveral acts relating to corps of yeomanry and volunteers in Great Britain, ſo far as reſpects the accounting for monies received by volunteer officers.

To amend certain of the proviſions of an act, made in the 43d of his Majeſty, to enable his Majeſty to provide for the defence and ſecurity of the realm, which reſpect the purchaſe of lands and hereditaments for the public ſervice.

To alter, amend, and render more effectual, an act, paſſed in the preſent ceſſion, intituled, "An act for eſtabliſhing and maintaining a permanent additional force for the defence of the realm, &c." ſo far as the ſame relates to the city of London.

For raiſing the ſum of eight hundred thouſand pounds Iriſh currency, by treaſury bills, for the ſervice of Ireland, for 1804.

To repeal the ſeveral duties under the commiſſioners for managing the duties upon ſtamped vellum, parchment, and paper, in Great Britain, and to grant new and additional duties in lieu thereof.

For granting additional annuities to the proprietors of ſtock created by two acts, paſſed in the 37th and 42d of his Majeſty.

For warehouſing goods within the limits of certain docks in London made under an act, paſſed in the 39th and 40th of his Majeſty.

For permitting, until the 1ſt of Auguſt, 1807, the exportation of ſalt from the port of Naſſau, in the iſland of New Providence, the port of Exuma, and the port of Crooked Iſland, in the Bahama iſlands, in ſhips belonging to the inhabitants of the United States of America, and coming in ballaſt.

For the more effectual adminiſtration of juſtice in thoſe parts of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland called England and Ireland, by the iſſuing of

habeas

habeas corpus ad teſtificandum, in certain caſes.

For making further regulations for the better collection and ſecurity of his Majeſty's revenue of cuſtoms and exciſe in Ireland, and for preventing frauds therein.

To permit, until the 25th March, 1805, the warehouſing of ſpirits in Ireland for exportation; for charging a duty on the ſame when taken out for home conſumption, and to regulate the exportation to Great Britain of ſuch ſpirits as ſhall not be warehouſed.

To continue, until the 29th September, ſeveral acts for the better collection and ſecurity of his Majeſty's revenue in Ireland, and for preventing frauds therein.

For appointing, until the 1ſt Auguſt, 1805, commiſſioners to inquire into the fees, gratuities, perquiſites, and emoluments, which are or have been lately received in the ſeveral public offices in Ireland therein mentioned; to examine into any abuſes which may exiſt in the ſame; and into the preſent mode of receiving, collecting, iſſuing, and accounting for public money in Ireland.

For making compenſation to the proprietors of certain lands and hereditaments, ſituate at Woolwich and Charlton, in the county of Kent, purchaſed for the ſervice of his Majeſty's ordnance.

JULY 30, 1804.

For the relief of certain inſolvent debtors.

To regulate the importation and exportation of corn, and the bounties and duties payable thereon.

Abſtract

Abſtract Statement of the Public Income of Great Britain for the Year, ending the 5th January, 1804.

Branches of Revenue.	Groſs Receipts.			Net Produce.			Paid into the Exch.		
Permanent Taxes.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Cuſtoms { England	*9,689,886	2	7	7,207,570	4	6¼	6,803,820	17	1
Cuſtoms { Scotland	† 729,694	14	4	569,204	18	1½	375,800	—	—
Exciſe { England	18,193,954	3	11¾	16,930,670	—	4	16,889,373	19	11
Exciſe { Scotland	1,394,323	14	4	1,441,541	13	1¾	1,086,000	—	—
Stamps { England	3,241,791	3	—½	3,144,633	—	2¾	2,997,134	12	6
Stamps { Scotland	194,275	18	2½	201,942	19	5	180,470	—	—
Land and Aſſeſſed Taxes { England	5,560,233	—	8¼	5,685,932	1	7½	5,123,299	8	6¼
Land and Aſſeſſed Taxes { Scotland	215,839	14	4½	265,729	17	5½	186,400	—	—
Poſt Office { England	1,156,556	12	4¼	937,649	19	—¼	797,550	19	10
Poſt Office { Scotland	117,321	11	6	137,950	1	—	97,449	—	2
1s. in the £. on Penſions and Salaries { England	47,222	3	7¼	48,654	12	—	45,056	—	—
1s. in the £. on Penſions and Salaries { Scotland	3,860	10	1¾	3,629	8	11	———	—	—
6d. in the £. on Penſions and Salaries { England	51,439	19	—¼	50,516	8	5¼	50,516	2	10¼
6d. in the £. on Penſions and Salaries { Scotland	2,666	10	1¾	2,649	17	1¾	2,642	17	1¾
Hackney Coaches - -	28,800	10	—	26,457	2	7¼	26,097	13	6
Hawkers and Pedlars -	8,345	4	2½	5,622	12	7	5,269	—	—
Total Ordinary Revenues	40,636,311	12	6¼	36,660,354	16	6¾	34,666,887	11	6¼
Small Branches of Hered. Revenue.									
				Hanaper			2,000	—	—
Alienation Fines - -	7,125	6	8	11,680	3	10	5,702	5	2
Poſt Fines - - -	511	6	—½	3,248	12	7¼	———	—	—
Seizures - - - -	79,390	11	1	79,390	11	1	79,390	11	1
Compoſitions - - -	2	10	—	2	10	—	2	10	—
Proffers - - - -	637	—	3	637	—	3	637	—	3
Crown Lands - - -	33,157	11	0¾	48,390	10	1½	966	13	4
Extraordinary Reſources.									
Paid on account Intereſt Loans for Ireland - -	983,274	—	4	983,274	—	4	983,274	—	4
On account of commiſſion for iſſuing Exchequer Bills - - - - -	174,000	—	—	174,000	—	—	174,000	—	—
Intereſt by transfer of Stock for Redemption of Land Tax - -	7,000	—	—	7,000	—	—	7,000	—	—
Fees of regulated Exchequer Offices - -	30,915	6	—	30,915	6	—	30,915	6	—
Monies paid to the Public.	4,539	18	11	4,139	18	11	4,539	18	11
Impreſt Money from Accountants - - -	73,369	9	11¾	73,369	9	11¾	73,369	9	11¾
Lottery Nett Profit - -	352,333	6	8	332,507	2	5	332,507	2	5
Aid and Contributions -	3,500	—	—	3,500	—	—	3,500	—	—
Arrears under Aid and Contribution Act - -	14,550	1	—¼	14,550	1	—¼	14,550	1	—¼
Arrears of Income Duty	343,359	14	5¼	414,090	2	8¾	360,971	—	11¼
Property Tax - - -	16,917	13	—	16,917	13	—	16,917	13	—
Total - -	42,760,895	8	—	38,858,373	18	10¼	36,757,131	3	11½
Loans, incl. £.2,000,000 raiſed for the ſervice of Ireland - - -	11,950,000	—	—	11,950,000	—	—	11,950,000	—	—
Grand Total -	54,710,895	1	—	50,808,373	18	10¼	48,707,131	3	11½

* The

* The appropriated balances in the Exchequer, on the 5th Jan. 1803, amounted to £.9,800,659 12s. 9¼d, and on the 5th Jan. 1804, to £.8,812,339 8s. 4½d. There was no unappropriated balance in the Exchequer at either of the above-mentioned periods. £.15,317,600 were iſſued in exchequer bills, £.1,658,880 2d. in navy and victualling bills, and £.142,722 6s. 3d. in tranſport bills, between the 5th Jan. 1803, and the 5th Jan. 1804, and not redeemed within that period.

† Of theſe ſums, £.8,090,055 6s. 7d½ were received for duties inwards, £.382,548 14s. 0d¼ for duties outwards, and £.769,614 2s. 5d. for duties coaſtwiſe.

Account

Account of the Public Expenditure of Great Britain for the Year, ending on the 5th of January, 1804.

	£.	s.	d.	£	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Interest and Charges on the Permanent Debts, redeemed and unredeemed	-	-	-	-	-	-	24,264,424	18	11½
Interest on Exchequ. Bills	-	-	-	-	-	-	801,787	10	5½
Civil List	-	-	-	898,000	—	—			
Other Charges on the Consolidated Fund, viz.									
Courts of Justice	-	-	-	50,038	11	3½			
Mint	-	-	-	13,858	11	2			
Allowance to Royal Family	-	-	-	287,645	—	4			
Salaries and Allowances	-	-	-	93,544	13	6			
Bounties	-	-	-	2,956	13	8			
							1,346,043	9	11½
Civil Govt. of Scotland	-	-	-	-	-	-	79,502	12	—
Other Payments in Anticipation	-	-	-						
Bounties for Fisheries, Manufactures, Corn, &c.	-	-	-	305,379	19	2¼			
Pensions on the Hereditary Revenue	-	-	-	27,700	—	—			
Militia and Deserters Warrants, &c.	-	-	-	108,405	1	8½			
							441,485	—	10¾
Navy.—Salaries to the Offices	-	-	-	56,000	—	—			
For Wages, Bounty, Flag Pay, &c.	-	-	-	2,113,506	12	10			
For Dock Yards, building of Ships, &c.	-	-	-	2,182,396	7	1¼			
For Marine Service on Shore				287,000	—	—			
				4,638,902	19	11¼			
The Victualling Department	-	-	-	2,489,929	15	9			
The Sick and Wounded do	-	-	-	142,000	—	—			
The Transport	-	-	do.						
For Transports	-	-	-	639,045	12	5			
For Prisoners of War, in Health	-	-	-	30,000	—	—			
Miscellaneous Services	-			40,000	—	—			
				709,045	12	5			
							7,979,878	8	1¼
Ordnance	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,827,049	12	7¾
Army.—Ordinary Services									
For Regul. Fenc. Milit. Inval. and Volun. Corps	-	-	-	6,275,522	5	2			
Barracks	-	-	-	1,021,269	2	—			
Staff Off. and Off. of Garrisons	-	-	-	108,976	17	6			
Half Pay	-	-	-	263,203	—	8			
Widows' Pensions	-	-	-	24,000	—	—			
Chelsea Hospital	-	-	-	324,860	7	5			
Exchequer Fees	-	-	-	53,404	2	5			
Pay of Public Offices	-	-	-	63,079	2	6			
				8,134,374	17	8			
Extraordinary Services	-	-	-	3,165,092	—	3			
							11,299,406	17	11

Loans,

Loans, Remittances, Ireland	- - -	- - -	2,117,444 8 11
Miſcellaneous Services -			
At Home - - -	- - -	2,555,859 — 9	
Abroad - - -	- - -	244,641 — 1¼	
			2,800,500 — 10¼
			52,957,523 — 8½
Deduct Loan for Ireland	- - -	- - -	2,117,444 8 11
		* £.	50,840,070 11 9½

Abſtract from the Liſt, preſented to the Houſe of Commons, by Mr. Secretary Yorke, of Volunteer Corps in Great Britain, which have been placed on permanent Pay and Duty, ſince firſt Nov. 1803; *as far as the ſame can be made out.—Dated 20th February* 1804.——*Signed R. Pole Carew, Under Secretary of State.*

Colonels	6
Lieut. Colonels	36
Majors	38
Captains	237
Lieutenants	294
Cornets or Enſigns	219
Chaplains	5
Paymaſters	17
Adjutants	28
Quarter Maſters	30
Surgeons	14
Aſſiſtant Surgeons	7
Serjeant Majors	23
Serjeants	795
Corporals	278
Trumpeters or Drummers	353
Privates	23,792

General Abſtract of the Subdiviſion Rolls, required by Act 43 *Geo. III. Cap.* 96. *ſo far as the ſame can be at preſent made up from the Returns tranſmitted to the Office of the Secretary of State for the Home Department. —Dated Feb.* 15, 1804.—*Signed Reginald Pole Carew.*

No. in 1ſt Claſs, effective	444,086
2d Effective	110,966
3d Effective	174,109
4th Effective	613,602
Voluntary Service	406,786
Army, Marines, Volun. Corps, Sea Fenc.	139,471
Clergy, licenced Teachers, Medical Men, and Conſtables	24,885
Infirm	90,938
Enrolled in Pariſhes out of the County	2,822

* The ſum of £. 449,509 11 5¾, for Intereſt paid on imperial Loan is included here.

An Account of the Men for the Royal Army of Reserve, in each Month since the Commencement of the Act passed for that Purpose; of the Number of the same who have engaged for General Service, and of the Number of ballotted Men and Substitutes who have been enrolled for the said Army; as far as the same can be ascertained.—Dated Inspector General's Office, 1st May, 1804.

I. ENGLAND AND WALES.

PERIODS.	Number of Men raised.	Number rejected, discharged, claimed by Civil Law, &c. &c.	Dead	Number deserted, claimed as Deserters from other Corps, &c. &c. &c.	Number of effective Men.	Number due, including the Casualties.	Number volunteered for general Service, included in the Effectives.
1st Aug. - 1803 -	103	—	—	18	85	33795	—
1st Sept. - —— -	19453	212	2	1473	17766	16029	—
1st Oct. - —— -	5168	260	36	1132	3740	12289	1747
1st Nov. - —— -	2117	374	74	371	1298	10991	2014
1st Dec. - —— -	1496	172	84	259	981	10019	2747
1st Jan. - 1804 -	956	101	83	181	591	9419	706
1st Feb. - —— -	647	111	81	186	269	9150	235
1st March - —— -	707	205	67	147	288	8862	565
1st April - —— -	673	82	58	245	288	8574	348
1st May - —— -	438	235	45	105	53	8521	874
Total - -	31758	1752	530	4117	25359	8521	9236
No. of ballotted men -	2531	- - -	258	- -	2273		
No. of substitutes - -	29227	- - -	6141	- -	23086		

II. SCOTLAND.

1st Aug. - 1803 -	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1st Sept. - —— -	2984	8	1	101	2874	3126	—
1st Oct. - —— -	999	4	1	77	917	2209	—
1st Nov. - —— -	359	3	1	53	302	1907	—
1st Dec. - —— -	227	52	1	32	142	1765	—
1st Jan. - 1804 -	252	12	2	20	218	1547	—
1st Feb. - —— -	215	7	—	21	187	1360	482
1st March - —— -	234	14	2	25	193	1167	371
1st April - —— -	193	53	3	25	112	1055	56
1st May - —— -	74	8	—	10	56	999	63
Total - -	5537	161	11	364	5001	999	972
Number ballotted - -	294	- - -	8	- -	286		
Number substitutes - -	5243	- - -	528	- -	4715		

III. IRELAND.

1st Aug. - 1803 -	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1st Sept. - —— -	1508	—	—	22	1486	8514	—
1st Oct. - —— -	2241	25	—	153	2063	6451	—
1st Nov. - —— -	1367	32	—	200	1135	5316	—
1st Dec. - —— -	1099	37	—	140	922	4394	—
1st Jan. - 1804 -	658	19	1	176	462	3932	—
1st Feb. - —— -	497	20	—	117	360	3572	1444
1st March - —— -	330	18	34	201	77	3495	24
1st April - —— -	282	25	3	52	202	3293	191
1st May - —— -	215	27	10	109	69	3224	140
Total - -	8197	203	48	1170	6776	3224	1799
N. B. Number of effective men -				Ballotted - -	48		
				Substitutes - -	6528		
				Recruited - -	200		

SUPPLIES

SUPPLIES granted by Parliament for the Year 1804.

NAVY, &c.

December 1, 1803.

THAT 100,000 men be employed for the Sea Service for the Year 1804; including 22,000 Marines.

	£.	s.	d.
For Wages for ditto - -	2,405,000	0	0
For Victuals for ditto - -	2,470,000	0	0
For Wear and Tear of Ships in which they are to ſerve - - -	3,900,000	0	0
For Ordnance Sea Service on board ſuch Ships -	325,000	0	0

December 3, 1803.

For the Ordinary of the Navy for 1804 -	1,020,670	9	9
For the Extraordinary Eſtabliſhment of ditto -	948,520	0	0

December 6, 1803.

For Hire of Tranſports for 1804 - -	709,249	9	8
For Priſoners of War in Health - -	220,166	8	1
For Sick Priſoners of War - -	42,000	0	0

July 3, 1804.

For Increaſing the Naval Defence of the Country -	310,000	0	0
	£.12,350,606	7	6

ARMY.

December 12, 1803.

That 129,039 effective Men be employed in Great Britain and Ireland, from the 25th December, 1803, to the 24th December, 1804

For Guards, Garriſons, and other Land Forces, in Great Britain and Ireland - -	4,276,624	12	8
For Forces in the Plantations, including thoſe ſerving at Gibraltar, in the Mediterranean, and New South Wales - -	1,174,509	16	6

	£.	s.	d.
For Five Troops of Dragoons, and Seventeen Companies of Foot, ſtationed in Great Britain for recruiting Regiments ſerving in India - -	29,859	14	9
For Recruiting and Contingencies for the Land Forces in Great Britain - -	180,000	0	0
For General and Staff Officers, and Officers of the Hoſpitals, ditto - -	154,647	3	10

April 28, 1804.

For the Charge of Recruiting and Contingencies for Land Forces in Ireland, from the 25th of December, 1803, to the 25th of December, 1804 - - -	98,635	12	2
For General and Staff Officers, ditto -	61,037	3	9
For Full Pay to Supernumerary Officers -	33,464	7	0
For Allowances to the principal Officers of ſeveral public Departments - -	167,059	1	3
For the increaſed Rates of Subſiſtence to innkeepers, &c. - -	455,464	9	3
For Half-pay and Allowances to Reduced Officers -	189,215	12	5
For Military Allowances to ditto - -	5,665	8	6
For Half-pay and Allowances to Reduced Officers of American Forces - -	50,000	0	0
For Officers late in the Service of the States General	1,000	0	0
For the In and Out-Penſioners of Chelſea and Kilmainham Hoſpitals - -	245,048	15	8
For Penſions to Widows of Officers of the Land Forces in Great Britain and Ireland -	27,801	11	5
For the Barrack Department in Ireland -	461,887	6	10
For general and Hoſpital Expences in Ireland -	23,538	9	3
For Foreign Corps in the Service of Great Britain and Ireland - -	582,262	19	11
For the Royal Military College - -	11,280	1	2
For the Royal Military Aſylum - -	32,600	0	0
For Garriſon Service in the Weſt Indies and America - - - -	8,884	19	2
For an Augmentation to the Military Eſtabliſhment of Great Britain and Ireland - -	200,000	0	0
For the Barrack Department in Great Britain -	2,183,930	0	0
For the extraordinary Expences of the Army for 1803 - - -	339,207	18	7
Towards the extraordinary Expences of the Army for 1804 - - -	1,400,000	0	0
Ditto in Ireland - - -	600,000	0	0
£.	12,993,625	4	1

MILITIA

MILITIA AND FENCIBLE CORPS, &c.

December 12, 1803.

	£.	s.	d.
For the embodied Militia and Corps of Fencible Infantry in Great Britain and Ireland, from the 25th of December 1803, to the 24th of December, 1804 - - -	2,791,623	7	6
For Cloathing for the Embodied Militia of Great Britain - - -	215,793	14	6
For Contingencies for the Embodied Militia and Corps of Fencible Infantry in Great Britain and Ireland - - -	61,129	7	0
For the Volunteer Corps in Great Britain and Ireland - - - -	2,020,567	13	11

April 16, 1804.

Making Provision for the Pay and Cloathing of the Militia of Great Britain, for 1804.

For making Allowances to Adjutants and Serjeants of the Militia Disembodied, for 1804.

Ditto, to Subaltern Officers of the Militia in Time of Peace.

Making Provisions for the Pay and Cloathing of the Militia of Ireland, and of Allowances to Subaltern Officers in time of Peace, for 1804.

April 28.

For the further Charge of Volunteers in 1803 -	500,000	0	0
For the further Charge of Volunteers, from the 25th of December, 1803, to the 24th of December, 1804 - - -	570,000	0	0
	£.6,159,114	2	11

ORDNANCE.

December 12, 1803.

For Ordnance Land Service in Great Britain, for 1804 - -	2,954,141	5	0
Ditto in Ireland - -	304,615	7	8
For defraying the Expences of Services performed by the Office of Ordnance in Great Britain, and not provided for in 1803 - -	413,719	4	2

	£.	s.	d.
To replace the Sum advanced by the Exchequer in Ireland, for Ordnance Services, to the 31ſt of December, 1803 - -	64,615	7	8
	£.3,737,091	4	6

MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

December 13, 1803.

For defraying the probable Amount of Bills drawn, and to be drawn, from New South Wales, for 1804 - - -	28,000	0	0
For Relief of the Suffering Clergy and Laity of France, Touloneſe, Corſican and Dutch Emigrants, and American Loyaliſts. -	149,121	0	0
For defraying the Expence of Confining, Maintaining, and Employing Convicts at Home -	40,847	9	0
To make good Money iſſued for Expences at the Parliament Office in Seſſion 1802-3 -	433	19	3½
Ditto—to Mr. Clementſon for One Year's Rent of a Houſe, in lieu of his Apartments at the Houſe of Commons - - -	219	6	0
Ditto—for additional Allowances to the Clerks in the Office for auditing Public Accounts -	5,300	9	6
Ditto—to the Chairman of the Committees of the Houſe of Peers - -	2,701	9	0
Ditto—to defray the Expences of a Plan for the more perfect Security of Shipping in the Port of London - -	649	2	0
Ditto—to pay a Bill drawn by Lieutenant General Vyſe, for the Repairs of Port Patrick -	248	11	6
Ditto—for making an Index to the Journals of the Houſe of Lords - -	439	18	0
Ditto—purſuant to Addreſſes - -	6,523	1	8
To be paid to the Board of Firſt Fruits in Ireland -	4,615	7	8½
For defraying the Expence of Civil Buildings in Ireland - - -	23,076	18	6
Ditto—of printing Public General Acts of the Fourth Seſſion of the United Parliament -	830	15	6
Ditto—of Proclamations and Advertiſements in the Dublin Gazette - -	6,9485	19	11
For defraying the Expence of Printing, Stationery, and other Diſburſements for the Public Offices in Ireland - -	18,840	0	0
Ditto—of Treaſury Incidents in Ireland -	1,846	3	1

For

	£.	s.	d.
For defraying the Expence of apprehending Public Offenders in Ireland	4,615	7	8½
Ditto—of Criminal Profecutions, &c. in Ireland	23,076	18	6
Ditto—of Pratique in the Port of Dublin	966	18	7½
Ditto—of the Gold Mine in the County Wicklow	1,293	7	10
To the Accountant General for Preparing and Stating the Public Accounts of Ireland	313	16	11
To the Deputy Accountant General for ditto	221	10	9
To the Examinator of Corn Bounties	184	12	4
To the Inſpector General of Imports and Exports of Ireland for ditto	230	15	5
To the Firſt Clerk in the Office of ditto	184	12	4
To the Examinator of Exciſe	184	12	0
To the Aſſiſtant Examinator of ditto	138	9	3
To the Clerk in the Office of Auditor of the Exchequer	184	12	4
For Cloathing the Battle-axe Guards in Ireland	683	1	6½
Ditto—the Heralds, Purſuivants, and State Trumpeters for Ireland, for Three Years, from the 17th of March 1804	1,002	9	3
For defraying the Charge of the Incorporated Society for promoting Engliſh Proteſtant Schools in Ireland	18,580	18	2
Ditto—of the Office of Commiſſioners of Charitable Donations	369	4	7½
Ditto—of the Society for promoting the Knowledge and Practice of the Chriſtian Religion	923	1	6
Ditto—of the Female Orphan Houſe, near Dublin	1,118	12	8¾
Ditto—of fitting up and ſupporting a Penitentiary in Dublin for Young Criminals	1,615	7	8½
Ditto—of the Foundling Hoſpital in Dublin	20,769	4	7½
Ditto—of the Hibernian Marine Society in Dublin	1,788	13	6½
Ditto—of the Hibernian School for Soldiers' Children	4,153	16	11
For defraying the Charge of ſupporting the Weſtmoreland Lock Hoſpital in Dublin	6,671	1	6½
Ditto—of the Fever Hoſpital in Dublin	475	16	2¾
Ditto—of the Houſe of Induſtry in Dublin	16,984	8	8½
Ditto—of the Roman Catholic Seminary in Ireland	7,384	12	4
To be paid to the Commiſſioners for making wide and convenient Streets in Dublin	4,153	16	11
Ditto—to the Corporation for Paving, &c. Dublin	9,230	15	5
Ditto—to the Society for promoting Huſbandry and other uſeful Arts in Ireland	5,076	8	6
To be applied towards compleating additional Buildings at the Repoſitory of the Dublin Society	4,153	16	11

For

	£.	s.	d.
For defraying the Expences of the Farming Society in Ireland - -	1,846	3	1
Ditto—of the Lying-in Hospital in Dublin -	2,136	18	11¼

December 19, 1803.

For the Linen and Hempen Manufactures of Ireland - -	19,938	9	3

March 29, 1804.

To be distributed to the Officers, Seamen, and Marines on board the Fleet under the Command of Lord Hood, being the Value of Ships taken at Toulon - -	265,336	14	10½

April 16, 1804.

For Foreign and other Secret Services -	150,000	0	0
For defraying Sums awarded to be paid pursuant to the Seventh Article of American Treaty -	412,000	0	0
For the British Museum - -	3,000	0	0

April 28, 1804.

For defraying the Expense of printing Journals, &c. of the House of Commons - -	16,623	0	0
Ditto—of printing the 57th Volume of ditto -	2,500	0	0
Ditto—of reprinting Journals, &c. of ditto -	10,000	0	0
Ditto—of publishing Records in 1803 -	1,767	15	10
Ditto—of the Superintendance of Aliens -	8,589	5	0
Ditto—of Prosecutions relating to the Coin in 1803	1,609	19	4
Ditto— in 1804 - -	1,700	0	0
Ditto—of the Works and Repairs of the Military Roads in North Britain - -	5,000	0	0
Towards defraying the Expence of the Scotch Inland Navigation - -	50,000	0	0
For defraying the Expence of Works done at the two Houses of Parliament, and the Speaker's House, between the 31st of May, 1803, and the 24th of April, 1804 - -	12,345	0	0
Ditto—at the old Chapter House, Westminster -	741	12	0
Ditto—of Repairs at the King's Bench Prison -	3,010	0	0
Ditto—of completing the Works at Chetney Hill Lazaret - -	30,000	0	0
For the Board of Agriculture - -	3,000	0	0

For

	£.	s.	d.
Plantations. For civil Eſtabliſhment of Upper Canada in 1804 - -	8,050	0	0
Ditto—of Nova Scotia - -	7,165	0	0
Ditto—of New Brunſwick - -	4,650	0	0
Ditto—of Prince Edward's Iſland -	2,300	0	0
Ditto—of Cape Breton - -	2,040	0	0
Ditto—of Newfoundland - -	1,715	0	0
Ditto—of the Bahama Iſlands -	4,100	0	0
Ditto—of the Bermudas -	580	0	0
Ditto—of the Iſland of Dominica -	600	0	0
Ditto—of New South Wales -	10,049	4	5

July 3, 1804.

To make good the Deficiency of Money granted for defraying the Expence of Convicts, for 1803	3,269	2	0
For affording Relief to the Inhabitants of the Shetland Iſlands - -	10,000	0	0
Ditto—of the Orkney Iſlands -	10,000	0	0
To be applied towards repairing and maintaining Roads and Bridges in the Highlands of Scotland	10,000	0	0
To make good Money iſſued for making further proviſion for the Preſbyterian Miniſters of Ulſter and Munſter - -	4,160	13	6
Ditto—for Expences attending the digeſting and abſtracting Poor Returns - -	1,100	0	0
Ditto—for additional Allowances to Clerks in the Office for auditing Public Accounts -	5,285	18	9
Ditto—for the Furniture of a Houſe lately uſed as an Iriſh Office, given up to the Commiſſioners of Naval Abuſes - -	2,099	19	9
Ditto—for Expences of the Thames Police Office	649	4	0
To make good Money iſſued for publiſhing the average Price of Sugar - -	454	0	0
Ditto—to pay Fees on paſſing Public Accounts -	3,000	0	0
Ditto—to the Firſt Commiſſioner under the Sixth Article of the American Treaty - -	5,387	4	0
Ditto—for contingent Expences in the Execution of an Act for inquiring intoNaval Abuſes -	1,060	10	0
Ditto—in conſequence of Orders from a Select Committee for the Improvement of the Port of London - -	560	0	0
For maintaining and ſupporting Britiſh Forts and Settlements on the Coaſt of Africa -	18,000	0	0
For Support of the Veterinary College -	1,500	0	0
For making Compenſation for the Purchaſe of Lands at Weedon Beck, for the Service of the Ordnance - -	5,531	17	6

To

	£.	s.	d.
To the Executors of the late Sir James Wright for his Loſſes as an American Loyaliſt -	4,871	1	4
July 10, 1804.			
To make good the like Sum iſſued purſuant to Addreſſes - -	8,798	11	0
For ſupplying Exchequer Court and Officers with Stationery - -	745	6	10
For Printing and Stationery for the Houſes of Parliament for 1804 - -	11,600	0	0
For defraying Law Charges for 1804 -	7,500	0	0
To be paid to Officers of Houſes of Lords and Commons - -	3,905	0	0
For the Expence of the Public Office in Bow Street	9,000	0	0
For Proteſtant Diſſenting Miniſters -	5,945	10	0
For defraying the extra Charges of Meſſengers of three Secretaries of State - -	5,250	0	0
For Contingencies for three Secretaries of State -	6,965	0	0
To be paid to Sheriffs for Conviction of Felons -	7,371	15	0½
For the Miniſters of the Vaudois Churches -	914	0	0
For the Britiſh Muſeum - -	8,000	0	0
For the Civil Eſtabliſhment of Sierra Leone -	28,000	0	0
To enable his Majeſty to take ſuch Meaſures as the Exigency of Affairs may require -	2,500,000	0	0
For making Compenſation for Purchaſe of Lands at Woolwich and Charlton, for the Uſe of the Ordnance - -	57,066	6	1
	£.4,217,295	14	8½
	Iriſh Currency.		
For paying off and diſcharging Treaſury Bills in Ireland - -	1,700,000	0	0
To enable his Majeſty to take ſuch Meaſures as the Exigency of Affairs may require, for Ireland -	800,000	0	0

EXCHEQUER BILLS.

April 16, 1804.

For paying off Exchequer Bills iſſued per Act of laſt Seſſion for raiſing £.5,000,000 -	5,000,000	0	0
Ditto—for raiſing £.4,000,000 -	3,000,000	0	0

For

	£.	s.	d.
For paying off Exchequer Bills as iſſued per Act of laſt Seſſion for raiſing £.1,500,000	1,500,000	0	
Ditto—for raiſing £.2,000,000	1,500,000	0	0
	£.11,000,000	0	0

CIVIL LIST.

July 3, 1804.

To diſcharge Arrears and Debts upon the Civil Liſt on 5th July 1804	591,842	3	10½
For granting the additional Yearly Sum of £60,000 out of the Conſolidated Fund of Great Britain, for the better Support of his Majeſty's Houſehold			

RECAPITULATION.

Navy	12,350,606	7	6
Army	12,993,625	4	1
Militia and Fencible Corps	6,159,114	2	11
Ordnance	3,737,091	4	6
Miſcellaneous Services	4,217,295	14	8½
Ditto Extra	2,500,000	0	0
Exchequer Bills	11,000,000	0	0
Civil Liſt	591,842	3	10½
Additional, Annual, to his Majeſty	60,000	0	0
Total of Supply	£.53,609,574	17	6¾

WAYS AND MEANS FOR RAISING THE SUPPLY.

GRANTS.

December 3, 1803.

For continuing the Duties on Malt, Mum, Cyder, and Perry.

For raiſing Four Shillings in the Pound upon Penſions, Officers, and Perſonal Eſtates

For continuing certain Duties on Sugar, Malt, Tobacco and Snuff.

For

	£.	s.	d.
For raising £.5,000,000 by Loans or Exchequer Bills - -	5,000,000	0	0

March 13, 1804.

For raising £.2,000,000 by Loans or Exchequer Bills - -	2,000,000	0	0

March 22, 1804.

For applying £.1,370,664 4*s.* 8½*d.* being the Surplus of the Grants for 1803 -	1,370,664	4	8½

April 20, 1804.

For raising £.8,000,000 by Loans or Exchequer Bills - -	8,000,000	0	0
For raising £.1,500,000 by Loans or Exchequer Bills - -	1,500,000	0	0
That the Charge of the Pay and Cloathing of the Militia of Great Britain be defrayed out of the Land Tax.			
That the Charge of Allowances to Adjutants and Serjeant Majors of the Militia of England, disembodied, be defrayed out of the Land Tax.			
That the Allowances to certain Subaltern Officers of the Militia in Great Britain be defrayed out of the Land Tax.			
That the Charge of the Pay and Cloathing of the Militia of Ireland, and Allowances to Snbaltern Officers, be defrayed out of the Consolidated Fund of Ireland.			

April 28, 1804.

For raising £.1,153,846 3*s.* 1*d.* by Annuities or Debentures for the Service of Ireland -	1,153,846	3	1

May 2, 1804.

For raising £.14,500,000 by Annuities, whereof £.10,000,000 are to be defrayed on the Part of Great Britain, and £.4,500,000 on the Part of Ireland - -	14,500,000	0	0
For applying £.5,000,000, out of the Monies that shall arise of the Surplus of the Consolidated Fund	5,000,000	0	0

July 7, 1804.

For raising a certain Sum of Money by three Lotteries, to be applied to the Services of Great

Britain

	£.	s.	d.
Britain and Ireland, in the Proportion of two-thirds for Great Britain, and one-third for Ireland.			
July 10, 1804.			
For raising £.2,500,000, by Loans or Exchequer Bills, to be charged on the first Aids in the next Session for Great Britain - - -	2,500,000	0	0
For raising £.800,1000 (Irish Currency) by Treasury Bills, ditto—for Ireland -	*Irish Currency.* 800,000	0	0
Estimated Duties, Land Tax, &c. -	11,585,564	9	9¼
Total Ways and Means £.	53,509,574	17	6¾

STATE

STATE PAPERS.

His Majeſty's moſt gracious Speech to both Houſes, on opening the ſecond Seſſion of the ſecond Parliament of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, 22d of November, 1803.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

SINCE I laſt met you in Parliament, it has been my chief object to carry into effect thoſe meaſures which your wiſdom had adopted for the defence of the United Kingdom, and for the vigorous proſecution of the war. In theſe preparations I have been ſeconded by the voluntary exertions of all ranks of my people, in a manner that has, if poſſible, ſtrengthened their claims to my confidence and affection: they have proved that the menaces of the enemy have only ſerved to rouſe their native and hereditary ſpirit; and that all other conſiderations are loſt in a general diſpoſition to make thoſe efforts and ſacrifices which the honour and ſafety of the Kingdom demand at this important and critical conjuncture.—Though my attention has principally been directed to the great object of internal ſecurity, no opportunity has been loſt of making an impreſſion on the foreign poſſeſſions of the enemy. The Iſlands of St. Lucia, of Tobago, of St. Pierre, and Miquelon, and the ſettlements of Demerara and Eſſequibo, have ſurrendered to the Britiſh arms. In the conduct of the operations by which thoſe valuable acquiſitions have been made, the utmoſt promptitude and zeal have been diſplayed by the officers employed on thoſe ſervices, and by my forces acting under their command by ſea and land.—In Ireland, the leaders, and ſeveral inferior agents, in the late traitorous and atrocious conſpiracy, have been brought to juſtice; and the public tranquillity has experienced no further interruption. I indulge the hope, that ſuch of my deluded ſubjects as have ſwerved from their allegiance are now convinced of their error; and that having compared the advantages they derive from the protection of a free Conſtitution, with the condition of thoſe countries which are under the dominion of the French Government, they will cordially and zealouſly concur in reſiſting any attempt that may be made againſt

againſt the ſecurity and independence of my United Kingdom.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

I have a perfect reliance on your public ſpirit for making ſuch proviſion as may be neceſſary for the ſervice of the year. The progreſſive improvement of the revenue cannot fail to encourage you to perſevere in the ſyſtem which has been adopted, of defraying the expenſes of the war, with as little addition as poſſible to the public debt, and to the permanent burthens of the State.—I lament the heavy preſſure which, under the preſent circumſtances, muſt unavoidably be experienced by my people; but I am perſuaded that they will meet it with the good ſenſe and fortitude which ſo eminently diſtinguiſh their character, under a conviction of the indiſpenſable importance of upholding the dignity, and of providing effectually for the ſafety of the Empire.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I have concluded a convention with the King of Sweden, for the purpoſe of adjuſting all the differences which have ariſen on the ſubject of the eleventh article of the treaty of 1661. I have directed that a copy of this convention ſhould be laid before you; and you will, I truſt, be of opinion that the arrangement, whilſt it upholds our maritime rights, is founded on thoſe principles of reciprocal advantage which are beſt calculated to maintain and improve the good underſtanding which happily ſubſiſts between the two countries.—In the proſecution of the conteſt in which we are engaged, it ſhall be, as it has ever been, my firſt object to execute as becomes me, the great truſt committed to my charge. Embarked with my brave and loyal people in one common cauſe, it is my fixed determination, if the occaſion ſhould ariſe, to ſhare their exertions and their dangers in the defence of our conſtitution, our religion, our laws, and independence. To the activity and valour of my fleets and armies, to the zeal and unconquerable ſpirit of my faithful ſubjects, I confide the honour of my crown, and all thoſe valuable intereſts which are involved in the iſſue of this momentous conteſt.—Actuated by theſe ſentiments, and humbly imploring the bleſſing of Divine Providence, I look forward with a firm conviction, that if, contrary to all juſt expectation, the enemy ſhould elude the vigilance of my numerous fleets and cruizers, and attempt to execute their preſumptuous threat of invading our coaſts, the conſequence will be to them, diſcomfiture, confuſion, and diſgrace; and that our's will not only be the glory of ſurmounting preſent difficulties, and repelling immediate danger, but the ſolid and permanent advantage of fixing the ſafety and independence of the kingdom on the baſis of acknowledged ſtrength, the reſult of its own tried energy and reſources.

Meſſage from his Majeſty to the Houſe of Commons, March 26, 1804.

G. R.

HIS Majeſty thinks proper to acquaint

acquaint the Houſe of Commons, that the officers, non-commiſſioned officers, and privates of the ſeveral regiments of the militia of Ireland have made a voluntary tender of their ſervices, to be employed in Great Britain during the war. His Majeſty has received with great ſatisfaction this ſtriking proof of their affection and attachment towards his perſon and Government, and of their patriotic zeal for the general intereſts of his United Kingdom, and conceiving that his being enabled to avail himſelf of this diſtinguiſhed inſtance of public ſpirit may be attended with the moſt important advantages at the preſent conjuncture, he recommends it to his faithful Commons to adopt ſuch regulations as may enable him to accept the ſervices of ſuch parts of the militia forces of Ireland as may voluntarily offer themſelves to be employed in Great Britain, for ſuch time and to ſuch extent as to the wiſdom of Parliament may deem expedient.

His Majeſty's Meſſage to the Houſe of Commons, July 7, 1804.

G. R.

HIS Majeſty, relying on the experienced zeal and affection of his faithful Commons, and conſidering that it may be of the utmoſt importance to provide for ſuch emergencies as may ariſe, is deſirous that this Houſe will enable him to take all ſuch meaſures as may be neceſſary to diſappoint or defeat any enterprize or deſign of his enemies, and as the exigencies of affairs may require.

Addreſs of the Speaker of the Houſe of Commons to his Majeſty, on preſenting for his Royal Sanction, certain Bills for completing the Supplies, Auguſt 1, 1804.

Moſt Gracious Sovereign,

WE your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the Commons of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament aſſembled, approach the foot of your Majeſty's throne with ſentiments of unfeigned joy and reverence.

The Bill which I hold in my hand completes the ſupplies for the preſent year. Theſe, Sire, we have appropriated to the further ſupport of your Majeſty's houſehold, and the honour and dignity of your crown; to the naval and military defence of the realm; and to the various ſervices of your extended empire. In providing for theſe grants, large in their amount, and commenſurate with the extraordinary demands of the times in which we live, we have nevertheleſs ſteadily perſevered in our former courſe, by raiſing a large proportion of our ſupplies within the year; and we have now the proud ſatisfaction to ſee, that the permanent debt of the ſtate is rapidly diminiſhing, at the ſame time that the growing proſperity of the country has ſtrengthened and multiplied all its reſources.

Contemplating the war in which we are engaged, the character and the means of our enemy, and the poſſible duration of the conteſt, although we are fearleſs of its iſſue, we have nevertheleſs deemed it our indiſpenſable duty to deliberate with unremitting ſolicitude upon the beſt ſyſtem for our military defence; and the voluntary ſpirit

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of your people, ſeconding the views of Parliament, has at the ſame time animated all ranks of men with an active deſire of attaining to ſuch a ſtate of diſcipline in arms, as may enable them ſucceſsfully to co-operate with your Majeſty's regular and veteran forces.

Thus formidably armed, and powerfully ſuſtained, we truſt that, with the bleſſing of God, we ſhall victoriouſly maintain your Majeſty's throne, and tranſmit unimpaired to our deſcendants the moſt perfect form of government which the world has ever experienced for the practical happineſs of mankind; firmly perſuaded, that this empire will long outlaſt the ſtorms which have overwhelmed the Continent of Europe; and earneſtly hoping that other nations, now fallen, may witneſs the deſtruction of a tyranny founded on fraud and violence, and cemented with innocent blood, and again recover their ancient power and independence, as the beſt guarantees for the future welfare and tranquillity of the civilized world.

The Bill which I have to preſent to your Majeſty is entitled, "An Act for granting to his Majeſty a certain Sum of Money out of the Conſolidated Fund of Great Britain, and for applying a certain Sum of Money, therein mentioned, for the Service of Great Britain, for the Year 1804; and for further appropriating the Supplies granted in this Seſſion of Parliament."—To which your Commons, with all humility, entreat your Majeſty's royal aſſent.

The King's Moſt Gracious Speech to both Houſes of Parliament at the Cloſe of the Seſſion, Auguſt 1, 1804.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

Before I put an end to the preſent ſeſſion of Parliament, I am deſirous of expreſſing my entire approbation of the zeal and aſſiduity with which you have applied yourſelves to the great objects of public concern which have come under your conſideration.

You have wiſely continued to direct your attention to the encouragement and improvement of that reſpectable and powerful Volunteer Force, which the ardour and ſpirit of my ſubjects have enabled me to eſtabliſh, to an extent hitherto unexampled.

You have at the ſame time endeavoured to combine an additional eſtabliſhment for our domeſtic defence with the means of augmenting our regular army, and of maintaining it on ſuch a ſcale as may be proportioned to the circumſtances of the times, and to the rank which the country ought ever to hold among the powers of Europe.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

You are entitled to my warmeſt acknowledgments, for the freſh proof which you have given me of your affectionate attachment to my perſon and family, and your regard to the honour and dignity of my crown, by the liberal proviſion which you have made for the payment of the debt on my Civil Liſt Revenue, and for furniſhing me with the additional means of defraying the increaſe which has unavoidably taken place in the different branches of my expendi-

ture. I muſt alſo return you my warmeſt thanks for the extenſive proviſion which you have made for the exigencies of the public ſervice, and eſpecially for the juſt and prudent attention which you have ſhewn to true economy, and to the permanent credit and welfare of the country, by the great exertions you have made for preventing, as far as poſſible, the accumulation of debt, and for raiſing ſo large a proportion of the expenſes of the war within the year.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

I have now only to recommend to you to carry into your reſpective counties the ſame zeal for the public intereſt which has guided all your proceedings. It will be your particular duty to inculcate on the minds of all claſſes of my ſubjects, that the preſervation of all that is moſt dear to them requires the continuance of their unremitted exertions for the national defence. The preparations which the enemy has long been forming, for the declared purpoſe of invading this kingdom, are daily augmented, and the attempt appears to have been delayed, only with the view of procuring additional means for carrying it into execution.

Relying on the ſkill, valour, and diſcipline of my naval and military force, aided by the voluntary zeal and native courage of my people, I look with confidence to the iſſue of this great conflict; and I doubt not that it will terminate, under the bleſſing of Providence, not only in repelling the danger of the moment, but in eſtabliſhing, in the eyes of foreign nations, the ſecurity of this country on a baſis never to be ſhaken. In addition to the firſt and great object, I entertain the animating hope, that the benefit to be derived from our ſucceſsful exertions will not be confined within ourſelves; but that, by their example and their conſequences, they may lead to the re-eſtabliſhment of ſuch a ſyſtem in Europe as may reſcue it from the precarious ſtate to which it is reduced; and may finally raiſe an effectual barrier againſt the unbounded ſchemes of aggrandiſement and ambition which threaten every independent nation that yet remains on the Continent.

Letter from Mr. Secretary Yorke, to the Lords Lieutenant of Counties, authoriſing the Apprehenſion of ſuch Perſons as may be clandeſtinely landed on the Coaſt, from Neutral Veſſels.

Dated Whitehall, Dec. 24, 1803.

My Lord,

It having appeared that Dutch veſſels from Holland, under Pruſſian colours, have been in the practice of reſorting to the Eaſt Coaſt of England, for the double purpoſe of carrying on contraband trade, and conveying intelligence to the enemy, it has been judged proper to direct that they ſhould in future be prevented from ſo doing between the Humber and the Downs, Yarmouth Roads and the Downs excepted. As, however, the meaſures taken for this purpoſe, may, in ſome inſtances, be eluded, by their putting perſons clandeſtinely on ſhore, where the coaſt will permit of it, I am to deſire that your Lordſhip will particularly point the attention of the magiſtrates reſiding

residing in the neighbourhood of the coast of Essex to this circumstance, in order that they may direct the peace officers, to be particularly watchful in discovering any persons of this description, and in bringing them before the magistrates to be examined; in which case I should wish that the result may be transmitted to me as speedily as possible.

I have the honour to be, &c.

C. YORKE.

Copy of a Circular Letter from Mr. Secretary Yorke to the Lieutenants of the several Counties in Great Britain, dated Whitehall, 14th Jan. 1804.

MY LORD,

His Majesty's confidential servants have thought it to be their duty, on further considering the improvements of which the volunteer system is capable, to extend to it every useful aid and assistance which it can receive, consistent with a due attention to that principle of economy on which the whole system is founded, and have resolved to allow of adjutants and serjeant-majors on permanent pay to corps of the different descriptions of force, consisting of the following numbers, without any other conditions or restrictions than such as may be applicable to the whole volunteer establishment.

Cavalry.—To every corps, consisting of not less than 300 effective rank and file of cavalry, an adjutant on permanent pay will be allowed.—[Pay when not called out into actual service, 6s. per day, 2s. ditto for a horse.]

To every corps of cavalry under 300 rank and file, but consisting of not less than three troops of 40 effective rank and file each, a serjeant-major will be allowed on permanent pay.—[Pay when not called out into actual service, 3s. 11d. per day, including 9d. for a horse.]

Infantry.—To every corps of infantry, (including artillery) consisting of not less than 500 effective rank and file, one adjutant, and one serjeant-major, on permanent pay, will be allowed.—[Pay when not called out into actual service, 6s. per day; ditto of serjeant-major, ditto 1s. 6d. per day, and 2s. 6d. per week extra.]

To every corps of infantry, consisting of not less than 300 effective rank and file, one adjutant, but no serjeant-major, will be allowed on permanent pay.—[Pay 6s. per day as above.]

To a corps of infantry, under 300 effective rank and file, but consisting of not less than three companies of 60 privates each, one serjeant-major will be allowed on permanent pay.—[Pay as above, 1s. 6d. per day, and 2s. 6d. per week extra.]

When the corps to which the adjutants and serjeant-majors are appointed shall be called out on actual service by competent authority, these staff officers will receive the pay of their respective ranks, as in the line.

The adjutants are to be recommended by the Lords Lieutenants, for his Majesty's approbation, in the usual manner; but no recommendation of an adjutant can be attended to, unless the person recommended has served at least four years as a commissioned officer, or as a serjeant-major in the regulars,

embodied militia, fencibles, or Eaſt India Company's ſervice; and the recommendation muſt likewiſe diſtinctly expreſs the actual period of the ſervice of the perſon recommended, and ſpecify the particular corps in which that ſerviee was performed.

Serjeant-majors may be appointed by the commandant of the corps, from among perſons who have ſerved at leaſt three years as non-commiſſioned officers, in his Majeſty's regular, embodied militia, or fencible forces; and the period of ſuch ſervice, and the particular corps in which it was performed, are to be diſtinctly ſpecified in the firſt pay liſt which ſhall be tranſmitted to the War Office after the appointment takes place.

All adjutants and ſerjeant-majors who are placed on permanent pay, are to conſider themſelves as, at all times, at the diſpoſal and under the commanding officer of the corps for the time being, and are expected to give their attendance whenever required, for the drill, good order, and management of the corps.

It is not intended by this arrangement, to make any alteration as to the appointment of adjutants or ſerjeant-majors without pay. They will ſtill be allowed to corps of ſufficient ſtrength, as directed by the militia laws, and as before pointed out by the War Office regulations of the 28th of September, 1803.

His Majeſty's Lieutenant of the ——

Circular Letter from the Secretary of State to the ſeveral Lord Lieutenants of Counties.—Dated Whitehall, Jan. 16.

My Lord,

Referring your Lordſhip to the directions contained in my circular letter to you, of the 31ſt of Oct. laſt, for the removal, in caſes of emergency, or rendering uſeleſs, if needs be, ſuch horſes, draught cattle, and carriages, as ſhall not be wanted for the purpoſes therein mentioned; I am to deſire, that your Lordſhip will conſider in every reſpect, as included in thoſe directions, all ſuch veſſels, boats, or craft, as ſhall not be wanted for the like purpoſes, or ſhall not be armed and equipped for the annoyance of the enemy.

As I am informed by H. R. H. the Commander in Chief, that only one light cart per company can, on ſuch emergency, be allowed to volunteer corps, for carrying their camp kettles and neceſſaries on their march, I beg leave to recommend it to your Lordſhip, to give directions that one ſuch cart be allotted beforehand to each company of volunteers within the county of ——; and that one ſuch cart be always kept marked and numbered, as the carriage intended for the uſe of that particular company for this ſervice.—In conſequence alſo of a late ſuggeſtion from H. R. H. the Commander in Chief, I have ſtrongly to recommend to your Lordſhip, in communication with the General commanding the diſtrict in which the county of —— is included, to give directions for allotting and marking a ſufficient number of waggons for moving the volunteer force where it is not placed in the vicinity of the coaſt; and it would be found extremely uſeful, if boards, ſuch as are uſed for ſeats in market carts, could be provided

and

and kept in readineſs, at the place or places of general aſſembly, ready to be ſlung upon the waggons, to which place of aſſembly theſe waggons ſhould be held bound to repair upon the ſignal of alarm being given.

I have the honour to be, my Lord, &c.

C. YORKE.

Circular Letter from the Secretary of State to the Lords Lieutenants of Counties, with the Anſwer of the Lord Lieutenant of the County of Suſſex.—Dated Whitehall, Jan. 23, 1804.

MY LORD,

As in the event of any of the volunteers in the county under your Grace's charge being either placed on permanent duty, or ordered out on actual ſervice, they are to be ſubject to military diſcipline, and to all the proviſions contained in any act of Parliament for the puniſhment of mutiny and deſertion, by any articles of war made in purſuance thereof, in all caſes whatever; it appears to be expedient that your Grace ſhould loſe no time in directing the commandants of the different corps, in the caſe of their being ſo called out, to cauſe the articles of war to be read to their corps, as ſoon after their firſt aſſembling as may be practicable, and to repeat the ſame from time to time as opportunity may be given, in the manner practiſed in the militia and regular forces.

I have the honour to be, my Lord, &c. &c.

C. YORKE.

Purſuant to the above order, I do hereby direct that all commanding officers of yeomanry and volunteer corps, within the county of Suſſex, do pay obedience thereto.

RICHMOND, &c.

Goodwood, Jan. 27, 1804.

Copy of a Letter from Lord Harrowby, his Britannic Majeſty's Secretary of State for the Foreign Department, to P. Colquhoun Graf, Eſq. relative to the Navigation of ſmall craft, between Tonningen and Hamburgh. — Dated Downing Street, July 8th, 1804.

'That the lighters be permitted to navigate between the rivers Weſer and the Elbe.' Orders have accordingly been ſent to his Majeſty's ſhips of the blockade, to permit the paſſage of lighters, barges, and other ſmall craft, anſwering the above deſcription, and carrying unexceptionable goods for neutral account, and to ſuffer the ſame to paſs without moleſtation to and fro, along the Daniſh ſide of the Elbe, through the Watten, between Tonningen, and Hamburgh. His Majeſty hopes, that this permiſſion will be properly attended to, and not abuſed, and that no unfair advantage ſhall be taken of it, by which his Majeſty ſhould ſee himſelf forced to order the blockade to be reſumed with greater ſtrictneſs.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) HARROWBY.

Order for the Arreſt of Sir George Rumbold.

MINISTRY OF GENERAL POLICE.

Paris, 8th Vendémiare, (Sept. 30.)

The Miniſter of the General Police of the Empire, Grand Officer of the Legion of Honour, &c. to Marſhal Bernadotte, Commander in Chief of the Army of Hanover.

" I have ſtrong proofs, M. Marſhall, that the Engliſh agent, Rumbold, at Hamburgh, follows the ſame ſyſtem of *eſpionage*, and of machinations, which have already excited the indignation of Europe againſt Drake and Spencer Smith; and it is evident from the circular letter of Lord Hawkeſbury, in conſequence of the conſpiracies diſcovered of theſe two wretches, that the Britiſh Government has dared to avow, and reduce even to a ſyſtem, that train of conſpiracies on the part of its Miniſters, accredited to the courts of allied or neutral powers.

" In conſequence of theſe new and ſubverſive principles, his Majeſty the Emperor has cauſed it to be declared, that he will not recogniſe any diplomatic character in the Engliſh agents who have been placed, by their own Government, out of the law of nations, and the common law of civiliſed nations; they deſire, then, that M. Rumbold be conſidered as any other Engliſh individual who ſhould adopt criminal practices, and be ſeized, if it be in your power to do it, taking every meaſure to ſecure his papers. I invite you, Marſhal, to take all the neceſſary ſteps to accompliſh this object.

" I have the honour to be,

" FOUCHE."

Note of his Britannic Majeſty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, to be laid before the Miniſters of the King of Pruſſia by the Engliſh Miniſter at that Court. Dated Downing Street, 5th Nov. 1804.

His Majeſty has received the account of an unexampled act of violence committed at Hamburgh againſt the perſon of Sir George Rumbold, his Miniſter at that place, who was forcibly ſeized in his own houſe in the night of the 25th of October, by a detachment of French ſoldiers, and carried off, together with the papers belonging to his miſſion.

After the repeated proofs which the conduct of the French Government has exhibited of an utter contempt and defiance of every obligation of the law of nations, his Majeſty can feel no ſurpriſe at the perpetration even of ſuch an outrage as this, upon the territory of a weak and defenceleſs ſtate; but his Majeſty owes it, not only to himſelf and to the reſpectable and unfortunate city whoſe rights are moſt immediately attacked, but to his relations with the reſt of Europe, and to the dignity of every power which has ſtill the inclination and the means of preſerving its independence, to loſe no time in entering his ſolemn proteſt againſt ſo atrocious an aggreſſion.

If any thing could render ſuch a proceeding more inſulting and alarming, it would be the explanation which his Majeſty underſtands to have been given of it by the French reſident at Hamburgh, namely, that it took place in conſequence of orders given by the

Minister of Police at Paris to the Commander of the French forces in Hanover.

His Majesty trusts, that there will not be found a Power upon the Continent which can remain insensible to the consequences of a measure which, in its principle and example, not only menaces every Court which may at any time fall within the reach of French arms, but which is subversive at once of the sacred rights of neutral territory, of the accustomed intercourse between independent states, and of the privileges of Public Ministers, hitherto respected and recognized by every age and by every nation.

His Prussian Majesty unquestionably will not only participate in the sentiments which must be common to every Sovereign, but the vicinity of his dominions, and his situation, both as a director of the circle of Lower Saxony, and as guarantee of the Germanic constitution, will induce him to feel a deep and peculiar interest in this unparalleled transaction.

His Majesty cannot, therefore, allow himself to entertain a moment's doubt, that his Prussian Majesty will second and enforce, in the most effectual manner, the representations which have been made by the senate of Hamburgh for the immediate release of his Majesty's Minister, and will further see the urgent necessity of taking such measures as may be best calculated to obtain from the French Government a public reparation, adequate to the heinous nature of the indignity, and may also prevent, for the future, the repetition of outrages which threaten to destroy the remaining distinctions of civilized Europe.

Treaty of Peace between the Honourable the East India Company and their Allies, on the one Part, and Saheb Subah Ragogee Bhounsla, on the other; settled by M. Gen. Wellesley, on the Part of the East India Company and their Allies, and by Jeswumb Rao Ramchunder, on the Part of Senah Saheb Subah Ragogee Bhounsla, who have each full Authority from their respective Powers; dated in the Camp at Deogaun, Dec. 17, 1803.

1. That there shall be perpetual peace and friendship between the East India Company, and Senah Saheb Subah Ragogee Bhounsla, Rajah of Berar.

2. Senah Saheb Subah Ragogee Bhounsla cedes to the Company, in perpetual sovereignty, the province of Cuttack, including the port and district of Balasore.

3. He likewise cedes to the Company and their allies, in perpetual sovereignty, all the territories of which he has collected the revenues jointly with the Soubah of the Dekan, and those of which he may have possession, which are to the westward of the river Wurda.

4. It is agreed, that the frontiers of Senah Saheb Subah Ragogee Bhounsla towards the territories of his Highness the Soubah of the Dekan, shall be formed to the west by the river Wurda, from its issue from the Injardy Hills to its junction with the river Godavery.

5. The hills on which the forts

of Nernallah and Gawalghur ſtand, are to remain in poſſeſſion of Ragogee Bhounſla; and all places to the ſouthward of thoſe hills, and to the weſt of the weſtward of the river Wurda, to be given up to the Britiſh Government.

6. Diſtricts amounting to four lacks of rupees per annum, contiguous to and to the ſouthward of the abovementioned forts, are to be given up to the Rajah, and to be given up at the ſame time as the forts.

7. Senah Saheb Subah Ragogee Bhounſla, on the part of himſelf, his heirs and ſucceſſors, entirely renounces all claims of every deſcription on the territories of the Britiſh Government, ceded as above, and upon all the territories of the Soubah of the Dekan.

8. The Eaſt India Company engages to mediate and arbitrate any diſputes that now exiſt, or may hereafter exiſt, between the Company's allies Seumder Jah Bahauder, and Rao Pundit Purdham Bahada, and the Raja of Berar.

9. Senah Saheb Subah Ragogee Bhounſla engages never to take or retain in his ſervice any Frenchmen, or the ſubjects of any other European or American power that may be at war with the Britiſh Government, or any Britiſh ſubjects either European or Native, without the conſent of the Company.

10. The Eaſt India Company engage on their part, that they will not aſſiſt or countenance any diſcontented relations, Rajahs, Zemindars, or other ſubjects of the Senah Saheb Subah Ragogee Bhounſla, who may fly from, or rebel againſt his authority.

11. In order to ſecure and improve the relations of peace and friendſhip hereby eſtabliſhed, the reſpective Governments agree, that accredited Miniſters from each ſhall reſide at the court of the other.

12. And whereas certain treaties have been made by the Britiſh Government with feudatories of Senah Saheb Subah Ragogee Bhounſla, it is hereby agreed, that the ſaid treaties ſhall be confirmed. Liſts of theſe treaties to be delivered over, when the treaty is ratified by the Governor General in Council.

13. The Senah Saheb Subah Ragogee Bhounſla, hereby renounces for himſelf, his heirs and ſucceſſors, all adherence to the confederacy formed by him and Dowlet Row Scindia, and other Mahratta chiefs, to attack the Company and their allies, and engages not to aſſiſt thoſe chiefs, if the war between them and the Honourable Company ſhould ſtill continue.

14. This treaty of peace and amity to be ratified by Senah Saheb Subah, within eight days from the preſent time, and the ratification is to be delivered to M. G. Welleſley, at which time the orders for the ceſſion of the ceded territories are to be delivered over, and the troops are to withdraw.

15. M. G. Welleſley engages that the treaty ſhall be ratified on the part of the Honourable Company by his Excellency the Moſt Noble the Governor General in council, and that the ſaid ratification ſhall be delivered two months from this date.

Treaty of Peace and Amity between the Maharajah Ali Jah Dowlut Rao Scindia, on one Part, and the Honourable

Honourable Eaſt India Company on the other Part.

Dated Dec. 30, 1803.

1. That there ſhall be perpetual peace and friendſhip between the Honourable Eaſt India Company, and their allies, on the one part, and Maharajah Ali Jah Dowlut Rao Scindia on the other part.

2. That Maharajah cedes to the Honourable Eaſt India Company and their allies, in perpetual ſovereignty, all his forts, territories, and rights, in the Dooab, and country ſituated between the Jumma and the Ganges, and all the forts, territories, rights, and intereſts, in the countries which are to the northward of the Rajahs of Jeypoor and Goodepoor, and of the Rajah of Gohud, ſuch countries formerly in the poſſeſſion of Maharajah, ſituated between Jeypoor and Joodepoor, and to the ſouth of the former, are to belong to the Maharajah.

3. The Maharajah likewiſe cedes to the Honourable Eaſt India Company and their allies, in perpetual ſovereignty, the fort of Broach, and the territory depending thereon, and the fort of Ahmadnugger, and territory depending thereon, excepting thoſe lands which it is hereafter agreed that the Maharajah is to retain.

4. The Maharajah likewiſe cedes to the Honourable Eaſt India Company and their allies, all the territories which belonged to him, previous to the breaking out of the war, which are ſituated to the ſouthward of the Adjuntee Hills, including the fort and diſtricts of Jalnapoor, the town and diſtrict of Gandapoor, and all other diſtricts between that range of hills and the river Godavery.

5. The Maharajah Ali Jah Dowlut Rao Scindia, for himſelf, his heirs and ſucceſſors, hereby renounces all claims to the forts, territories, rights, and intereſts ceded by the foregoing articles, and all claims of every deſcription upon the BritiſhGovernment and their allies, the Soubah of the Dekan, the Peiſhwa and Anaud Row Guickwar.

6. The fort of Aſſer Ghur, the city of Berhampore, the forts of Powanghur and Dohud, and the territories in Candeiſh and the Guzerat, depending on theſe forts, ſhall be reſtored to Maharajah Ali Jah Dowlut Rao Scindia.

7. Whereas the Maharajah Ali Jah Dowlut Rao Scindia has repreſented that his family have long held an Enaum as a gift from the king of Hindoſtan, the diſtricts of Dhoolpoor, Baree, and Rajah Kerrah, which are ſituated to the northward of the countries of the Rajahs of Jeypoor and Joodepoor, and of the Rajah of Gohud, and that lands in Hindoſtan, ceded by the articles in this treaty to the Honourable Eaſt India Company and their allies, are held in Jacquin, by the family of the late Mahadgie Scindia, and others, who would ſuffer much diſtreſs if deprived of the advantages they enjoy in that country; it is agreed the Maharajah ſhall continue to hold in Enaum the lands of Dhoolpoor, Baree, and Rajah Kerrar, and that Balah Baye Sahel, and Munſoor Sahel Moonſha Ravel Nyne, Boogagee Jamdah Amragie, Jadhoo, and Wurda Charie, ſhall continue to hold their lands in Jaghir, under the protection of the Company; and further, in order that no individuals may incur loſs, or even ſuffer diſtreſs

diſtreſs in conſequence of theſe arrangements, it is agreed that the Honourable Eaſt India Company, ſhall either pay penſions or grant lands in Jaghir, according to the plan laid down by the Britiſh Government for certain other Sirbans and others to be named by the Maharajah, provided that the total amount of the ſums paid, and the Jaghirs granted, does not exceed ſeventeen lacks of rupees per annum.

8. That the following lands, villages, &c. in the territories of Rao Pundit Pundham, in Enaum, lately taken poſſeſſion of by the Britiſh Government be reſtored to the Maharajah, provided that no troops are introduced there on the pretence of collecting revenues, or any other pretence whatſoever, viz. Choomargondy Purgunnah, Jamgaun, Ranjengaun, half of Siengaun Purgunnah, ſix villages in Umbir Purgunnah, five villages in Pytan Purgunnah, five villages in Newag Purgunnah, five villages in Kurloh Purgunnah, ſix villages in Poona Purgunnah, two villages in Wahy Purgunnah, ſix villages in Palwood Purgunnah, five villages in Pandy Peergaum Purgunnah, five villages in Pagoon Purgunnah, two villages in Parnena Purgunnah.

9. Whereas certain treaties with feudatories of Maharajah have been made by the Britiſh Government, it is agreed that the ſame be confirmed. Maharajah hereby renounces all claims on the perſons with whom ſuch treaties have been made, and proclaims them to be independent of his Government.

10. No perſon whatever is to be moleſted on account of the part which he may have taken in the preſent war.

11. It is agreed that the rights of his Highneſs, the Peiſhwa, to cultivate certain lands in Meluah and elſewhere, ſhall be eſtabliſhed as heretofore.

12. The Maharajah hereby renounces all claims upon Shah Allum, and engages not to interfere any further in the affairs of his Majeſty.

13. The Maharajah agrees never to engage in his ſervice any Frenchman, or other European, or nations at war with Great Britain.

14. For the better carrying into execution this treaty of peace and amity, it is agreed that accredited miniſters reſide at each court from each of the contracting powers.

15. This treaty of peace and amity to be ratified by the Maharajah Ali Jah Dowlut Rao Scindia, within eight days from the preſent time, and the ratification is to be delivered to Major General Wellesley, at which time the orders for the ceſſion of the ceded territories are to be delivered over, and the troops are to withdraw.

16. Major General Welleſley engages that the treaty ſhall be ratified on the part of the Honourable Company, by his Excellency the Moſt Noble the Governor General in Council, and that the ſaid ratification ſhall be delivered two months from this date.

Extracts from the Moniteur of the 7th and 9th of March, 1804, relative to the Conſpiracy at Paris.

March 7.—On this day laſt year Europe was at peace.

A year

A year will have elapſed to-morrow ſince the king of England, diſhonouring a reign of forty years by the groſſeſt————, ſummoned his nation to arms, "becauſe," ſaid he, "in the face of Europe, the ports of France and Holland were filled with formidable armaments, which threatened the conſtitution, independence, and religion of the Engliſh people."

This fallacious meſſage renewed the war.

The miniſters of the king of England propoſed a new meſſage to celebrate that anniverſary.

They relied upon announcing to Parliament, that they had cowardly cauſed the Firſt Conſul to be aſſaſſinated. But he who diſpoſes of the life of man and the deſtinies of empires, had ordained it otherwiſe. The French government is ſtronger, and new energy has animated and united the citizens, and has taught the wicked and the conſpirators that the people, the whole people aſſemble, preſs round the chief of the ſtate. The Firſt Conſul, ſuperior to all events, tranquil in the midſt of theſe vain conſpiracies, wholly devoted to the labours of government and the war, is more than ever in a ſituation to accompliſh the order of deſtiny, and to avenge the right of nations, the right of people, ſo often violated; whilſt the king of England, viſited with illneſs on the very day marked for the aſſaſſination of the Firſt Conſul.

The ſentence concludes with ſome of the groſſeſt and falſeſt expreſſions, relative to the Royal Family, and the Engliſh nation.

At ſight of theſe ſignal proofs of the exiſtence of a divine and juſt Providence, we recollect the ſubliméſt pictures of the Prophecies of Iſaiah—we ſay with Daniel—MANE-TEKEL-PHARES.

March 9.—At ſeven this evening, *Georges*, chief of the band of brigands, and *Leridan*, the younger, were arreſted on the place de l'Odeon. *Georges* was in a cabriolet; he killed with the piſtol-ball the peace-officer who ſtopped his horſe, and wounded the officer who had attempted to ſeize him. He was armed with a poignard of the ſame Engliſh fabric as the one found upon *Pichegru*. He had about him very conſiderable ſums in bills of the Bank of France, and in bills of exchange drawn from London. Every thing induces a preſumption that he was on the point of attempting to eſcape, and of profiting by the darkneſs of the night, to paſs the walls. He declared, without heſitation, that he had been at Paris for ſeveral months, that he had come from England, and that his miſſion was to aſſaſſinate the Firſt Conſul—*Leridan* the younger, who was not in the liſt of brigands, is one of the four individuals whom the police knew to be at Paris without knowing their names. He is known by the robberies he committed for ſeveral months in the Morbihan.

Report of the Grand Judge, enumerating the Brigands armed by the Engliſh Government to attack the Life of the Firſt Conſul.

Firſt landing, on the 21ſt Auguſt, at the foot of the Cliffe de Beville, from an Engliſh cutter, Capt. *Wright*.—1. *Georges*, the ex-chief of the brigands.—2. *Villeneuve*.—3. *Lahaye St. Hilaire*.—4. *Qurrel*, called *Coupeau*, arreſted on the 11th October in the rue de Rouche-

Rouchechouant.—5. *La Bothe*, called *Kercher*, his real name is *Breche*.—6. *Picot*, called *Le Petit*, arrested the 7th February, rue de Bacq.—7. *Froche*, the son, arrested at Eu on the 1st February.—8. *Jean Marie*, under the name of *Lemaire*, confidential clerk of *Georges*.

Second landing at the same place, in the beginning of December, from the same English vessel.—1. *Jean Marie*, the same as before.—2. *Coster*, called *St. Victor*, one of the accomplices of the 3d Nivôse, arrested on the 8th February, in the rue Xaintoigne.—3. *Armand Polignac*, eldest son of the Duke de *Polignac*, arrested in the rue St. Denis, 28th February.—4. *Jean Louis*.—5. *Lemercier*.—6. *Tamerlan*.—7. *Lelan*, called *Brutus*.—8. *Pierre Jean*.

Third landing, on the 16th January, from the same.—1. *Jean Marie*.—The same as in the preceding debarkation; constantly returning to England to bring the other brigands.—2. *Charles Pichegru*, ex-general, arrested at Paris the 27th Feb.—3. *Lajolais*, ex-general, under the name of *Frederick*, and *Deville*, sent to London in November last by *Moreau* to *Pichegru*: upon his return to Paris he was the go-between *Moreau* and *Pichegru*. Arrested at Paris 14th Feb.—4. *Ruziton*, known among the brigands by the name of *Gr s-Major*, arrested at Paris the 5th March.—5. *Jules Polignac*, second son of the Duke of that name, arrested on the 3d of March.—6. *Rochelle*, called *Rochette Brun*, and *Richemont*, arrested on the 5th of March.—7. *Armand Guillaird*, of Rouen.

Accomplices who did not land at Beville; some have been in France for several years, others landed in Brittany, and were to recruit brigands there, to send them to Paris.—*Guillard Rioul*, of Rouen, known by the name of *St. Vincent*, *Houvel*, and *Duval*.—2. *Desol de Grissolles*, concealed at Paris, where he waited for *Georges*. He went in a coach, on the 1st of September, to St. Leu, and brought him to Paris: arrested on the 10th of November, on the Boulevard Italien.—3. *Bouvet de Lozier*, one of the principal confidants of *Georges*, charged to procure him lodgings at Paris, and the environs.—4. *Abraham Augustus Charles D'Hosier*.—5. *Ruben Lagmoudiere*, who came from Rennes to join the assassins; arrested on February 7th in one of the houses of the Band Rue de Bagy.—6. *Barbon Milabry*, called *Barco*.—7. *Roger*, called *Loiseau*, came from England by way of Brittany, went to Paris with a forged passport from Rennes; arrested at the Saintonge, on the 8th of February.—8. *Herve*, shoemaker at Rennes.—9. *Merclie*, of St. Paers, a subaltern assassin, arrested on the 7th of February.—10. *Paul Ducorps*, commissary of the Brigands, arrested at Abbeville on the 28th of January.—11. *Louis Ducorps*, his son, an Ex-chouan, and robber of Diligences.—12. The Ex-Marquis of *Reviere*, the confidant of the Count D'*Artois*. The portrait of that prince was found upon him with this inscription, "Given by the Count D'Artois to his faithful Aide-de-Camp de Reviere for the perilous journies taken in his service." Arrested March 3.—13. *Edouard Galliere Le Palge*, sent from London into Brittany, for the purpose of forming a rallying point of

of insurrection, and to recruit 40 assassins to be sent to Paris.—*Even*, a notary, and Ex-chouan.—15. *Duverger*.—*Guillemot*, chief of the horde in the Morbihan.—17. *Gambert*, the same.—18. *Jacques Evano*, surnamed the *great James* and Hector.—19. Le Chevalier *De Vosey*.—20. *Trousser*.—21. *Robu*, a chouan.—22. *Gometz*, principal confidant of *Georges*.—23. *Jaques Audrian*, the same.—24. *Guerin Brulard*, formerly a MajorGeneral.—25. *Jaques Duchemin*.—26. *Saint Hubert*.—27. *Colliton*.—28. *Jean*.—29. *Moreau*, General, had an understanding with the enemies of the state; communicated with Pichegru; held communications with *Georges*, through *Presniere* and *Villeneuve*; since *Pichegru's* arrival at Paris, he saw him several times. Once *Pichegru* was in company with *Georges*. *Moreau* communicated with *Pichegru* through *Rolland*, *Lajollais*, and *Fresniere*. Arrested on the 15th of February.—30. *Fresniere*, private secretary to *Moreau*, communicated with *Georges*, through *Villeneuve*, principal confidant to *Pichegru*, and brought *Pichegru* several times to *Moreau*. He is fled.—31. *Laborie*, general Instigator and adviser of *Moreau*. He is fled.—32. *Badouville*, formerly aid-de-camp to *Pichegru*, spy upon our armies, correspondent of *Wickham*, agent of *Pichegru*, arrived at Paris, as soon as he knew *Pichegru* was there. Arrested on the 3d of March.—33. The Abbe *David*, charged with tying the first knot of all this plot, arrested on the 6th of December last year, as he was going to London to *Pichegru*. Brought to the Temple on the 13th of December.—34. *Victor Couchery*.—35. *Roland*, arrested on the 14th of February.—36. *Freche*, sen. arrested on the 3d of February.—37. *Monmet*, arrested on the 5th of February.—Signed, The Grand Judge,

REGNIER.

Note from the British Minister at Lisbon to the Portuguese Secretary of State, the Viscount Balsamao, relative to the Publication made by General Lannes, the French Minister at Lisbon, against the British Government.

The undersigned, Envoy Extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of his Britannic Majesty, has the honour to represent to his Excellency the Viscount de Balsamao, that, for the present he abstains from making his complaints in form to the government of His Royal Highness the prince Regent, respecting the article extracted and translated from the French paper called the Moniteur, of the 18th of February, and which has been printed and published in an extraordinary supplement to No. 11, of the Lisbon Gazette of the 13th of this month.

The undersigned will, for the present; content himself with remarking, that this infamous article, so worthy of its authors, is suited to the style and genius of the official Journal from whence it is copied; but it is altogether unworthy of a place in that which gives the translation of it in the Portuguese language; and the undersigned infinitely regrets, that this remarkable essay of the liberty of the press at Lisbon, has been distinguished by the publication of an atrocious

atrocious libel; invented at pleasure by the enemies of his Britannic Majesty, against the most ancient and faithful ally of Portugal.

The undersigned reserves to himself the advantage which results from this facility of printing at Lisbon, the instant his government shall authorize him to avail himself of it, for the purpose of inserting a formal denial of the absurd calumny in question; if that government, with its strong sense of conscious rectitude, its glory, and its renown, should trouble itself so far as to answer to similar accusations, and does not consider it to be more consistent with its own dignity, to treat with the sovereign contempt which it has always witnessed for the contemptible insipidities of the same kind, by which its enemies have so often, but vainly, attempted to blacken its reputation, since the epocha of the French Revolution.

(Signed) R. S. FITZGERALD,
and dated at Lisbon, 16th
March, 1804.

Copy of the Requisition transmitted by the French Minister for Foreign Affairs to Baron Edelsheim, Minister of the Elector of Baden, for the Purpose of arresting the Duke D'Enghien, signed, C. M. Talleyrand, and dated at Paris, March 10, 1804.

SIR,

I had formerly sent you a note, the purport of which was to request the arrest of the French emigrants which met at Offenburg, as the First Consul, from the successive arrests of the banditti which the English government has sent to France, and from the result of the trials which have been here instituted, has obtained a complete knowledge of the extensive part which the English agents at Offenburg have had in those horrible plots which have been devised against his own person and against the safety of France. He has at the same time learned that the Duke of D'Enghien and General Dumouriez were at Ettenheim.

As it is impossible that they should be in that city without the permission of his Electoral Highness, the First Consul, therefore, could not see without the deepest concern, that a prince whom he had distinguished by every mark of friendship, should give an asylum to the most determined enemies of France, and permit them so tranquilly to project such unprecedented conspiracies.

From these extraordinary occurrences the First Consul has found it necessary to order two small detachments of troops to repair to Offenburg and Ettenheim, to seize there the authors of a crime, the nature of which was such as to place those who are proved to have had a share in it out of the protection of the law of nations. It is General Caulincourt who is charged with the execution of those orders of the First Consul, and who there is no doubt will employ every care and attention in fulfilling the same, which his Electoral Highness can wish. He will have the honour to deliver your Excellency the letter, I have been directed to write you. Accept, Sir, the assurance of my high consideration.

Circular

Circular Letter of the French Minister of Foreign Affairs to the Foreign Ministers resident at Paris.—Signed C. M. Talleyrand, and dated at Paris, March 24, 1804.

The First Consul has ordered me to address to your Excellency a copy of the report presented to him by the Grand Judge on the incidental conspiracy planned in France, by Mr. Drake, minister of his Britannic Majesty at the court of Munich, and which, as to its object and date, was connected with the infamous plot that is now before the tribunals.

The printed copy of the letters and authentic papers of Mr. Drake, is annexed to the report. The originals will be immediately sent, by order of the First Consul to his Serene Highness the Elector of Bavaria.

Such a prostitution of the most honourable trust, which could be confided in man, was unexampled in the history of civilized nations. It will astonish and afflict Europe as an unheard of crime, and which, until the present moment, the most perverse government, had not dared to attempt.

The First Consul is too well acquainted with the sentiments and good qualities which distinguish the members of the Diplomatic body, accredited by him, not to be convinced that they will behold, with profound sorrow, the profanation of the sacred character of Ambassador, so basely metamorphosed into an agency of plots, stratagems, and corruption.

Answers of various foreign Ministers to the preceding Letter.

Answer of the Imperial Minister.

Citizen Minister,

I return many thanks to your Excellency for the communication which you have been pleased to make me of the report of the grand Judge, of which you have sent me a copy, and which I shall immediately transmit to Vienna, for the information of my court. The opinion manifested by the First Consul of the sentiments and good qualities of the Diplomatic body, which has the honour of being accredited to him, proves the justice he does to all the members of whom it consists; and, unquestionably, he is not deceived in thinking that there is not one among us who does not decidedly condemn every thing which a Diplomatic Agent and his government undertake contrary to the laws of nations, and the rules of right and good faith generally adopted among civilized nations.

(Signed) Count Cobenzel, and dated at Paris, March 25, 1804.

Answer of the Russian Chargé d'Affairs.

Sir,

I have the honour of acknowledging the receipt of the letter which you addressed to me by order of the First Consul, and of the report which was presented by order of the Grand Judge, and I have hastened to transmit it to my court.

His Imperial Majesty will see with satisfaction, that his agents to the French government participate in the justice which the First Consul does to the Diplomatic Body accredited to him, and that their care

care to obſerve, on all occaſions, the moſt rigorous principles of the rights of nations, are honourably appreciated by the chief of the government.

(Signed) PIERRE D'OUBRIL,
and dated at Paris, March 25, 1804.

Anſwer of the Pruſſian Miniſter.

CITIZEN MINISTER,

I took the earlieſt opportunity of tranſmitting to my court the letter your Excellency did me the honour of writing to me on the 4th inſt. and the copy of the report of the Grand Judge on the incidental conſpiracy fortunately diſcovered by the vigilance of the police.

You know, Citizen Miniſter, the lively intereſt with which the King, my maſter, is inſpired for the preſervation of the life of the Firſt Conſul, and for the maintenance of order and tranquillity in the ſtate of which he is the worthy head.

You may therefore anticipate the effect which this communication will have on the mind of his Pruſſian Majeſty, whoever may have been the authors and agents of this conſpiracy; and your Excellency will eaſily foreſee all the ſatisfaction which his Majeſty will feel at the entire ceſſation of ſo many ſubjects of alarm for the friends of France. For in diſcharging the commiſſion entruſted to me, I have conſidered it my duty to aſſure his Majeſty of the perfect union exiſting between the Auguſt Chief of the Republic and all the ſervants of the ſtate, between the whole nation, and its repreſentatives or defenders.

It is by ſuch a conduct that I ſhall endeavour to conciliate for the ſacred character with which I am inveſted, the confidence and the regard of the government to which the King, my maſter, has been graciouſly pleaſed to ſend me.

(Signed)
MARQUIS DE LUCCHESINI,
and dated at Paris, March 26, 1804.

Anſwer of the Daniſh Miniſter.

CITIZEN MINISTER,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of the report of the Grand Judge, reſpecting the conſpiracy carried on in France by Mr. Drake, and I have haſtened to tranſmit it to my court. The peruſal of the letters and authentic papers iſſued by Mr. Drake, muſt ſincerely afflict all the members of the Diplomatic body. It is a ſubject of concern to obſerve that a miniſter has practiſed thoſe intrigues which ought to be foreign to his character, and to the dignity of his functions. Every foreign miniſter muſt regret with me, that a public man can be accuſed of ſuch conduct; and do not doubt but all the foreign miniſters will partake my ſentiments and opinions reſpecting the conduct of Mr. Drake.

Signed) DREYER,
dated at Paris, March 25th, 1804.

Anſwer of the American Miniſter.

SIR,

I have received the note which you did me the honour to addreſs to me, with a copy of the report of the Grand Judge, relative to papers which prove that Mr. Drake the Britiſh miniſter at Munich, has held a culpable correſpondence with traitors, for objects which all civilized

vilized nations muſt regard with horror; and that horror muſt be redoubled, when we ſee that it is a miniſter that thus proſtitutes his ſacred character.

When a ſubaltern agent commits a baſe or atrocious act, it may be ſuppoſed he is influenced by perſonal intereſt, but the actions of a miniſter are generally attributed to the government he repreſents; and even when he acts againſt his orders, (which I hope is the caſe in this inſtance), his conduct is ſo much identified with his government, that ſuch acts tend to overturn ſocial order, and to bring back nations to barbariſm. I beg your Excellency to offer to the Firſt Conſul, in the name of my government, the moſt ſincere felicitations for having happily eſcaped the attempts of his enemies, directed not only againſt his life, but againſt an object more dear to his heart, the happineſs of the nation of which he is the chief; a happineſs which is the reſult of his noble labours in the field of honour, and in the cabinet, and which is not yet ſufficiently eſtabliſhed, not to be deeply ſhaken by his loſs.

(Signed) LIVINGSTON,
dated Paris, March 26, 1804.

Anſwer of the Bavarian Miniſter.

CITIZEN MINISTER,

I have received the letter by which you have communicated to me the report of the Grand Judge on the ſcandalous and criminal intrigues of Mr. Drake, Miniſter of his Britannic Majeſty at my Court. I do not heſitate to aſſure your Excellency, that the Elector will manifeſt, by meaſures the moſt ſevere, the moſt efficacious, and moſt conformable to his perſonal friendſhip for the Firſt Conſul, the grief and indignation which this Prince muſt feel, in conſequence of the vile and iniquitous deſigns which have been ſo daringly meditated and followed up, within his ſtates, under the maſk of a ſacred character.—I ſhould in vain endeavour, to expreſs to you, Citizen Miniſter, how deeply I deplore the outrage reſulting from the tranſaction againſt the reſpectable functions which I exerciſe. It impreſſes me, however, with the ſtrongeſt ſenſe of your attention, in informing me of the juſtice done by the Firſt Conſul to the ſentiments of all thoſe who have the honour of being accredited near his perſon. I ſhall ever be ambitious to obtain his approbation, as a flattering recompenſe for my zeal, and as the moſt honourable means of meriting the regard of my Sovereign.

(Signed) CETTO,
and dated at Paris, March 26, 1804.

Anſwer of the Miniſter of the Ligurian Republic.

CITIZEN MINISTER,

The communication which, by order of the Firſt Conſul, you have done me the honour to make me of the letters and authentic papers of the correſpondence in France of Mr. Drake, his Britannic Majeſty's miniſter at the court of Munich, has cauſed ſo great an aſtoniſhment, that I have hardly recovered from it. I truſt, without ſuch convincing proofs, it was hardly poſſible to conceive that a perſon,

a perſon, repreſenting at a reſpectable court his ſovereign, could debaſe the moſt honourable functions with which a man can be inveſted, in making them the inſtruments of fomenting and organizing ſecret and perfidious plots, which tended to nothing leſs than to overturn, if poſſible, the republic, to replunge France into all the horrors of internal diviſions, and to overwhelm Europe with thoſe misfortunes which would inevitably have ſucceeded this fatal revolution in France. Every man to whom, by his government, is confided the honour of repreſenting it at foreign courts, ought to be, as well as myſelf, juſtly irritated by the proceedings of Mr. Drake, and to denounce him to Europe, as unworthy of being counted among the number of thoſe perſons called by their government to exerciſe the ſacred functions of diplomacy. This ſentiment ought to be general, eſpecially among the diſtinguiſhed members of the diplomatic corps, who have the honour of being accredited near the Firſt Conſul, to whom, I pray you, Citizen Miniſter, to ſubmit the particular expreſſion of the profound grief which I have felt, from the communication which you have deigned to make me in his name. My overnment, to whom I have tranſmitted your Letter, with the report of the Grand Judge, and the annexed papers, will take, I doubt not, a lively intereſt in this event, and will always be watchful in caſe the enemies of France and its allies ſhould ever attempt to diſſeminate in Liguria criminal inſinuations, they may produce no other effect, than to cover with ſhame the perfidious men who ſhall dare to ſpread them.

(Signed) FERRERI,

and dated Paris, March 26, 1804.

Anſwer of the Envoy of the Republic of Lucca.

I have had the honour of receiving the letter which your excellency addreſſed me, under the date of 3 Germinal, and the copy of the report preſented by the Grand Judge to the Firſt Conſul, on the conſpiracy that Mr. Drake, his Britannic Majeſty's miniſter at the court of Munich, has formed againſt the French republic. It certainly will inſpire great regret in all the members of the diplomatic corps, to ſee proſtituted in ſo high a degree, the moſt ſacred and honourable character; the plots of Mr. D. ſhould excite the indignation of all thoſe governments which deſire the tranquillity of Europe. The government of Lucca, which has never ceaſed to wiſh the proſperity of France, and the happineſs of the Firſt Conſul, and which felt the greateſt horror on hearing of the attempts againſt the life of the Firſt Conſul, will learn with ſtill greater affliction, the new machinations, which in endangering the ſafety of the French republic, would have deprived the republic of Italy of the peace and happineſs which ſhe enjoyed under its auſpices. I haſten conſequently to entreat your Excellency to preſent to the Firſt Conſul, in the name of my government, the moſt ſincere congratulations, on the fortunate diſcovery of this plot, which will have no other effect than to cover with

with dishonour, its agents, and its authors.

(Signed) J. Belluoni,
and dated Paris, March 26, 1804.

Answer of the Envoy of the Swiss Confederacy.

The undersigned envoy extraordinary of the Swiss confederacy near the First Consul, has received with gratitude the communication which, by order of the First Consul, his Excellency the minister of foreign relations has addressed to him the 3d Germinal. He hastens to transmit to the Landamman of the Swiss, who, as well as all the Swiss, will learn with deep regret this new conspiracy against their gracious ally. The undersigned, highly flattered by the expressions contained in the letter with which his Excellency the minister of foreign relations has been pleased to honour him, entreats his Excellency to renew to the First Consul the homage of his profound respect, and the expedition of his sincere wishes for the preservation of his precious life.

(Signed) C. de Maillardoz,
and dated March 26, 1804.

Answer of the Portuguese Minister.

Citizen Minister,

I have received the letter which your Excellency did me the honour to address to me of the 3d Germinal, with a copy of the report presented by the Grand Judge, to which are annexed copies of the papers and letters of Mr. Drake, his Britannic Majesty's minister at the Court of Munich. I thank your Excellency for this communication, and I shall hasten to transmit it to my court. You render justice, Citizen Minister, to my sentiments, in believing the profound grief that I feel by the profanation of the sacred character of an ambassador.

(Signed) J. M. De Souza,
and dated Paris, March 26, 1804.

Answer of the Legate of the Sovereign Pontiff.

Sir,

I have received with the letter of your Excellency of the 3d Germinal, a copy of the report of the Chief Judge, relative to the correspondence of Mr. Drake, minister of his Britannic Majesty at the court of Bavaria, with a list of those who have conspired in the interior of France against the Government. The tender attachment of his Holiness for the person of the First Consul, the respect which I know he entertains for him, in consideration of the important services he has rendered to religion, and the special protection he has extended to the church, the gratitude which, not only French catholics, but likewise those of neighbouring countries, owe him, have excited in me the most lively sorrow when I learned that his life was in danger, and the public tranquillity had been so near being disturbed. I was then very far from thinking that any of the diplomatic agents could be implicated in this conspiracy; the public and sacred character with which they are clothed, sheltered them from such a suspicion. I perceive with great regret, by the correspondence which your Exellency has transmitted to me, that one of these

agents has permitted himſelf to addreſs to the enemies of the French government, in the interior, inſtructions, means, and plans. I am perſuaded that his Holineſs will feel as ſenſibly as myſelf this melancholy intelligence. Deign to aſſure the Firſt Conſul that the Pontiff has viewed, and will always continue to view, with horror, whatever ſhall tend to diſturb the interior peace of his government, on which reſts the entire edifice for the re-eſtabliſhment of the Catholic religion in France. Every attempt againſt his precious life will be viewed by his holineſs as a crime as atrocious in itſelf as it is fatal to the church and to the repoſe and tranquillity of France. I have no doubt but that the diplomatic corps of Europe will participate with me in theſe ſentiments, and that they will openly diſavow whoſoever, among the members that compoſe it, ſhall abuſe his character to propagate diſcord, and foment diſturbances.

(Signed)

J. B. CARDINAL CAPRARA,

and dated Paris, March 26, 1804.

Anſwer of the Miniſter of Saxony.

CITIZEN MINISTER,

I have received the note which your Excellency did me the honour to addreſs to me, of the date of the 3d Germinal, with a copy of the report which has been preſented to the Firſt Conſul by the Grand Judge on the conſpiracy formed by Mr. Drake, Miniſter of his Britannic Majeſty at the Court of Munich; alſo the printed copies of letters and other authentic papers of the ſaid Mr. Drake, and I have haſtened to tranſmit the whole to my court. There is no one, Citizen Miniſter, who will not learn with grief that Mr. Drake, inveſted with the moſt honourable public character, ſhould deſcend to ſuch a profanation of it.

(Signed) CT. DE BUNAU,

and dated Paris, March 26, 1804.

Anſwer of the Miniſter of the Arch Chancellor of the German Empire.

CITIZEN MINISTER,

The underſigned Miniſter Plenipotentiary of his Highneſs the Elector and Arch Chancellor of the Germanic Empire, having received with reſpectful acknowledgment the letter which your Excellency had been pleaſed to addreſs to him, of the date of the 3d inſtant, in which is encloſed a copy of the report preſented to the Firſt Conſul on the conſpiracy formed in France by Mr. Drake, Miniſter of his Britannic Majeſty at the Court of Munich, he has haſtened to ſend the above pieces to his Highneſs the Elector. The more neceſſary fidelity, honour, and probity, are in the actions of a man to whom has been entruſted the honourable function of diplomacy, the deeper is the ſorrow which muſt be felt at the contemplation of this perfidious plot. The unbounded ſentiments of attachment, and the high conſideration which the Elector and Arch Chancellor has expreſſed for the Firſt Conſul, are ſo well known, that the indignation which he will feel at this news, may be eaſily conceived.——The underſigned, who by the expreſs order of his Highneſs the Elector, his maſter, has already had the honour of expreſſing theſe ſentiments himſelf

himself at the last diplomatic audience, begs of your Excellency to repeat to the First Consul an assurance of the warm interest in, and sincere wishes for, his preservation entertained by his Highness the Elector.

(Signed)

CHARLES COMTE DE BOEUST,

and dated Paris, March 26, 1804.

Answer of the Neapolitan Minister.

SIR,

I have just received the communication which your Excellency had been pleased to make to me of the report of the Grand Judge to the First Consul, and the annexed papers, on a conspiracy directed against France. The justice which the First Consul rendered to the sentiments of the diplomatic corps who have the honour of being accredited by him, excites the gratitude, and corresponds fully with the sensations of profound sorrow with which it has beheld the sanctity and dignity of a public character profaned, whose functions are consecrated by honour and fidelity. I cannot conceal from your Excellency the extreme pain with which I read the papers which contain this communication, and which I have made it my duty to transmit immediately to my court. The sentiments of his Majesty, the King, my master, for the person of the First Consul, and for the interior tranquillity of a respected nation, whose situation has such influence in surrounding nations, are too well known to the First Consul to render it necessary for me to remind your Excellency of them on this occasion.

(Signed) DE GALLO,

and dated Paris, March 26, 1804.

Answer of the Minister of the Free Cities of the German Empire.

CITIZEN MINISTER,

I have just received the letter which your Excellency did me the honour to address to me, together with the printed letter and authentic papers of Mr. Drake, Minister of his Britannic Majesty at Munich, relative to a conspiracy planned under his direction. The impression which a knowledge of these details must make upon every man who respects the rights of nations and the general interests of humanity, cannot but be of the most painful nature. Such at least will be the feelings of the magistrates of the free towns of the empire. This sentiment will be the stronger, as the conspiracy was principally directed against the person of the First Consul, whom all the inhabitants of the free towns of the empire regard as the generous protector, who has preserved their independence, and for whom they feel the highest veneration and the most perfect attachment. The discovery of this plot has no where produced so strong and general a sensation of sorrow, as among the inhabitants of these towns. The letters which I received on their hearing the news of this conspiracy, discovered how great was the consternation among all classes of the citizens, and subsequent ones testify the general felicity on hearing that this plot has been completely crushed.

(Signed) ABEL.

Answer of the Minister of the Landgrave of Hesse Darmstadt.

CITIZEN MINISTER,

I have hastened to transmit to my court the letter with which

your Excellency has honoured me, and a copy of the report of the Grand Judge, with the printed letters, authentic papers of the Miniſter of his Britannic Majeſty at Munich. Every honeſt man muſt be deeply afflicted on diſcovering that Mr. Drake has ſo far forgotten what he owed to the dignity of his public character and to himſelf, as to become the author of the vile conſpiracy againſt the French republic and its auguſt chief. I am perſuaded that the opinion of the Firſt Conſul relative to the diplomatic corps, will be fully juſtified by each of its members, and I hope in regard to myſelf, that after a reſidence of many years, the reſpectful attachment which I have always entertained for the perſon of the Firſt Conſul, is ſo well known to your Excellency, that you need no aſſurances to be convinced of the ſentiments of indignation and horror with which the diſhonourable conduct of Mr. Drake has inſpired me.

(Signed)

AUGUSTUS DE PAPPENHEIM,

and dated Paris, March 26, 1804.

Anſwer of the Batavian Miniſter.

CITIZEN MINISTER,

The ambaſſador, who while at London, ſaw the veſſels of his nation brought into Engliſh ports, during the time of peace, had reaſon to expect that a war preceded by ſuch a flagrant violation to the common principles of juſtice, and of the rights of nations, would be carried on with little delicacy as to the choice of means. It is with governments as with individuals, when once the barriers of juſtice have been broken down, power is the only guide, and neither know where to ſtop their career. Although the hiſtory of every nation atteſted this melancholy truth, it was ſtill difficult to conceive the poſſibility of an event, ſuch as is detailed in the communication of your Excellency, and it has been reſerved for the preſent age to furniſh ſo fatal and daring an attempt. If the facts developed in this correſpondence inſpire the deepeſt affliction in the breaſt of every individual capable of calculating the fatal conſequences ariſing from the abuſe of one of the moſt ſacred and reſpectable of characters, how poignant muſt be the ſenſations of one who is inveſted with this character, and who has endeavoured, by an adherence to his own duties, to acquire a right to that reſpect, protection, and inviolability, which the laws of nations aſſure him.—The Batavian ambaſſador, the miniſter of a nation renowned in all ages for its juſtice and incorruptibility, to whom loyalty has become habitual, and which obſerves a religious reſpect for the laws of nations, muſt in the preſent caſe feel a double portion of the general indignation.

(Signed) SCHIMMELPENNINCK,

and dated Paris, March 26, 1804.

Anſwer of the Miniſter of the Grand Maſter of Malta.

SIR,

I haſten to inform your Excellency, that I have received your letter of the 31 Germinal, with a copy of the report of the Grand Judge, relative to the conſpiracy deſigned by Mr. Drake, his Britannic Majeſty's miniſter at the Court

Court of Munich. I ſhall immediately tranſmit the communication to his Highneſs the Grand Maſter of the order of St. John of Jeruſalem: his attachment, his profound devotion, as well as that of the order over which he preſides, to the intereſts of France, and the auguſt perſon of the Firſt Conſul, are ſuch, that he will feel the greateſt horror and indignation when he hears of this odious plot.

(Signed)

The BAILIFF of FERRETE,

and dated Paris, March 26, 1804.

Copy of a circular Note addreſſed to the Foreign Miniſters reſident at the Court of London.

Downing Street, April 30, 1804.

SIR,

The experience which all Europe muſt have had of the conduct of the government of France, would have induced his Majeſty to treat any charges which might have been brought by them againſt his government, with ſilence and contempt, if the very extraordinary and unauthorized anſwers which many of the Miniſters of Foreign Powers have thought proper to return to a recent communication of the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs at Paris, had not given to the ſubject of that communication a greater degree of importance than it would otherwiſe have poſſeſſed.

His Majeſty has therefore commanded me to declare, that he truſts it cannot be neceſſary for him to repel, with the ſcorn and indignation which it deſerves, that moſt unfounded and atrocious calumny, that his government were parties to any project of aſſaſſination--an accuſation moſt falſely and calumniouſly advanced, under the ſame authority, againſt members of his Majeſty's former government in the laſt war—an accuſation inconſiſtent with his Majeſty's honour, and with the known character of the Britiſh nation; and ſo completely unſupported by even any ſhadow of proof, that it may juſtly be preſumed to have been brought forward at the preſent moment, for the ſole purpoſe of diverting the attention of Europe from the contemplation of that ſanguinary deed which, in violation of the law of nations, and of the plaineſt dictates of honour and humanity, has been recently perpetrated by the direct order of the Firſt Conſul of France.

That his Majeſty's government ſhould diſregard the ſentiments of ſuch of the inhabitants of France as are juſtly diſſatisfied with the government of that country; that they ſhould refuſe to liſten to their deſigns for liberating their country from the degrading yoke of bondage under which it now groans, or to aid and aſſiſt them, as far as ſuch deſigns are fair and juſtifiable, would be inconſiſtent with the duties which, under circumſtances like the preſent, every wiſe and juſt government owes to itſelf and to the world in general.

It is an acknowledged right of belligerent powers to avail themſelves of any diſcontents exiſting in the countries with which they may happen to be at war. The expediency of acting upon this right (even if the right were in any degree doubtful) would, in the preſent caſe, be moſt fully ſanctioned; not only by the actual ſtate of the French nation,

but by the conduct of the government of that country, which, ever since the commencement of the preſent war, has maintained a communication with the diſaffected in his Majeſty's dominions, particularly in Ireland, and has actually aſſembled, on the coaſt of France, a body of Iriſh rebels, for the purpoſe of aiding their deſigns againſt that part of his United Kingdom.

Under theſe circumſtances, his Majeſty's government would not indeed be warranted in foregoing their right to ſupport, as far as is conſiſtent with thoſe principles of the law of nations which all civilized governments have hitherto acknowledged, the efforts of ſuch of the inhabitants of France as may profeſs hoſtility to its preſent government. They feel, in common with all Europe, an anxious deſire to ſee eſtabliſhed in that country an order of things more conſiſtent with its own happineſs, and with the ſecurity of ſurrounding nations. But if this cannot be accompliſhed, they are juſtified, on the ſtricteſt principles of ſelf-defence, in endeavouring to cripple the exertions, to diſtract the operations, and to confound the projects of a government, whoſe avowed ſyſtem of warfare is not merely to diſtreſs the commerce, to reduce the power, or to abridge the dominions of its enemy, but to carry devaſtation and ruin into the very heart of the Britiſh empire.

In the application of theſe principles, his Majeſty has directed me further to declare, that his government have never authorized any one act which will not ſtand the teſt of the ſtricteſt principles of juſtice, and the known and avowed practice of all ages.

If any miniſter accredited by his Majeſty to a foreign court, has held correſpondence with perſons in France, with a view of obtaining information of the projects of the French government, or for any other legitimate purpoſe, he has done no more than miniſters under ſimilar circumſtances have been uniformly conſidered as having a right to do, with reſpect to the countries with which their Sovereign was at war, and much leſs than the miniſters and commercial agents of France in neutral countries can be proved to have done with regard to the diſaffected in parts of his Majeſty's dominions. In conducting, therefore, ſuch a correſpondence, he would not, in any degree, have violated his public duty. A miniſter in a foreign country is bound, by the nature of his office, and the duties of his ſituation, to abſtain from all communication with the diſaffected in the country to which he is accredited, as well as from any act injurious to the intereſts of that country; but he is not ſubject to the ſame reſtraints with reſpect to thoſe countries with which his Sovereign is at war. His acts reſpecting them may be praiſeworthy or blameable, according to the nature of the acts themſelves; but they would not conſtitute any violation of his public character, unleſs they militated againſt the peace or ſecurity of the country to which he was accredited.

But of all governments pretending to be civilized, that of France has the leaſt right to appeal to the law of nations. With what confidence can they appeal to that law, who, from the commencement of hoſtilities, have been in the courſe of conſtantly violating it?

it?—They promiſed their protection to ſuch of the ſubjects of England as were reſident in France, and might be deſirous of remaining there after the recal of his Majeſty's Ambaſſador. They revoked this promiſe without any previous notice, and condemned thoſe very perſons to be priſoners of war, and ſtill retain them as ſuch, in defiance of their own engagements, and of the univerſal uſage of all civilized nations. They applied this new and barbarous rule even to individuals who had the protection and authority of French Ambaſſadors and Miniſters at Foreign courts, to return in ſafety through France to their own country. They gave directions, that an Engliſh packet ſhould be ſeized in one of the ports of Holland, though their Ambaſſador in that country had antecedently engaged that, until notice to the contrary was given, the packets of the reſpective countries ſhould paſs in ſafety.

They have detained and condemned a veſſel in a French port, which was ſent there as a matter of indulgence for the purpoſe of conveying thither the French Governor of one of the ſeveral Iſlands which had been conquered by his Majeſty's arms.

Their proceedings with reſpect to the garriſon of St. Lucia have not been leſs extraordinary. The principal fort of that Iſland was taken by aſſault, but the garriſon was allowed all the privileges of priſoners of war, and ſuffered to proceed to France upon an underſtanding that a proportionate number of Engliſh priſoners ſhould, in return, be ſet at liberty; yet notwithſtanding this indulgence on the part of the Britiſh commander, to which, from the nature of the caſe, the French garriſon could not have the ſmalleſt pretenſion, not a ſingle Engliſh priſoner has been reſtored to this country.

Such has been the conduct of the French government with reſpect to the power with whom they are at war. What has been their conduct to thoſe with whom they have remained at peace?

Is there a treaty they have not broken? Is there a neighbouring territory whoſe independence they have not violated? It is for the powers on the Continent to determine how long they will tolerate ſuch unparalleled outrages; but is it too much to ſay, that if ſuch a courſe of proceeding on the part of any government, can be ſuffered to continue without reſiſtance or controul, there muſt ſoon ceaſe to exiſt that ſalutary ſyſtem of public law, by which the communities of Europe have, for ages, maintained and enforced the ſacred obligations of humanity and juſtice.

I have the honour to be,

With the higheſt conſideration,

Sir,

Your moſt obedient humble ſervant,

HAWKESBURY.

Circular Note from M. Talleyrand, French Miniſter of Foreign Affairs, to all the Agents of his Majeſty the Emperor of the French.—Dated Aix-la-Chapelle, Sept. 5, 1804.

You muſt, Sir, have obſerved and known, according to my inſtructions at the time of the communication of the note of Lord Hawkeſbury

Hawkeſbury to the foreign miniſters reſiding in London, the impreſſion which this publication of the ſtrongeſt maxims of political and ſocial morality could not fail to produce on the mind of the government with which you reſide. I think I ought to return to the ſubject. I therefore ſend you, officially, a copy of this note, and expreſsly charge you, by order of his Majeſty, to make it the object of a ſpecial conference with the miniſtry.

The project which the Engliſh government has conceived for the laſt half century, gradually to aboliſh the tutelary ſyſtem of public law which unites and engages all civilized nations, developes itſelf with a fearful progreſſion. Will other governments refrain from making oppoſition to ſuch an enterpriſe till there no longer exiſt any moral bond which may preſerve their rights, guarantee their engagements, and protect their intereſts?

The powers of the Continent have ſeen with what audacity the faith of oaths has been ſported with by this government, and ſolemn treaties violated, even before they were carried into execution. The maritime nations every day experience its tyranny. There no longer exiſts any theoretical principle of navigation, any written convention, which have not been ſcandalouſly violated on every ſhore, and in every ſea. Neutral ſtates know, that even in uſing the rights which ſtill remain to them with the moſt timid circumſpection, they expoſe themſelves to inſult, to pillage, and to extermination.

Thoſe ſtates, in fine, which have the unhappineſs to be at war, no more rely on any recriprocal principle of moderation and juſtice. All the bonds exiſting between them and the neutral powers are broken. Approach to the coaſts and entrance into the ports and iſlands, though ſituate at the diſtance of 200 leagues from the ſtation of their ſquadrons, have been prohibited by ſimple proclamation.

Thus the Engliſh government has hitherto oppoſed to every power, according to its particular poſition, a maxim injurious to its honour, and ſubverſive to all its rights. It now attacks them altogether, and the more completely to attain its end, directs its blow againſt morality itſelf, and if I may ſo ſpeak, againſt the religion of public law.

In every country, and at all times, the miniſtry of diplomatic agents was held in veneration amongſt men. Miniſters of peace, organs of conciliation, their preſence is an omen of wiſdom, of juſtice, and happineſs. They ſpeak, they act but to terminate, or prevent thoſe fatal differences which divide princes, and degrade a people, by the paſſions, murders, and miſeries, which are the offspring of war. Such is the object of the diplomatic miniſtry; and it muſt be ſaid, that it is to the obſervance of the duties it impoſes, it is to the generally reſpectable character of the men who exerciſe this ſacred miniſtry in Europe, that it owes the glory and the happineſs it enjoys; but theſe happy effects torment the jealous ambition of the only government which makes itſelf an intereſt in the ruin, the ſhame, and the ſervitude of other governments. They wiſh that diplomatic miniſters ſhould be the inſtigators

inſtigators of plots, the agents of troubles, the directors and regulators of machinations, vile ſpies, cowardly ſeducers — they order them to foment ſeditions, to provoke and to pay for aſſaſſination; and they pretend to throw over that infamous miniſtry the reſpect and inviolability which belong to the mediators of kings, and the pacificators of nations.

Diplomatic miniſters, ſays Lord Hawkeſbury, ought not to conſpire in the country where they reſide, againſt the laws of that country; but they are not ſubject to the ſame rules with reſpect to ſtates at which they are not accredited. Admirable reſtrictions! Europe will ſwarm with conſpirators, but the defenders of public right muſt not complain. There will always be ſome local diſtance between the leader and the accomplices. The miniſters of Lord Hawkeſbury will pay for the crimes they cauſe to be committed; but they will have that prudent deference for public morality, not to be at once the inſtigators and the witneſſes.

Such maxims are the completion of audacity and hypocriſy. Never were the opinions of cabinets and the conſciences of any people made game of more ſhameleſsly. His Majeſty the Emperor thinks that it is time to put an end to the diſaſtrous career of principles, ſubverſive of all ſociety.

You are ordered, in conſequence to declare to the government where you reſide, that his Majeſty will not recognize the Engliſh diplomatic corps in Europe, ſo long as the Britiſh miniſtry ſhall not abſtain from charging its miniſters with any warlike agency, and ſhall not reſtrict them to the limits of their functions.

The miſeries of Europe proceed from its being deemed obligatory every where to obſerve maxims of moderation and liberality, which being juſt but by reciprocity, are only obligatory with reſpect to thoſe who ſubmit to them. Hence governments have as much to ſuffer from their own juſtice as from the iniquity of a miniſtry which recogniſes no law but its ambition and its caprice. The miſeries of Europe proceed alſo from public right being conſidered under a partial point of view, whereas it has life and ſtrength only from its integrity. Maritime Right, Continental Right, the Right of Nations, are not parts of public right that can be conſidered and preſerved in an iſolated manner. The nation that pretends to introduce arbitrary rules into one of thoſe parts, loſes all its claims to the privilege of the whole. The ſyſtematic infractor of the rights of nations places himſelf out of that right, and renounces all intereſt founded upon the maritime right, and the continental right.

His Majeſty the Emperor regrets his having to order meaſures which are a real interdiction pronounced againſt a ſtate; but, all reflecting men will be at no difficulty to ſee that in this it is only neceſſary to aſcertain facts. The Engliſh miniſtry, by the generality of their attacks, have placed coaſts, iſles, ports, neutrals, general commerce, in a ſtate of interdiction; in fine, they have juſt proclaimed the proſtitution of the moſt ſacred and moſt indiſpenſable miniſtry, to the repoſe of the world. His Majeſty thinks

thinks it his duty to excite the attention of all governments, and to warn them, that without new measures, adopted under the conviction of the preſent danger, all the ancient maxims, upon which the honour and independence of ſtates reſt, will be immediately annihilated.

(Signed)
CH. MAU. TALLEYRAND.

Note from Francis Drake, Eſq. Engliſh Miniſter at Munich to Baron de Montgelas, the Bavarian Miniſter of State, dated Munich, 30th of March, 1804.

The underſigned Envoy Extraordinary from his Britannic Majeſty, has been informed, that his Electoral Highneſs has been pleaſed, at the requiſition of the French Government, to give a hint to all noblemen, who quitted France during the revolution, and may now be found in his dominions, to leave the ſame within ten days, without excepting thoſe who are dependent on the Britiſh government. Although this account appears to be tolerably authentic, the underſigned cannot give any credit to it, without receiving a confirmation thereof from his Excellency Baron Montgelas, as he is too well convinced of the juſt and generous ſentiments of his Electoral Highneſs, to believe that his Highneſs could have conſented to ſuch a demand from a power, which has formally declared, by the fourth article of its own conſtitution, that there are not any relations left exiſting between it and the perſons againſt whom that meaſure is ſuppoſed to be taken: this deprives it of the right to aſſume any authority with reſpect to them; a principle which your Excellency owned yourſelf, at a time when it was in agitation to prohibit in this country the decorations of the French monarchy. The underſigned is the more juſtified in his ſuppoſition, that he muſt have been miſinformed on this ſubject, as knowing how ſorely the feeling heart of his Electoral Highneſs muſt be afflicted, if obliged to exerciſe any rigour towards perſons, againſt whom no cauſe of reproach can be alleged; unleſs it be a reproach, that they have ſhewn themſelves ſo firmly devoted to their duties, and to that ſovereign houſe with which his Electoral Highneſs formerly ſtood connected, in ſo many reſpects.

The underſigned is moreover convinced, that it could not eſcape the enlightened wiſdom of his Electoral Highneſs, that a ſimilar exerciſe of rigour, againſt thoſe reſpectable, and already ſo very unfortunate perſons, would form a rueful example of the fate awaiting thoſe who, in a moment of danger, are inclined to remain true to their lawful ſovereign; and which example may induce them to ſwerve from their duty at the very moment when a ſovereign ſtands moſt in need of the efforts, and actual proofs of their attachment.

The underſigned has, therefore, the honour to requeſt Baron Von Montgelas to clear up his doubts on this ſubject, and to inform him, whether the meaſure in queſtion will extend to the officers of the late Condean army, who are attached to the Britiſh government, that he may be enabled to acquaint his court thereof, and to await the commands of his ſovereign accordingly.

The

The underſigned avails himſelf of this opportunity to requeſt Baron Von Montgelas to accept the aſſurances of his moſt particular regard, &c.

Note from the Baron de Montgelas, Miniſter of the Elector of Bavaria, to Mr. Drake, dated Munich, March 31, 1804.

The underſigned, &c. has the expreſs command of his Electoral Highneſs, to communicate to Mr. Drake the annexed printed papers, and to ſtate to him that the originals in Mr. Drake's own handwriting are now before him.

His Electoral Highneſs is deeply penetrated with grief at the diſcovery that his capital has been the centre point in a correſpondence, which is ſo inconſiſtent with the miſſion which his Excellency Mr. Drake was inveſted at this court; and he owes it to the dignity and to the welfare of his ſubjects, to declare, that from this moment it is impoſſible for him to have any communication with Mr. Drake, or to receive him at his court.

Already two of his Electoral Highneſs's ſubjects, who are compromiſed in Mr. Drake's correſpondence, are arreſted at Munich, becauſe they have acted in a manner inconſiſtent with the law of nations.

The underſigned is likewiſe charged to declare, that his Electoral Highneſs knows too well the noble and magnanimous ſentiments of his Britannic Majeſty and the Engliſh nation, to ſuppoſe that their conduct on this occaſion can be liable to the ſmalleſt reproach. They will haſten to declare themſelves directly to his Majeſty, and to depoſit in his boſom the profound grief they feel, while they withdraw their confidence from the miniſter, who was appointed to repreſent his Majeſty at this court. The Elector is perfectly convinced that his Britannic Majeſty will, on this occaſion, neceſſarily ſo painful to him, ſee a new proof of the high eſteem he entertains for his Majeſty, and of that goodwill of which he has given ſo many proofs to the Electoral houſe.

Note from the ſame to the ſame, dated Munich, 31ſt of March, 1804.

I have juſt received a notice of ſo very extraordinary a nature, but which is ſo important of itſelf, and for the conſequences which may reſult from it, that though I am very far from crediting it, I think it a duty I owe to my Sovereign, to whom my perſon and ſervices belong, as well as to his Highneſs the Elector himſelf, immediately to inform your Excellency thereof. The ſaid notice is in ſubſtance to the following purport: that a ſeizure of the Britiſh miniſtry at Munich is in agitation, in the manner of that which took place with reſpect to his Highneſs the Duke of Enghien, at Ettenheim, in the territory of the Elector of Baden, but with this difference, that the ſecond ſeizure will not be effected by a body of troops, but by men ſecretly ſent to Munich, and its neighbourhood, by different roads. With reſpect to the moment and particulars of the execution, I have no detailed accounts; and I own to your Excellency, that the difficulties of the enterprize

prize appeared to me from the firſt too great, the project itſelf too extravagant, and at the ſame time too dreadful, to be fully convinced of its exiſtence; on the other hand, it cannot be concealed, that the example of events which have very recently occurred, as it were, under our eyes, are little calculated to inſpire confidence. However this may be, and little as this notice has affected me perſonally, yet it appears to me, that I ſhould be tranſgreſſing the duties which my poſt, as a public miniſter, requires, if I neglected informing your excellency thereof, forthwith, that you may be enabled to take in time ſuch meaſures as the caſe may require, and to avert, by proper acts of precaution, the unpleaſant reſult which might ariſe, even from the attempt to execute a deſign of this nature. I beg your Excellency to accept the aſſurance, &c.

Decree paſſed by the Tribunate on the 3d of May, 1804, and carried up to the Conſervative Senate on the 4th of May.

"The Tribunate conſidering that at the breaking out of the Revolution, when the national will had an opportunity of manifeſting itſelf with the greateſt freedom, the general wiſh was declared for the individual unity of the ſupreme power, and for the hereditary ſucceſſion of that power.

That the family of the Bourbons having by their conduct rendered the hereditary government odious to the people, forced them to loſe ſight of its advantages, and drove the nation to ſeek for a happier deſtiny in a democratical form of government.

That France having made a trial of different forms of government, experienced from theſe trials, only the miſeries of anarchy.

That the ſtate was in the greateſt peril, when Bonaparte, brought back by Providence, ſuddenly appeared for its ſalvation.

That under the government of a ſingle individual, France recovered tranquillity at home, and acquired abroad the higheſt degree of conſideration and glory.

That the plots formed by the Houſe of Bourbon, in concert with a miniſtry, the implacable enemy of France, warned France of the danger which threatens it, if loſing Buonaparte ſhe continued expoſed to the agitation inſeparable from an election.

That the Conſulſhip for life, and the power granted to the Firſt conſul of appointing his ſucceſſor, are not adequate to the prevention of intrigues at home or abroad, which could not fail to be formed during the vacancy of the ſupreme power.

That in declaring that Magiſtracy hereditary, conformity is obſerved at once to the example of all great ſtates, ancient or modern, and to the firſt wiſh of the nation expreſſed in 1789.

That enlightened and ſupported by this experience, the nation now returns to this wiſh, more ſtrongly than ever, and expreſſes it on all ſides.

That in all political changes it has been uſual for nations to confer the ſupreme power on thoſe to whom they owe their ſafety.

That when France demands for her ſecurity a hereditary chief, her

her gratitude and affection call on Bonaparte.

That France will preſerve all the advantages of the Revolution by the choice of a new deſtiny, as much intereſted for their ſafety, as the old one would be for their deſtruction.

That France may expect from the family of Bonaparte more than from any other the maintenance of the rights and liberty of the people which choſe them, and all thoſe inſtitutions beſt calculated to ſupport them.

That there is no title more ſuitable to the glory of Bonaparte, and to the dignity of the ſupreme chief of the French nation, than the title of Emperor.

The Tribunate, exerciſing the right given them by the 29th article of the conſtitution, have come to the following vote.

That Napoleon Bonaparte, the Firſt Conſul, be proclaimed Emperor of the French, and in that capacity inveſted with the government of the French Republic.

That the title of Emperor and the Imperial power be made hereditary in his family in the male line, according to the order of progeniture.

That in introducing into the organization of the conſtituted authorities, the modifications rendered neceſſary by the eſtabliſhment of hereditary power, the equality, the liberty, and the rights of the people ſhall be preſerved in all their integrity.

This vote ſhall be preſented to the ſenate by ſix orators, who ſhall explain the views of the Tribunate."

The foregoing decree having been put to the vote by the Preſident of the Tribunate, it was carried by acclamation with the ſingle exception of the only member who delivered his ſentiments againſt its adoption. Citizen Jard Pauvilliers, was named firſt orator to preſent, the following day, the vote of the Tribunate. The other five orators who were to accompany him, were choſen by lot.

Speech of the Vice-Preſident of the Senate, upon the preſenting of the Decree.

Citizens Tribunes,

This day will form a remarkable era. It is the day on which you are called on, for the firſt time, to exerciſe with the Conſervative Senate, the republican and popular privilege which the fundamental laws of the conſtitution have delegated to you. You could not exerciſe this prerogative at a more favourable moment, or apply it to an object of more importance than the preſent.

Citizen Tribunes, you expreſs to the truſtees of the national rights a wiſh truly national. I cannot remove the veil which conceals for a time the labours of the Senate on this important ſubject. I muſt inform you, however, in the mean time, that ſince the 6th Germinal (March 27) the Senate has directed the attention of the Firſt Magiſtrate to the ſame ſubject. The Senate had previouſly founded the public opinion, and had announced it to the government. But you will find your advantages and privileges, when you obſerve that what we have been thinking of in ſilence for two months, the peculiar nature of your inſtitution, and the place you hold in the conſtitution

ſtitution has enabled you at once to ſubmit to diſcuſſion in preſence of the people. You have ſerved at once the people and the government, by diſcloſing and enforcing this opinion, pregnant with ſo many advantages, and at firſt ſecretly cheriſhed in the boſom of this aſſembly, where you have now ſo glorioufly reported it. The happy developement which you have given this great idea, procures to the Senate, which opened the Tribune to you, the ſatisfaction of being able to congratulate themſelves on their choice, and to approve what they have done. In your public ſpeeches we have found the baſis of our opinions.

Like you, Citizens Tribunes, we do not wiſh the return of the Bourbons; becauſe we do not wiſh a counter-revolution, which is the only benefit we could derive from thoſe unfortunate exiles who have carried with them deſpotiſm, nobility, feudal tyranny, ſlavery, and ignorance, and who, ſtill to augment their crimes, have encouraged the hope, that a return to France might be found by the way of England.

Like you, Citizens Tribunes, we wiſh to raiſe a new dynaſty, becauſe we wiſh to ſecure to the French people all their rights which they have reconquered, and which the folly of their enemies would take from them.

Like you, Citizens Tribunes, we wiſh liberty, equality, and knowledge, may no more have a retrograde motion. I do not ſpeak of the great man called upon by his glory, to give his name to the age in which he lives, and who ought to be called upon by our wiſhes to conſecrate to us his family and exiſtence. It is not to himſelf, it is not to us that he ought to devote himſelf.—What you propoſe in the ardour of enthuſiaſm the Senate will conſider with cool deliberation.

Citizen Tribunes, we are the corner ſtone of the ſocial edifice; but it is the government of an hereditary chief that muſt conſtitute the key ſtone of the arch. You repoſe in your boſom the wiſh, that this arch may be at laſt conſolidated. In receiving this wiſh the Senate does not forget that what you ſolicit is not ſo much a change of the republic as a means of perfecting and eſtabliſhing it, and this certainly is what we are moſt intereſted in. In this national temple, the conſtitution ought to repoſe in ſome meaſure on the God Terminus. If we are induced to interfere in any reſpect with this ſacred compact, the guardianſhip of which is entruſted to us, it is only to add to its ſtrength and to extend its duration.

Meſſage from the Firſt Conſul to the Conſervative Senate, dated St. Cloud, 25th April, 1804, in Anſwer to an Addreſs from the Senate, dated March 27th, 1804, which Addreſs contained a Propoſition for making him Emperor.

SENATORS,

"Your addreſs of the 6th laſt Germinal has never ceaſed to be preſent to my thoughts. It has been the object of my moſt conſtant meditation.

You have judged the hereditary power of the ſupreme magiſtracy neceſſary, in order to ſhelter the French people completely from the plots of our enemies, and from the agi-

agitations which arise from rival ambitions. It even appears to you that many of our institutions ought to be improved, in order to secure for ever the triumph of equality and public liberty, and present to the nation and to the government the double guarantee they are in want of.

We have been constantly guided by this grand truth, that the sovereignty resides in the French people, in the sense that every thing, without exception, ought to be done for its interest, its happiness, and its glory. It is in order to attain this end, that the supreme magistracy, the Senate, the Council of State, the Legislative Body, the Electoral Body, the Electoral Colleges, and the different branches of the Administration, are and ought to be instituted.

In proportion as I fix my attention upon these great objects, I am still more convinced of the verity of those sentiments which I have expressed to you, and I feel more and more that in a circumstance as new as it is important, the councils of your wisdom and experience were necessary to enable me to fix my ideas.

I request you then to make known to me the whole of your thoughts.

The French people can add nothing to the honour and glory with which it has surrounded me, but the most sacred duty for me, as it is the dearest to my heart, is to secure to its latest posterity those advantages which it has acquired by a revolution that has cost it so much, particularly by the sacrifice of those millions of brave citizens who have died in defence of their rights.

I desire that I might declare to you, on the 14th July in the present year. Fifteen years have past since, by a spontaneous movement you ran to arms, you acquired liberty, equality, and glory. These first blessings of nations are now secured to you for ever, are sheltered from every tempest, they are preserved to you and to your children; institutions conceived and began in the midst of the storms of interior and exterior wars, developed with constancy, are just terminated in the noise of the attempts and plots of our most mortal enemies, by the adoption of every thing which the experience of centuries and of nations has demonstrated as proper to guarantee the rights which the nation had judged necessary for its dignity, its liberty, and its happiness.

Reply of Senate, dated 4th May, 1804, and signed by the Vice-President and Secretaries, François (de Neufchateau) Vice-President; Morard de Galles and Joseph Cornudet, Secretaries, and the Chançellor of the Senate, La Place.

Citizen First Consul.

You have, by a memorable message, just replied in a manner worthy of you, and of the great nation which has appointed you its chief, to the wishes which the Senate expressed to you, and to the solicitudes inspired in it by the love of the country. You desire, Citizen First Consul, to become acquainted with the opinion of the Senate, concerning those institutions of ours which we conceive should be improved, in order henceforth to secure the triumph of equality and public liberty, and to present to

the nation and to the government, the double guarantee in which they are in want.

The Senate have aſſembled together, and carefully compared the reſults of the meditations of its members, the fruits of their experience, the effects of the zeal with which they are animated for the proſperity of the people, whoſe rights they are appointed to protect.

Having recalled the paſt, examined the preſent, and caſt its looks towards the future, it now preſents to you the wiſh impoſed on it by the ſafety of the ſtate.

The French have conquered liberty; they wiſh to preſerve their conqueſt; they wiſh to enjoy repoſe after their victory.

For this glorious repoſe they will be indebted to the hereditary government of a ſingle individual, who, elevated above all, inveſted with great power, ſurrounded by ſplendour, glory, and majeſty, will defend public liberty, maintain equality, and lower his faſces before the ſovereign will of the people who proclaim him.

It is this government which the French nation wiſhed to give itſelf in the happydays of the year 1789, the recollection of which will be for ever dear to the friends of the country, whom the noble enthuſiaſm which the image alone of this government created, was involuntarily ſhared even by thoſe whoſe intereſts were hurt by the revolution, and againſt which a perfidious foreigner dared to lift up from afar his parricide hands, and in which the experience of ages, the reaſon of ſtateſmen, the genius of philoſophy, and the love of humanity, inſpired the repreſentatives whom the nation had choſen.

It is this government, limited by the law which the greateſt genius of Greece, the moſt celebrated orator of Rome, and the greateſt ſtateſmen of the 18th century, declato be the beſt of all.

It is that alone which can put an end to dangerous rivalities in a country covered with numerous armies, and commanded by great captains.

Hiſtory holds it up as an invincible obſtacle to all the raſh efforts of a bloody anarchy, the violence of an audacious tyranny which believed itſelf to be abſolved by ſtrength, and to the perfidious attempts of a deſpotiſm ſtill more dangerous, which ſpreading in darkneſs its formidable nets, waited with hypocritical patience for the moment to throw off the maſk, and to lift up the ſhaft of iron.

It declares to a brave and generous nation—"You have loſt your independence, your liberty, and your name, becauſe you would not renounce electing a ſupreme chief."

It unveils that long ſequel of tumults, diſſentions, and civil diſcords, which have preceded or followed thoſe periods when nations elected a new chief; happy, when not condemned to the ſhame ſtill more inſupportable than death, of receiving a foreign power, conqueror, or corruptor, a contemptible chief, cowardly enſlaved, or baſely perfidious.

It bids us to regard the city of the Cæſars, the capital of the world, a prey to all the diſorders, crimes, and furies, which the gold, the ſword, and the poiſon of the competitors for the empire could create,

create, until an hereditary power replaced a monſtrous aſſemblage of conteſted elections, ludicrous ſanctions, uncertain deciſions, unacknowledged adoptions, and deſpiſed acclamations.

After the fifteen ages which have elapſed ſince the year 1789, after all the cataſtrophes which have ſucceeded each other; after the numberleſs dangers which have ſurrounded the ſocial body, and when we ſaw the abyſs opened, into which they ſeemed reſolved to caſt it, before the ſaviour of France was reſtored to us, what other government than that of a ſingle individual, regulated by the law for the happineſs of all, and confided to a family whoſe deſtiny is inſeparable from that of the revolution, could protect the fortune of ſo great a number of citizens, become holders of landed property, which a counter-revolution would ſnatch from them, guarantee the heads of Frenchmen who have never ceaſed to be faithful to the ſovereign people, and even defend the exiſtence of thoſe, who miſled in the beginning of our political torments, have claimed and obtained the indulgence of their country.

What other ægis than that government, can for ever repel thoſe execrable plots, which reproducing themſelves under every form, ſetting every ſpring at work, one day overturned and the next re-appearing, might at length finiſh by tiring out fortune; and to which were devoted thoſe blind zealots, who in their guilty delirium, conceive they have means once more to erect for a family whom the the people have proſcribed, a throne compoſed only of feudal trophies and inſtruments of ſervitude, which the national thunder has reduced to duſt.

What other government in ſhort can for ever preſerve that acquiſition ſo dear to a generous nation, thoſe palms of genius, and thoſe laurels of victory, which the enemies of France would with ſacrilegious hands ſnatch from her auguſt brow.

This hereditary government can only be confided to Napoleon Bonaparte and his family.

Glory, gratitude, love, reaſon, the intereſt of the ſtate, all proclaim Napoleon Bonaparte hereditary Emperor.

But, Citizen Firſt Conſul, the benefit of our ſocial pact ought to endure, if poſſible, as long as your renown.

We ought to enſure the happineſs, and guarantee the rights of generations to come.

The imperial government ought to be unſhaken. Let not the forgetfulneſs of precautions called for by wiſdom, ſuffer the ſtorms of an ill organized regency, to ſucceed the tempeſt of an elective government.

Liberty and equality muſt be held ſacred, the ſocial pact muſt not be violated; the ſovereignty of the people muſt be acknowledged, in order that at the moſt diſtant times the nation may not be forced again to ſeize its power, and avenge its outraged majeſty.

The Senate is of opinion, Citizen Firſt Conſul, that it is for the deareſt intereſts of the French people, to confide the government of the republic to Napoleon Bonaparte, hereditary Emperor.

It developes in the memorial which it annexes to its meſſage,

the diſpoſitions which appear to it the moſt proper to give to our inſtitutions the neceſſary force to guarantee to the nation its deareſt rights, by ſecuring the independence of the great authorities, the free and enlightened vote of impoſt, the ſecurity of proſperity, the liberty of individuals, of the preſs, and of elections; the reſponſibility of miniſters, and the inviolability of the conſtitutional laws.

Theſe tutelary diſpoſitions, Citizen Firſt Conſul, will completely ſhelter the French people from the plots of their enemies, and from thoſe agitations which take their riſe from ambitious rivals, they will maintain the reign of the law, of liberty and equality.

The love of the French for your perſon, tranſmitted to your ſucceſſors with the immortal glory of your name, will for ever connect the rights of the nation, with the power of the prince.

The ſocial pact will brave time.

The republic, as immutable as its vaſt territory, will behold political tempeſts gather round it in vain.

To ſhake it the whole world muſt be ſhaken, and poſterity in calling to recollection the prodigies brought about by your genius, will continually behold erect that immenſe monument of every thing for which the country will be indebted to you."

The following are Addreſſes, upon the ſame Subject, from a Part of the Army, and from the City of Paris, being a Specimen of the numerous Addreſſes, which have been ſent by all the Departments the Armies, and the principal Cities.

Addreſs of the Firſt Diviſion of the Camp at Oſtend, dated 29th of April, 1804.

GENERAL FIRST CONSUL,

A cry has been heard in the army!!—That cry is echoed in every heart.

The ſoldiers of the 1ſt diviſion of the camp at Bruges, ſenſible of the dangers which you have encountered alone, in the common cauſe; more ſenſible ſtill of the benefits which they have derived from you, are eager to decree to you a title auguſt and worthy of you.

You are already their chief and their father, but theſe titles are not ſufficient to expreſs either their enthuſiaſm or their love. Let, then, that of Emperor teach the world, that France has known how to expreſs her gratitude for all that you have done for her!

Yet a painful recollection mingles itſelf with our hopes. Already have the poignards of the enemy more than once threatened your deſtiny, to which that of ſo many others is attached.

France was on the point of being annihilated in your perſon. Let her ſurvive in your illuſtrious family! And let poſterity know what your great actions have been and what has been our gratitude. The organ of a part of your troops, I am happy in having it in my power to expreſs to you their ſentiments.

Deign to accept, General Firſt Conſul, the teſtimonies of love and of reſpect of the firſt diviſion, and of mine.

(Signed) The General of Diviſion,
OUDINOT.

[Then follow the ſignatures of the generals and officers of the ſtaff, and of the officers and ſoldiers of

of the five regiments which compoſe the diviſion.

Addreſs of the Municipal Body of Paris, dated 30th April, 1804.

To-day, Citizen Firſt Conſul, all France expreſſes the ſame wiſhes we expreſſed two years ago. To day all France, happy under your government, conjures you to eterniſe the benefit of it.

Do not forget it, Citizen Firſt Conſul: in 1789, France, without doubt, demanded a revolution; but ſhe demanded it in the maxims of her government, and not in the unity which conſtituted her eſſence.

The French, then free, in the choice of their deputies to the ſtates general, free in the expreſſion of their ſentiments and wiſhes, expreſsly demanded that all the citizens, equal in rights, ſhould be admiſſible, without diſtinction of rank and birth, to all the public functions. They demanded that the power of exerciſing arbitrary acts ſhould no longer reſide any where, and that no citizen might be condemned without having been tried. They demanded liberty of conſcience, or rather the free exerciſe of all forms of divine worſhip. They demanded that the repreſentatives of the nation ſhould be called to deliberate upon the public burdens. They demanded, in fine, as a guarantee of all the rights they invoked the reſtitution of, that the executive power ſhould remain confided to the hands of a ſingle perſon, and that this power ſhould be hereditary.

What the French demanded in 1789, they again demand to-day. They earneſtly demand it. A long experience has too fully convinced them that whatever has been done, or tried, beyond their firſt wiſhes, commanded perhaps by circumſtances ſtronger than men, cannot conſtitute either the duration, the force, or the happineſs of a great empire.

We ſhall not Citizen Firſt Conſul, point out the mode it would be moſt ſuitable to adopt for the accompliſhment of our wiſh. We truſt, in this reſpect, to the wiſdom of the firſt authority of the ſtate, and to your own wiſdom.

But let us be fearful of diſſembling the truth to ourſelves. The moments are preſſing. Our implacable enemies are obſerving us. We know what frightful projects they have ſhewn themſelves capable of! They will never ceaſe meditating our ruin before ſtrong, generous, and laſting inſtitutions will have convinced them that our ruin is impoſſible.

Signed the Twelve Mayors, the Twenty-four Aſſiſtant Mayors, the Five Members of the Council of Prefecture, the Prefect and the Secretary-General.

EMPEROR OF THE FRENCH.

On the 18th of May, the Senate, under the Preſidency of Cambaceres, decreed the organic Senatus Conſultum, which confers the title of Emperor on the Firſt Conſul, and eſtabliſhes the Imperial dignity hereditary in his family. It inſtantly decreed, that the members ſhould immediately repair to St. Cloud, to preſent the organic Senatus Conſultum to the Emperor. They ſet out after the cloſe of the ſitting, accompanied by ſeveral bodies of troops. The Senate, on

its arrival, being immediately admitted to an audience of the Emperor, the Conſul Cambaceres, the Preſident, preſented the organic Senatus Conſultum to the Firſt Conſul, and ſpoke as follows :—

"Sire,

The decree which the Senate has paſſed, and which it takes the earlieſt opportunity of preſenting to your Imperial Majeſty, is only the authentic expreſſion of a will already manifeſted by the nation. This decree, which confers on you a new title, and which after you ſecures the dignity hereditary to your race, adds nothing either to your glory or to your rights. The love and gratitude of the French people have, for four years, entruſted to your Majeſty the reins of government, and the conſtitutions of the ſtate repoſed in you the choice of a ſucceſſor. The moſt auguſt denomination, decreed to you, is then only a tribute which the nation pays to its own dignity, and to the neceſſity it experiences of giving you daily teſtimonies of reſpect and of attachment, which every day increaſe.

How could the French people find bounds to its gratitude, when you place none to your care and ſolicitude for it? Preſerving the remembrance of the evils which it ſuffered when abandoned to itſelf, how could it reflect without enthuſiaſm on the happineſs it has experienced, ſince Providence inſpired it with the idea, of throwing itſelf into your arms? Its armies were defeated; its finances were in diſorder; public credit was annihilated; factions were diſputing for the remains of our ancient ſplendor; every idea of morality, and even of religion, was obſcured; the habit of giving and reſuming power, left the magiſtrates without conſideration, and even rendered odious every kind of authority. Your Majeſty appeared; you recalled victory to our ſtandards; you eſtabliſhed order and economy in the public expenſes; the nation, encouraged by the uſe you made of your authority, reſumed confidence in its own reſources; your wiſdom allayed the rage of party; religion ſaw her altars raiſed up; ideas of juſtice and injuſtice were awakened in the minds of the citizens, when they ſaw crimes followed by puniſhment, and virtue ſignalized and rewarded with honourable diſtinctions. In the laſt place, and it is no doubt the greateſt of the miracles operated by your genius, that people, whoſe civil effervescence had rendered them impatient of every reſtraint, and hoſtile to every authority, were by your means made to cheriſh and reſpect a power which was exerciſed only for their glory and repoſe.

The French people do not pretend to eſtabliſh themſelves judges of the conſtitutions of other ſtates: they have no critical remarks to make; no examples to follow; experience in future will become their guide. They have taſted for ages the advantages attached to hereditary power; they have made a ſhort but painful trial of the contrary ſyſtem; they return by the effect of free and mature deliberation to a path ſuited to their genius. They make a free uſe of their rights, to delegate to your Imperial Majeſty a power which your intereſt forbids you to exerciſe by yourſelf. They ſtipulate for future generations, and by a ſolemn compact entruſt to the offspring of you

your race, the happineſs of their poſterity. The latter will imitate your virtues, the former will inherit our love and our fidelity. Happy the nation which, after ſo much trouble and uncertainty, finds in its boſom a man worthy of appeaſing the tempeſts of the paſſions, of conciliating all intereſts, and uniting all voices! Happy the prince who holds his power by the will, the confidence, and the affection of the citizens!——If it be in the principles of our conſtitution, and already ſeveral examples of this kind have been given, to ſubmit to the ſanction of the people, that part of the decree which concerns the eſtabliſhment of an hereditary government; the Senate have thought that it ought to entreat your Imperial Majeſty to conſent that the organic diſpoſitions ſhould be immediately carried into execution; and that, for the glory as well as the happineſs of the republic, Napoleon may be immediately proclaimed Emperor of the French."

The Emperor replied in the following terms:

"Every thing that can contribute to the good of the country is eſſentially connected with my happineſs. I accept the title which you think neceſſary to the glory of the nation. I ſubmit to the ſanction of the people the law of hereditary ſucceſſion. I hope France will never repent of its having ſurrounded with honours my family. In all caſes my ſpirit will ceaſe to be preſent with my poſterity, the day on which it ſhall ceaſe to deſerve the love and confidence of the great nation."

The Senate being then admitted to an audience of her Majeſty the Empreſs, the Conſul Cambaceres, the Preſident, ſaid:

"Madam,

We have juſt preſented to your auguſt ſpouſe the decree which confers on him the title of Emperor, which eſtabliſhes the government hereditary in his family, and aſſociates future generations in the happineſs of the preſent race.

A very agreeable duty remains to be performed by the Senate—that of offering to your Imperial Majeſty the homage of its reſpect, and an expreſſion of the gratitude of the French.

Yes, Madam, fame proclaims the good which you are continually doing; it ſays, that being always acceſſible to the unfortunate, you employ your influence with the chief of the ſtate only to relieve diſtreſs, and that to the pleaſure of obliging, your Majeſty adds that amiable delicacy which renders gratitude ſweeter and the kindneſs more valuable.

This diſpoſition preſages, that the name of the Empreſs Joſephine will be the ſignal of conſolation and of hope, and as the virtues of Napoleon will always ſerve as an example to his ſucceſſors, to teach them the art of governing nations; the living remembrance of your goodneſs, will teach their auguſt conſorts that the care of drying up tears is the moſt effectual means of preſerving an empire over all hearts.

The Senate thinks itſelf happy in the opportunity of being the firſt to ſalute you Empreſs, and he who has the honour of being its organ, takes the liberty to hope that you will deign to reckon him among the number of your moſt faithful ſervants.

The Organic Senatus Conſultum was then proclaimed by the Emperor.

His Imperial Majeſty nominated to the dignity of Grand Elector, his Imperial Highneſs, Prince Joſeph Bonaparte; to that of Conſtable, his Imperial Highneſs prince Louis Bonaparte; to that of Arch-Chancellor of the Empire, the Conſul Cambaceres; and to that of Arch-Treaſurer, the Conſul Lebrun. The Arch-Chancellor of the Empire, the Arch-Treaſurer, and Conſtable, took the oaths in the preſence of the Emperor. The Arch-Chancellor of the Empire preſented the Miniſters and Secretary of State, who took the oaths before the Emperor. The Conſtable then preſented Generals d'Avouſt and Beſſieres, as well as General Murat, Governor of Paris. The Arch-Chancellor of the Empire preſented alſo General Duroc, Governor of the Imperial Palace, who took the oath.

His Imperial Majeſty then addreſſed to Conſuls Cambaceres and Lebrun the following letter:

"Citizen Conſul Cambaceres,

Your title is about to be changed; but your functions and my confidence remain the ſame. In the high dignity of Arch-Chancellor, in which you are going to be inveſted, you will manifeſt, as you have done in that of Conſul, the wiſdom of your counſels, and thoſe diſtinguiſhed talents which have given you ſo important a ſhare in all the good that I can have done. I have nothing therefore to requeſt of you but the continuation of the ſame ſentiments for the ſtate and for me.

NAPOLEON."

Done at the Palace of St. Cloud, 28 Floreal, Year 12, (May 18, 1804).

On the 20th of May the following decree was made by the Emperor:

Napoleon, Emperor of the French, decrees the following Generals to be Marſhals of the Empire:—Berthier, Murat, Moncey, Jourdan, Maſſena, Augereau, Bernadotte, Soult, Brune, Lannes, Mortier, Ney, Devouſt, Beſſieres. ——The titles of Marſhals of the Empire to be given to the following Senators;—Kellerman, Lefebre, Perignon, Serrurier.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.

Done at St. Cloud, &c. &c. &c.

The French Princes and Princeſſes are to be addreſſed by the title of their Imperial Highneſſes; and the Siſters of the Emperor are to enjoy the ſame dignity. The great Officers of the Empire are to receive the title of their Serene Highneſſes, and they, as well as the Princes, are to be addreſſed, "Monſeigneur." ——The High Officers of the Empire are to wear the ſame dreſs as that of Conſuls; but they are to appear in a particular coſtume upon great occaſions. —The Secretary of State has the rank of a Miniſter; and all the Miniſters will have the title of "their Excellencies." The Functionaries of the Departments, and all thoſe who preſent petitions, are to addreſs them by the title of "Monſeigneur." The Preſident of the Senate will receive the title of "his Excellency." The Marſhals of the Empire are to be called "Monſieur le Marſhal;" and when ſpoken to, or addreſſed in writing

writing, they have the title of "Monſeigneur."

Organic Senatus Conſultum extracted from the Regiſter of the Conſervative Senate. Floreal, Year 12,—May 18, 1804.

The Conſervative Senate, aſſembled to the number of members preſcribed by the 90th article of the Conſtitution, having ſeen the project of the Senatus Conſultum drawn up according to the 57th article of the Organic Senatus Conſultum, dated Thermidor 16, year 10, and after having heard on the motives of the ſaid project the Orators of Government, and the report of its Special Commiſſion, nominated in the ſitting of the 26th of this month, and having deliberated on the adoption of it, to the number of voices preſcribed by the 56th article of the Organic Senatus Conſultum, of the 16th of Thermidor, year 10, decrees as follows:

TITLE I.

Art. 1. The Government of the Republic ſhall be entruſted to an Emperor, who aſſumes the title of Emperor of the French,—Juſtice ſhall be adminiſtered in the name of the Emperor by officers whom he ſhall appoint.

2. Napoleon Bonaparte, now Firſt Conſul of the Republic, ſhall be Emperor of the French.

TITLE II.—OF HEREDITAMENT.

3. The imperial dignity is hereditary, in the direct, natural, and legitimate deſcent of Napoleon Bonaparte, from male to male, by order of primogeniture, and to the perpetual excluſion of females and their deſcent.

4. Napoleon Bonaparte may adopt the children or grand-children of his brothers, provided they have attained the age of eighteen years complete, and that he himſelf have no male heirs at the time of adoption. His adopted ſons enter into the line of his direct deſcent. If he has any male children poſterior to adoption, his adopted ſons can ſucceed only after the natural and legitimate deſcendants. Adoption is interdicted to the ſucceſſors of Napoleon Bonaparte, and to their deſcendants.

5. Failing a natural or legitimate heir, or adopted heir of Napoleon Bonaparte, the imperial dignity ſhall devolve to and be conferred on Joſeph Bonaparte and his natural and legitimate deſcendants, in order of primogeniture, to the perpetual excluſion of females and their deſcendants.

6. Failing Joſeph Bonaparte and his male deſcendants, the imperial dignity ſhall devolve to and be conferred on Louis Buonaparte and his natural and legitimate deſcendants, in the order of primogeniture, from male to male, and to the perpetual excluſion of females and their deſcendants.

7. Failing a natural and legitimate heir, or adopted heir of Napoleon Bonaparte, failing a natural or legitimate heir of Joſeph Bonaparte and his male deſcendants, of Louis Buonaparte and his male deſcendants, an organic Senatus Conſultum, propoſed to the Senate by the titularies of the great dignitaries of the Empire, and ſubmitted to the acceptance of the people, ſhall nominate the Emperor, and regulate in his family the order of hereditament, from male to male, to the perpetual excluſion of females and of their deſcendants.

8. Until

8. Until the moment of the election of the new Emperor, the affairs of the ſtate ſhall be governed by the Miniſters, who ſhall form in Council the Government, and who ſhall deliberate by a majority of voices. The Secretary of State ſhall keep a journal of the deliberations.

TITLE III.—OF THE IMPERIAL FAMILY.

9. The Members of the Imperial Family in the order of hereditament ſhall bear the title of French Princes. The eldeſt ſon of the Emperor ſhall be ſtyled Imperial Prince.

10. The mode of education for the French Princes ſhall be regulated by a Senatus Conſultum.

11. They are members of the Senate and of the Council of State, when they have attained to their eighteenth year.

12. They cannot marry without the conſent of the Emperor. The marriage of a French Prince without the conſent of the Emperor, incurs the privation of all right of inheritance both for the individual who has contracted it, and for his deſcendants.

13. The acts which atteſt the birth, the marriages, and deaths of Members of the Imperial Family, ſhall be tranſmitted, by order from the Emperor, to the Senate, who ſhall order them to be inſcribed in their journals, and depoſited among their archives.

14. Napoleon Bonaparte ſhall eſtabliſh, by ſtatutes to which his ſucceſſors are bound to conform.

1ſt. The duties of the individuals of both ſexes, who are members of the Imperial Family towards the Emperor:

2d. An organization of the Imperial Palace, conformably to the dignity of the throne, and the grandeur of the nation.

15. The civil liſt remains regulated in the ſame manner as it was by the 1ſt and 4th articles of the decree of May 26, 1791.—The Princes Joſeph and Louis Bonaparte, and, in future, the younger natural and legitimate ſons of the Emperor, ſhall be treated agreeably to the articles 1, 10, 11, 12, and 13 of the decree of December 21, 1790. The Emperor may fix the jointure of the Empreſs, and refer it to the Civil Liſt. His ſucceſſors can introduce no change in the diſpoſitions made in this reſpect.

16. The Emperor ſhall viſit the departments; Imperial palaces ſhall therefore be eſtabliſhed in the four principal points of the empire. Theſe palaces ſhall be fixed, and their dependencies eſtabliſhed by a law.

TITLE IV.—OF THE REGENCY.

17. The Emperor is a minor till the age of eighteen years complete; during his minority there ſhall be a Regent of the Empire.

18. The Regent muſt be at leaſt twenty-five years of age, complete; females are excluded from the Regency.

19. The Emperor chooſes the Regent from among the French Princes who have attained to the age preſcribed by the preceding article; and failing them, from among the titularies of the great dignities of the Empire.

20. Failing deſignation on the part of the Emperor, the Regency ſhall devolve to the Prince neareſt in degree in the order of inheritance

tance, who has attained to 25 years complete.

21. In cafes where the Emperor has not chofen the Regent, if none of the French Princes have attained to the age of 25 years complete, the Senate fhall chooſe the Regent from the titularies of the great dignities of the empire.

22. When, on account of the minority of a Prince called to the Regency in the order of inheritance, it has been conferred on a more diſtant relation, or on one of the titularies of the great dignities of the Empire, the Regent who has entered on the exerciſe of his functions, ſhall continue them till the majority of the Emperor.

23. No Organic Senatus Conſultum can be paſſed during the Regency, nor before the end of the third year after the majority.

24. The Regent ſhall exerciſe, till the majority of the Emperor, all the attributes of the Imperial dignity; he cannot, however, nominate to the grand dignities of the Empire, nor to the places of the great officers which may be vacant at the period of the Regency, or which may become vacant during the minority, nor uſe the prerogative reſerved for the Emperor of raiſing citizens to the rank of Senator. He cannot diſmiſs either the Grand Judge or the Secretary of State.

25. He is not perſonally reſponſible for the acts of his adminiſtration.

26. All acts of the Regency are in the name of the Emperor under age.

27. The Regent can propoſe no project of a law or Senatus Conſultum, and can adopt no regulation of public adminiſtration, until he has conſulted the Council of Regency, compoſed of the titularies of the great dignities of the Empire. He cannot declare war or ſign treaties of peace, alliance, or commerce, until after deliberation in the Council of Regency; the members of which in this caſe only have a deliberative voice. The deciſion ſhall be by a majority of voices, and if there be an equality that of the Regent ſhall determine it. The miniſter of Foreign Relations ſhall have a ſeat in the Council of Regency, when the Council deliberates on affairs relating to his department. The Grand Judge, Miniſter of Juſtice, may be called to it by order of the Regent. The Secretary of State ſhall keep a journal of the deliberations.

28. The Regency can confer no right on the perſon of the minor Emperor.

29 The ſalary of the Regent is fixed at a fourth amount of the civil liſt.

30. The care of the minor Emperor is entruſted to his mother, and, failing her, to the prince chofen for that purpoſe by the predeceſſor of the minor Emperor. Failing the mother of the minor Emperor, and a prince chofen by the Emperor, the Senate ſhall entruſt the care of the minor Emperor to one of the titularies of the great dignities of the Empire. Neither the Regent, nor his deſcendants or females, can be chofen to take charge of the minor Emperor.

31. In caſe Napoleon Bonaparte ſhall uſe the faculty conferred on him by the 4th Article of Title II. the act of adoption ſhall be performed in the preſence of the titu-

titularies of the grand dignities of the Empire; ſhall be received by the Secretary of State, and immediately tranſmitted to the Senate to be inſcribed in the Journals, and depoſited among the archives, when the Emperor nominates either a Regent for the minority, or a Prince to take charge of the minor Emperor, the ſame formalities ſhall be obſerved: the act of nomination either of a Regent for the minority, or a Prince to take charge of the minor Emperor, are revocable, at the pleaſure of the Emperor; every act of adoption, nomination, or revocation of a nomination, which has not been inſcribed in the Journals of the Senate, before the death of the Emperor, ſhall be null and void.

TITLE V.—OF THE GREAT DIGNITIES OF THE EMPIRE.

32. The grand dignities of the empire, are thoſe of Grand Elector, Arch-Chancellor of State, Arch-Treaſurer, Conſtable, and Grand Admiral.

33. The titularies of the Grand dignities of the Empire are nominated by the Emperor. They ſhall enjoy the ſame honours as the French Princes, and take precedency immediately after them. The period of their reception determines the rank which they reſpectively hold.

34. The grand dignities of the Empire cannot be removed.

35. The titularies of the great dignities of the Empire, are Senators and Counſellors of State.

36. They form the Grand Council of the Emperor, they are members of the privy Council; they compoſe the Grand Council of the Legion of Honour. The preſent members of the Grand Council of the Legion of Honour ſhall retain, during life, their titles, functions, and prerogatives.

37. The Emperor preſides in the Senate, and Council of State. When the Emperor does not preſide in the Senate, or Council of State, he ſhall nominate one of the titularies of the Great Dignities of ſtate to be preſident.

38. All acts of the Senate and Legiſlative body are paſſed in the name of the Emperor, and promulgated or publiſhed under the Imperial Seal.

39. The Grand Elector performs the functions of Chancellor.

1ſt. In convoking the Legiſlative body, the Electoral colleges, and the Cantonal aſſemblies.

2d. In promulgating the Senatus Conſulta for diſſolving the Legiſlative Body, or the Electoral colleges.

The Grand Elector preſides in the abſence of the Emperor, when the Senate proceeds to the nomination of Senators, Legiſlators or Tribunes. He may reſide in the palace of the Senate. He makes known to the Emperor the remonſtrances preſented by the Electoral colleges of the Cantonal aſſemblies, in regard to the preſervation of their prerogatives. When a member of an Electoral college is denounced agreeably to the 21ſt article of the organic Senatus Conſultum, of the 16th of Thermidor, year 10, as having committed any act contrary to the honour or the good of his country, the Grand Elector ſhall invite the College to manifeſt its will. He ſhall report the will of the college to the Emperor. The Grand Elector preſents the members of the Senate, of the Council of State, and of the Legi-

Legiſlative Body, to take the oath before the Emperor. He adminiſters the oath to the Preſidents of the Electoral Colleges of the department and cantonal aſſemblies. He preſents the ſolemn deputation of the Senate, the Council of State, Legiſlative Body, Tribunate, and Electoral Colleges, when admitted to an audience of the Emperor.

40. The Arch Chancellor of the Empire performs the functions of Chancellor in promulgating Senatus Conſulta and the laws. He likewiſe performs the functions of Chancellor of the Imperial Palace. He is preſent when the Grand Judge, Miniſter of Juſtice, lays before the Emperor his annual report of the abuſes which have crept into the adminiſtration of juſtice, both civil and criminal. He preſides in the high Imperial Court, and alſo at the United Sections of the Council of State and Tribunate, conformably to Art. 95, Title 11. He is preſent at the celebration of the marriages and births of the princes, and at the Coronation and funeral obſequies of the Emperor. He ſigns the procès-verbal drawn up by the Secretary of State. He preſents the titularies of the Grand Dignities of the Empire, the Miniſters and Secretary of State, the Grand Civil Officers of the Crown, and the Preſident of the Court of Caſſation, when the oath is adminiſtered to them in the preſence of the Emperor. He adminiſters the oath to the members of the Court of Caſſation, and to the Preſidents and Attorneys General of the Courts of Appeal, and alſo of the Criminal Courts. He preſents the ſolemn deputations and the members of the Courts of Juſtice, when admitted to an audience of the Emperor. He ſigns and ſeals the commiſſions and appointments of the members of the Courts of Juſtice, and the miniſterial officers; he ſeals the commiſſions and appointments of the civil and adminiſtrative functions, and of the other acts which will be deſignated in the regulation entitled "Organization of the Seal."

41. The Arch Chancellor of State performs the functions of Chancellor, in promulgating treaties of peace, and in declaring war. He preſents to the Emperor, and ſigns the credentials and correſpondence with the different courts of Europe, according to the forms of the Imperial Protocol, of which he is the keeper. He is preſent when the Miniſter for Exterior Relations lays before the Emperor his annual report of the political ſituation of the ſtate. He preſents the ambaſſadors and miniſters of the Emperor, when the oath is adminiſtered to them in the preſence of his Imperial Majeſty. He adminiſters the oath to the reſidents, chargés d'affaires, ſecretaries of embaſſy and legation, commiſſaries general, and commiſſaries for commercial relations.

42. The Arch Treaſurer is preſent when the miniſters of finance and the public treaſury lay before the Emperor the annual accounts of the receipts and expenſes of the ſtate, and make known to him their views with regard to the financial neceſſities of the empire. Before the accounts of the annual receipts and diſburſements are laid before the Emperor, they muſt receive his ſignature. He preſides at the United Sections of the Counſel

of

of State and Tribunate, conformably to Art. 95, Title 11. He receives, every three months, the report of the labours of the national accountants; and, once a year, he receives the general result and plans of reform and amelioration in the different offices of the public accounts, which he lays before the Emperor. He balances, every year, the great book of debt. He signs appointments and civil pensions. He administers the oath to the national accountants, the administrators of finance, and the principal agents of the public treasury. He presents the deputations from the national accountants and the administrators of finance, when admitted to an audience of the Emperor.

43. The constable is present when the minister at war and the director of the war department lay before the Emperor the annual report of the dispositions to be taken for completing the defence of the frontiers, and the charge of keeping up, repairing, and provisioning the fortified towns. He lays the first stone of every fortress about to be erected. He is governor of the military schools. When the Emperor does not present in person the colours of any regiment, they are presented in his name by the constable. In the absence of the Emperor, the constable reviews the imperial guard. When a general is suspected of a crime specified in the penal military code, the constable may preside at the counsel of war. He presents the marshals of the empire, the colonels general, the inspectors general, and the officers general, when the oath is administered to them in the presence of the Emperor. He administers the oath to majors, captains, commodores, &c. He installs the marshals of the empire. He presents the generals, colonels, majors, &c. of the army, when admitted to an audience of the Emperor. He signs appointments in the army, and those of the military pensioners of the state.

44. The grand admiral is present when the minister of marine lays before the Emperor the annual report of the state of the navy. He annually receives and presents to the Emperor, the accounts of the chest of marine invalids. When an admiral, vice-admiral, or rear-admiral, is suspected of a crime specified in the penal military code, the grand admiral may preside at the court martial. He presents the admirals, vice-admirals, rear admirals, and captains, when the oath is administered to them in the presence of the Emperor. He administers the oath to the members of the counsel of prizes, and to captains of frigates. He presents the admirals, vice-admirals, rear-admirals, captains, and members of the counsel of prizes, when admitted to an audience of the Emperor. He signs appointments in the navy, and those of the marine pensioners of the state.

45. Each titulary of the grand dignities of the empire presides over a departmental electoral college. The grand elector presides over the electoral college at Brussels. The arch-chancellor of the empire presides over the electoral college at Bourdeaux. The arch-chancellor of state presides over the electoral college at Nantz. The arch-treasurer of the empire presides over the electoral college at Lyons. The constable presides over

over the electoral college at Turin. The grand admiral preſides over the electoral college at Marſeilles.

46. Each titulary of the grand dignities of the empire receives annually, according to the eſtabliſhed uſage, a third of the ſum appropriated to the princes, conformably to the decree of the 21ſt of December, 1790.

47. An imperial ſtatute regulates the functions of the titularies of the grand dignities of the empire about the perſon of the Emperor, and determines the coſtume to be worn by them in grand ceremonies. The Emperor's ſucceſſors cannot deviate from this ſtatute but by a ſenatus conſultum.

TITLE VI.—OF THE GRAND OFFICERS OF THE EMPIRE.

48. The grand officers of the empire are: firſt, marſhals of the empire, choſen from among the moſt diſtinguiſhed generals. Their number not to exceed ſixteen; of which number the marſhals of the empire who are alſo ſenators cannot make a part. Secondly, eight inſpectors of artillery and fortifications, troops of horſe and marine. Thirdly, grand civil officers of the crown, as they ſhall hereafter be appointed by ſtatutes of the Emperor.

49. The poſt of grand officer is perpetual.

50. Each of the grand officers of the empire preſides over an electoral college, which is ſpecially appointed to him at the moment of his nomination.

51. If, by an order of the Emperor, or by any other cauſe whatever, a titulary of a grand dignity of the empire, or a grand officer, relinquiſhes his functions, he nevertheleſs preſerves his title, rank, privileges, and a moiety of the ſalary attached to his office. He can only forfeit them by a judgment of the high imperial court.

TITLE VII.—OF OATHS.

52. In the courſe of the two years ſubſequent to his acceſſion or majority, the Emperor accompanied by the titularies of the grand dignities of the empire, the miniſters, the grand officers of the empire, takes the oath of fidelity to the French people upon the Evangeliſt, and in the preſence of the ſenate, the counſel of ſtate, the legiſlative body, the tribunate, the court of caſſation, the archbiſhops, the biſhops, the grand officers of the legion of honour, the national accountants, the preſidents of the courts of appeal, the preſidents of the electoral colleges, the preſidents of the cantonal aſſemblies, the preſidents of the conſiſtories, and the mayors of thirty-ſix principal towns of the empire. The ſecretary of ſtate prepares the procès-verbal of the ceremony.

53. The oath taken by the Emperor is couched as follows: "I "ſwear to maintain the integrity "of the territory of the republic; "to reſpect and to cauſe to be re-"ſpected the laws of the concor-"dat and the liberty of public "worſhip; to reſpect and to cauſe "to be reſpected the equality of "rights, political and civil liberty, "the irrevocability of the ſales "of national domains; to levy no "duty, to impoſe no tax, but by "virtue of the law; to maintain "the inſtitution of the legion of "honour; and to have no view in "governing, but the intereſt, the "happineſs, and the glory of the "French people."

54. Before

54. Before he enters upon the exercise of his functions, the regent accompanied by the titularies of the grand dignitaries of the empire, the ministers, and the grand officers of the empire take the oath upon the Evangelist, and in the presence of the senate, the counsel of state, the president and questors of the legislative body, the president and questors of the tribunate, and the grand officers of the legion of honour. The secretary of state prepares the procès-verbal of the ceremony.

55. The oath taken by the regent is as follows: "I swear to "administer the affairs of the "state, conformably to the con-"stitutions of the empire, the se-"natus consulta, and the laws; to "maintain, in all its integrity, "the territory of the republic, "the rights of the nation, and "those of the imperial dignity, "and faithfully to deliver up to "the Emperor, as soon as he at-"tains his majority, the power "which has been confided to "me."

56. The titularies of the grand dignities of the empire, the ministers and the secretary of state, the grand officers, the members of the senate, the legislative body, the tribunate, the electoral colleges, and the cantonal assemblies, take the following oath: "I swear "obedience to the constitutions "of the empire, and fidelity to "the Emperor." The public functionaries, civil and judicial, the officers and soldiers of the army on land and sea, take the same oath.

TITLE VIII. OF THE SENATE.

57. The senate is composed, 1st. Of the French princes who have attained their 18th year; 2dly, Of the titularies of the grand dignities of the empire; 3dly, Of the twenty-four members chosen by the Emperor from the lists delivered in by the departmental electoral colleges; 4thly, Of citizens whom the Emperor deems proper to raise to the dignity of senator.

58. The president of the senate is named by the Emperor, and chosen from the list of senators. His functions continue for twelve months.

59. He convokes the senate at the command of the Emperor, and at the requisition, 1st, Of the commissions hereafter spoken of in article 60 and 64; 2dly, Of a senator, conformably to the provisions made in article 70; 3dly, Of an officer for the interior concerns of the body. He lays before the Emperor an account of the several convocations made at the requisition of the commissions, &c. their object, and the result of the deliberations of the senate.

60. A commission of seven members, named by the senate, and chosen from the body, takes cognizance of arrests (conformably to article 46 of the constitution,) whenever the person arrested is not brought before the tribunals in the space of ten days after the time of such arrest. This commission is called the Senatorial Commission for personal liberty.

61. Every arrested person not called to take his trial in ten days after his arrest, may immediately appeal, by himself, his representatives, or by petition, to the senatorial commission for personal liberty.

62. When the said commission is of opinion that the interests of the

the ſtate do not call for the detention of the arreſted perſon beyond the period of ten days, it invites the miniſter who ordered the arreſt to cauſe the perſon ſo detained to be either ſet at liberty, or ſent before the ordinary tribunals.

63. If after three ſucceſſive invitations, renewed in the ſpace of one month, the detained perſon is not ſet at liberty or ſent before the ordinary tribunals, the commiſſion demands an aſſembly of the ſenate, which is convoked by the preſident, and makes, if it ſo determines, the following declaration: "There "are ſtrong preſumptions that N. is arbitrarily detained." It afterwards proceeds conformably to the proviſions of article 92, title 13, of the high imperial court.

64. A commiſſion of ſeven members, named by the ſenate, and choſen from the body, is appointed to watch over the liberty of the preſs. Works printed and diſtributed by ſubſcription, and at ſtated periods, do not come under its cognizance. This commiſſion is called the Senatorial Commiſſion for the Liberty of the Preſs.

65. Authors, printers, and bookſellers, having reaſon to complain of injunctions being laid upon the printing or circulation of works, may apply perſonally, or by petition, to the ſenatorial commiſſion for the liberty of the preſs.

66. When the commiſſion is of opinion that the intereſts of the ſtate do not demand ſuch injunction, it invites the miniſter who iſſued the order to revoke it.

67. If after three ſucceſſive invitations, renewed in the ſpace of one month, the injunction ſtill continues, the commiſſion demands an aſſembly of the ſenate, which is convoked by the preſident, and makes, if it ſo determines, the following declaration: "There "are ſtrong preſumptions that the "liberty of the preſs has been vio-"lated." It afterwards proceeds conformably to the proviſions of article 92, title 13, of the high imperial court.

68. The functions of a member of each of the ſenatorial commiſſions ceaſe at the expiration of four months.

69. The projèts de lois decreed by the legiſlative body, are tranſmitted to the ſenate on the day of their adoption, and are depoſited in the archives.

70. Every decree iſſued by the legiſlative body may be denounced in the ſenate by any of the members thereof; 1. As tending to reſtore the feudal ſyſtem; 2. As affecting the ſale of national domains; 3. As having been iſſued contrary to the forms preſcribed by the conſtitutions of the empire, &c.

71. In the courſe of ſix days after the adoption of the projèt de loi, the ſenate, after deliberating upon the report of a ſpecial commiſſion, and hearing the decree read three times at three ſittings held on ſeparate days, may declare its opinion as to the propriety of promulgating the ſaid law. The preſident lays the deciſion of the ſenate before the Emperor.

72. The Emperor, after hearing the counſel of ſtate, either declares by a decree his adherence to the deliberation of the ſenate, or cauſes the law to be promulgated.

73. Every ſuch law not promulgated before the expiration of ten days, cannot be promulgated un-

leſs it has been again deliberated on, and adopted, by the legiſlative body.

74. The entire operations of an electoral college, as well as its partial operations relative to the preſentation of candidates to the ſenate, the legiſlative body, or the tribunate, can only be annulled, on the ground of their being unconſtitutional, by an expreſs ſenatus conſultum.

TITLE IX.—OF THE COUNSEL OF STATE.

75. When the counſel of ſtate is deliberating upon a projèt de loi, &c. two-thirds of the members in ordinary ſervice muſt be preſent. The number of members preſent can never be leſs than twenty-five.

76. The counſel of ſtate is divided into ſix ſections; viz. the ſection of legiſlation, the ſection of the interior, the ſection of finance, the ſection of war, the ſection of marine, and the ſection of commerce.

77. When a member of the counſel of ſtate has been five years upon the liſt of members in ordinary ſervice, he receives the rank of counſellor of ſtate for life. When he ceaſes to be on the liſt of the counſel of ſtate in ordinary or extraordinary ſervice, he is only entitled to one-third of the ſalary attached to the office.

TITLE X.—OF THE LEGISLATIVE BODY.

78. The members of the legiſlative body may be re-elected without interval.

79. Every projèt de loi preſented to the legiſlative body is returned to the three ſections of the tribunate.

80. The ſittings of the legiſlative body are divided into ordinary ſittings and general committees.

81. Ordinary ſittings are compoſed of members of the legiſlative body, orators of the counſel of ſtate, and orators of the three ſections of the tribunate. General committees are compoſed only of members of the legiſlative body. The preſident of the legiſlative body preſides both at the ordinary ſittings and general committees.

82. At an ordinary ſitting, the legiſlative body hear the orators of the counſel of ſtate, and alſo the orators of the three ſections of the tribunate, and votes on the projèt de loi. In a general committee, the members of the legiſlative body diſcuſs amongſt them the merits or demerits of the projèt de loi.

83. The legiſlative body reſolves itſelf into a general committee; 1. At the invitation of the preſident for the interior affairs of the body; 2. At a demand made to the preſident, and ſigned by fifty of the members preſent. In both theſe caſes, the general committee is a ſecret one, and its diſcuſſions can neither be printed nor divulged.

84. When the diſcuſſion in a general committee is cloſed, the deliberation is adjourned to the ordinary ſitting on the following day.

85. On the day appointed by the legiſlative body for voting on the projèt de loi, the orators of the counſel of ſtate are again heard.

86. The deliberation on a projèt de loi, can in no caſe be deferred for more than three days beyond the time fixed for cloſing the diſcuſſion.

87. The

87. The ſections of the tribunate conſtitute the ſole commiſſions of the legiſlative body; which can create no other, but in the caſe pointed out in article 113, title 13, of the high imperial court.

TITLE XI.—OF THE TRIBUNATE.

88. The functions of the members of the tribunate continue for ten years.

89. A moiety of the tribunate is renewed every five years. The firſt renewal will take place in the ſeſſion of the year 17, conformably to the organic ſenatus conſultum, of the 16th Thermidor, year 10.

90. The preſident of the tribunate is named by the Emperor, on the preſentation of three candidates choſen by the tribunate at the ſecret ballot.

91. The functions of the preſident of the tribunate continue for two years.

92. The tribunate has two queſtors. They are named by the Emperor, from a triple liſt of candidates choſen by the tribunate at a ſecret ballot. Their functions are the ſame as thoſe aſſigned to the queſtors of the legiſlative body by articles 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, and 25, of the organic ſenatus conſultum of the 24th Frimaire, year 12. One of the queſtors is renewed every year.

93. The tribunate is divided into three ſections; viz. the ſection of legiſlation, the ſection of the interior, and the ſection of finance.

94. Each ſection makes out a liſt of three of its members, from among whom the preſident of the tribunate chooſes the preſident of ſection. The functions of preſident of ſection continue for one year.

95. When the reſpective ſections of the counſel of ſtate and tribunate, demand a conference, ſuch conference takes place under the preſidency of the arch-chancellor or arch-treaſurer of the empire, according to the nature of the ſubject to be examined.

96. Each ſection diſcuſſes ſeparately, and in a ſectional aſſembly, the ſeveral projêts de lois tranſmitted to it by the legiſlative body. Two orators from each of the three ſections, lay before the legiſlative body the wiſhes of their ſection.

97. In no caſe can a projêt de loi be diſcuſſed by a general aſſembly of the tribunate. But it may form itſelf into a general aſſembly, under the preſidency of the preſident, for the exerciſe of its other privileges.

TITLE XII.—OF THE ELECTORAL COLLEGES.

98. As often as a departmental electoral college is aſſembled for the purpoſe of forming the liſt of candidates for the legiſlative body, a renewal of the liſt of candidates for the ſenate takes place. Every ſuch renewal annuls all anterior preſentations.

99. The grand officers, commandants and officers of the legion of honour, are members of the departmental electoral college in which their poſſeſſions may be ſituated, or of one of the departments of the company to which they belong. The legionaries are members of the electoral college of their diſtrict. The members of the legion of honour are admitted to their electoral college on preſenting a certificate given them

for this purpoſe by the grand Elector.

100. The prefects and military commandants of departments cannot be elected candidates for the ſenate by the departmental electoral colleges in which they exerciſe their functions.

TITLE XIII.—OF THE HIGH IMPERIAL COURT.

101. The high imperial court takes cognizance: 1ſt, Of crimes committed by members of the imperial family, by titularies of the grand dignities of the empire, by miniſters and by the ſecretary of ſtate, by grand officers, by ſenators, by counſellors of ſtate; 2dly, Of outrages and plots againſt the internal and external ſecurity of the ſtate, the perſon of the Emperor, and of the preſumptive heir to the empire; 3dly, Of crimes of official reſponſibility committed by miniſters and counſellors of ſtate; 4thly, Of treachery and abuſes of power, whether committed by captains-general of colonies, or colonial prefects, and commandants of foreign poſſeſſions; 5thly, Of generals, &c. acting contrary to inſtructions; 6thly, Of acts of extortion and dilapidation committed by prefects of the interior in the exerciſe of their functions; 7thly, Of denunciations occaſioned by arbitrary detentions, and the violation of the liberty of the preſs.

102. The ſeat of the high imperial court is in the ſenate.

103. The arch-chancellor of the empire is preſident. In caſe of illneſs or the neceſſary abſence of the arch-chancellor, another titulary of a grand dignity of the empire may preſide for the time being.

104. The high imperial court is compoſed of the princes, the titularies of the grand dignities and grand officers of the empire, the grand judge, miniſter of juſtice, ſixty ſenators, the ſix ſectional preſidents of the counſel of ſtate, fourteen counſellors of ſtate, and twenty members of the court of caſſation. The ſenators, counſellors of ſtate and members of the court of caſſation, are choſen by ſeniority.

105. An attorney-general, nominated for life by the Emperor, aſſiſts in the high imperial court. He performs the duties of his office, aſſiſted by three tribunes, choſen every year by the legiſlative body, and three magiſtrates nominated by the Emperor from the officers of the court of appeal and criminal juſtice.

106. The chief clerk of the high imperial court is nominated for life by the Emperor.

107. No exception can be made to the deciſion of the preſident of the high imperial court.

108. The proceedings of the high imperial court can only originate with the government.

110. Miniſters or counſellors of ſtate, acting contrary to the laws and conſtitutions of the empire, may be denounced by the legiſlative body.

111. Perſons holding the ſituations of captains-general of colonies, colonial prefects, commandants of foreign poſſeſſions, &c. ſuſpected of abuſing the power delegated to them, may be denounced by the legiſlative body; alſo generals diſobeying their inſtructions, and prefects of the interior ſuſpected of dilapidation and extortion.

112. The legiſlative body likewiſe denounces miniſters and agents of government ſuſpected of arbitrary detentions, or a violation of the liberty of the preſs.

113. Denunciations by the legiſlative body can only be delayed at the demand of the tribunate, or the requiſition of fifty members of the legiſlative body.

114. In both caſes the demand and requiſition muſt be delivered in writing, and ſigned by the preſident and ſecretaries of the tribunate, or by ten members of the legiſlative body. If the charge is againſt a miniſter or counſellor of ſtate, it is communicated to him at the expiration of one month.

115. The denounced miniſter or counſellor of ſtate is not to appear in perſon for the purpoſe of anſwering the charges againſt him. The Emperor nominates three counſellors of ſtate, who appear before the legiſlative body on the day appointed, and learn the particulars of the denunciation.

116. The legiſlative body in a ſecret committee, diſcuſſes the facts contained in the demand or requiſition, and decides on them by ballot.

117. The act of denunciation muſt be circumſtantial and ſigned by the preſident and ſecretaries of the legiſlative body. It is tranſmitted to the arch-chancellor of the empire, who forwards it to the attorney-general of the high imperial court.

118. Caſes of delinquency or abuſe of power in captains-general of colonies, colonial prefects, governors of eſtabliſhments beyond ſea, in acts of diſobedience on the part of generals or admirals, and of peculation on the part of prefects, are alſo denounced by miniſters. If the denunciation is by the grand judge, miniſter of juſtice, he can take no part in the deciſions on the ſaid denunciation.

119. In the caſes determined by articles 110, 111, 112, and 118, the attorney-general acquaints, within three days, the arch-chancellor of the empire, that it is neceſſary to aſſemble the high imperial court. The arch-chancellor, having received his orders from the Emperor, appoints ſome period within eight days for opening the ſittings.

120. At the firſt ſitting of the high imperial court it determines its competency to enter upon the caſe before it.

121. In caſes of denunciation or complaint, the attorney-general, aſſiſted by the tribunes and the three magiſtrates at the bar, examine whether there is due ground to proceed. The deciſion is with the attorney-general. One of the magiſtrates at the bar, may be appointed by the attorney-general to conduct the proceedings. If the public miniſtry determines that the charge, complaint, or denunciation ought not to be received, it moves certain reſolutions to be approved of by the high imperial court, after hearing the magiſtrate charged with the report.

122. When the reſolutions are adopted, the high imperial court concludes the buſineſs with a definitive judgment. When the reſolutions are rejected, the public miniſtry is ordered to go on with the proceedings.

123. In the ſecond caſe provided for in the preceding article, and likewiſe when the public miniſtry determine that the complaint or

denunciation ſhall be admitted, it is ordered to prepare the act of denunciation within eight days, and to communicate the ſame to the commiſſary, or his deputy, appointed by the arch-chancellor of the empire, from the judges of the court of caſſation, being members of the high imperial court. The functions of this commiſſary, or, in caſe of abſence, his deputy, conſiſt in drawing up the inſtructions and the report.

124. The reporter, or, in caſe of abſence, his deputy, lays the act of accuſation before twelve commiſſaries of the high imperial court, choſen by the arch-chancellor of the empire; ſix from the liſt of ſenators, and ſix from the other members of the high imperial court. The members thus choſen take no part in the deciſion of the high imperial court.

125. Provided the twelve commiſſaries determine that there is ſufficient reaſon to proceed with the complaint or denunciation, the reporting commiſſary iſſues a declaration to that effect, and proceeds to draw up the inſtructions.

126. Provided the commiſſaries determine that the complainant ought not to proceed with the accuſation, the caſe is referred to the high imperial court, which pronounces a definitive judgment thereon.

127. The high imperial court cannot come to a deciſion unleſs ſixty members are preſent. Ten out of the ſixty may be challenged by the party accuſed, and ten by the accuſing party. The judgment of the court is determined by the majority of votes.

128. The diſcuſſions on theſe occaſions are open to the public.

129. Perſons accuſed may employ advocates. If they are unprovided, the arch-chancellor of the empire appoints them one gratis.

130. The high imperial court can only decide in caſes which come within the penal code.

131. In caſes of acquittal, the high imperial court places the perſon acquitted under the protection of the high police of the ſtate, for the time it may deem proper.

132. No appeal can be made againſt the deciſion of the high imperial court.

TITLE XIV. OF THE JUDICIAL ORDER.

134. The deciſions of the courts of juſtice are intituled *arrêts*.

135. The preſidents of the court of caſſation, the court of appeal, and of criminal juſtice, are nominated for life by the emperor, and may be choſen out of the courts in which they preſide.

136. The tribunal of caſſation takes the title of the court of caſſation. The tribunals of appeal take the title of court of appeal, and the criminal tribunals that of court of criminal juſtice. The preſident of the court of caſſation, and alſo the preſident of the courts of appeal divided into ſections, take the title of firſt preſident: the vice-preſidents that of preſident. The commiſſaries of government in the court of caſſation, the courts of appeal, and the courts of criminal juſtice, take the title of imperial attorneys-general.

TITLE XV. OF PROMULGATION.

137. The emperor cauſes every organic ſenatus conſultum, ſenatus conſultum, act of the ſenate and law,

law, to be ſealed and promulgated. Organic ſenatus conſulta, ſenatus conſulta, and acts of the ſenate are promulgated within the ten days ſubſequent to their adoption.

138. Two copies are taken of each of the acts mentioned in the preceding article. Both copies are ſigned by the emperor, examined by the titularies of the grand dignities, counter-ſigned by the ſecretary of ſtate and the miniſter of juſtice, and ſealed with the great ſeal of the ſtate.

139. One copy is depoſited in the archives of the great ſeal; the other in the archives of the public authority whence the act originated.

140. The promulgation is in the following terms: "N. *(the ſurname of the Emperor)* by the grace of God, and the conſtitutions of the Republic, Emperor of the French, to all preſent and abſent, greeting: the ſenate after hearing the orators of the council of ſtate, has decreed and ordered as follows:"—*(or provided it is a new law)* "the legiſlative body on the — *(date)* have iſſued the following decree, conformably to the propoſition made in the name of the Emperor, and after having heard the orators of the council of ſtate and the ſections of the tribunate: we hereby command that the preſent, ſealed with the ſeal of the ſtate and inſerted in the bulletins of the laws, be addreſſed to the courts, tribunals and adminiſtrative authorities, to be inſcribed in their regiſters, and duly obſerved and executed. The grand judge, miniſter of juſtice, ſhall watch over the adminiſtration of the ſame.

TITLE XVI AND LAST.

142*. The following propoſition ſhall be preſented for the acceptance of the people, according to the forms determined by the decree of the 20th Floreal, year 10. "The people wills the imperial dignity to be hereditary in the direct, natural, legitimate, and adopted deſcent of Napoleon Bonaparte, and in the direct, natural, and legitimate deſcent of Joſeph and of Louis Bonaparte, as regulated by the organic ſenatus conſultum of the 28th Floreal, year 12.

Signed, CAMBACERES, ſecond conſul, preſident, Morand de Galles, Joſeph Cornudet, ſecretaries.

It is our will and pleaſure that the preſent, ſealed with the ſeal of the ſtate, and inſerted in the bulletin of the laws, be addreſſed to the reſpective courts, tribunals, and adminiſtrative authorities, to be inſcribed in their regiſters, and duly obſerved and executed. The grand judge, miniſter of juſtice, is charged to watch over the execution of the ſame.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.

By the emperor, (ſigned) H. B. MARET.

Examined by us, arch-chancellor of the empire,

(Signed) CAMBACERES.

The grand judge, miniſter of juſtice,

(Signed) REGNIER.

Proteſt of Louis XVIII. dated Warſaw, June 6, 1804. Extracted from the French Official Paper, the Moniteur.

* Sections 133 and 142 relating only to matters of form are omitted.

In assuming the title of Emperor, and attempting to render it hereditary in his family, Bonaparte has put the seal to his usurpation. This new act of revolution, where every thing from its origin has been null and void, cannot weaken my rights; but being accountable for my conduct to all sovereigns, whose rights are not less injured than mine, and whose thrones are shaken by the dangerous principles which the senate of Paris has dared to publish—accountable to France, to my family, and to my own honour, I should consider myself as betraying the common cause, were I to keep silence on this occasion. I declare then, after having renewed my protestations against all the illegal acts, which, from the opening of the States General of France, have led to the alarming crisis in which France and Europe are now involved—I declare, in the presence of all the sovereigns, that, far from acknowledging the imperial title that Bonaparte has received from a body which has not a legitimate existence, I protest as well against that title, as all the subsequent acts to which it may give birth.

Circular Note of General Brune, French Ambassador at Constantinople addressed to Baron Bielfield, Prussian Envoy at the same Place. Dated Constantinople, June 18, 1804.

The undersigned ambassador from his Majesty Napoleon Emperor of the French, does himself the honour to notify hereby to Baron Bielfield, that a senatus consultum has definitively settled the organization of France, and firmly established for the future, the denomination, forms, and exercises of the sovereign power in France. These objects were hitherto the only ones in the organization of France, which were found not fully commensurate with the greatness and necessities of the State. His Majesty Napoleon, the Emperor of the French, is therefore by the laws of the state invested with the imperial dignity in such a manner, that this title and dignity shall descend to his posterity in the direct male line, or failing that, in the direct male line of their imperial Highnesses the princes Joseph and Louis, the brothers of the Emperor. From the well known sentiments of the Prussian Court, the undersigned cannot doubt of the Baron Bielfield, in this important and happy event; and therefore only avails himself of the present opportunity again to assure him of his high esteem.

(Signed) BRUNE.

The Answer of Baron Bielfied.

The undersigned envoy from his Prussian Majesty considers himself as greatly honoured by the communication of the note of the 29th of Prairial, by which the French ambassador has notified to him what has been determined in France relative to the form and investment of the supreme dignity. Much flattered by the above communication he makes no delay to thank his excellency for the important communication, and entreats him to confide in his well known sentiments, and to be convinced that he shall always

always take a true and ſincere participation in every thing which may promote the welfare of the French nation and its government. The underſigned avails himſelf of the preſent opportunity to renew to the ambaſſador the aſſurance of his very ſpecial eſteem.

(Signed) BIELFIELD.

Letter from the Emperor of the French to the Biſhop of Mentz. Done at St. Cloud the 21ſt of May, 1804.

The happineſs of France was always the principal ſubject of my thoughts, and its glory the object of all my undertakings. As I now, by divine Providence, and the Conſtitutions of the Republic, ſee myſelf called to the Imperial Dignity, I find in this new order of things only greater aids to ſecure the honour and welfare of the nation, as well in its internal as its foreign concerns. For this I entirely truſt in the powerful ſupport of the Moſt High. He will put into the hearts of his ſervants the wiſh to aſſiſt me by every means in their power. By their wiſe inſtructions they will enlighten the people, and inſtil into them a love for their duties, obedience to the laws, and every Chriſtian and civil virtue. They will obtain, by their prayers, the bleſſing of Heaven on the nation and the chief magiſtrate of the ſtate. I ſend to you therefore, this Letter, that, immediately after the receipt of it, you may cauſe Te Deum and Veni Creator to be ſung in all the churches of your Dioceſe, and that you may invite all the authorities which uſually attend ſuch ſolemnities to be preſent in the churches. You will alſo give orders for the Senatus Conſultum, of the 28th of Floreal laſt, to be read in all the churches of your dioceſe. In the full conviction that you will, by your example, excite the inhabitants of your dioceſe to zeal and piety, I pray God to have you in his holy keeping.

NAPOLEON.

Letter from the Emperor of the French to the Archbiſhop of Paris. Dated at St. Cloud, June 8, 1804.

Couſin,

The happineſs of the French has always been the object of my deareſt thoughts and their glory of all my labours. Called by Divine Providence, and the conſtitution of the Republic, to the imperial power, I ſee in this new order of things, only greater means of aſſuring, both at home and abroad, the paternal proſperity and dignity. I repoſe with confidence in the powerful ſuccour of the moſt High. He will inſpire his miniſters with the deſire of ſeconding me by all the means that are in their power. They will enlighten the people by wiſe inſtructions, in preaching to them the love of their duties, obedience to the laws, and the practice of all the Chriſtian and civil virtues. They will call down the benedictions of heaven upon the nation, and upon the ſupreme chief of the ſtate. I write you this letter, that as ſoon as you have received it you will cauſe Veni Creator and Te Deum to be ſung in all the churches of your dioceſe, and that you may invite to the prayers at your church, thoſe authorities

thorities that have been in the habit of aſſiſting at thoſe ſorts of ceremonies; and that you may order the ſermon in all the churches of your dioceſe, on the occaſion of the Senatus Conſulte Organique, of the 28th Floreal laſt; and aſſuring myſelf that you will, by your example, excite the zeal and the piety of all the faithful in your dioceſe, I pray God to have you, my Couſin, in his holy and worthy keeping.

Letter from his Eminence the Cardinal de Caprara, legate à latere, addreſſed on the 9th of June, 1804, to the French Biſhops.

My Lord,

Napoleon Bonaparte having been appointed Emperor of the French, you are for the future to make uſe of the following form of prayer: 'O Lord, preſerve our Emperor Napoleon,' inſtead of that which was ordained by the 8th article of the Concordat, paſſed between the Holy apoſtolic chair and the government of France. After this form, the following prayer may be recited, as it has been already uſed in the Imperial chapel; 'O God, the protector of all kingdoms, and eſpecially of the French Empire, grant unto thy ſervant Napoleon, our Emperor, that he may know and further the wonders of thy power, to the end that he whom thou haſt appointed our Soverelgn, may be always powerful, through thy Grace.'—Which I accordingly notify to your greatneſs, declaring myſelf, at the ſame time, your Greatneſs's true ſervant,

T. B. Card. Caprara.

Extract of the Minutes of the Secretary of State's Office.—Decree for taking the Oath and the Coronation of the Emperor, and the other Acceſſory Ceremonies.—Dated Palace of St. Cloud, July 9, 1804.

Napoleon, by the Grace of God and the conſtitutions of the Empire, Emperor of the French, having taken the advice of his privy Council, decrees:

Firſt Section.—The taking of the oath, and the coronation.

Art. 1. The taking of the oath and the coronation of the Emperor, ſhall take place on the 18th Brumaire next (Nov. 9).

2. A proclamation ſhall announce this ſolemnity to the whole Empire, and ſhall ſummon thoſe who are to aſſiſt at it, as ſpecified in the Senatus Conſultum of the 28th of laſt Floreal, to appear at Paris before the 10th Brumaire.

3. Particular letters ſhall alſo be addreſſed to them on the part of his Majeſty.

4. The public functionaries who are ſummoned, ſhall make known their arrival to the principal maſter of the ceremonies, who will indicate the place appointed for them at the ceremony.

5. The ſolemnity of taking the oath, and the coronation, will take place in preſence of the Empreſs, the Princes, Princeſſes, High Dignitaries, and all the public functionaries, deſcribed by the Senatus Conſultum of the 28th Floreal, in the chapel of the Invalids.

Second Section.—Of the Ceremony which will take place in the Champ de Mars.

6. After the ſolemnity of the taking

taking the oath and the coronation, his Majeſty the Emperor will proceed to the Champ de Mars.

7. The national guards of every department of the Empire, will ſend to Paris a detachment of 16 men, with colours for each detachment, one half of which ſhall be fuſileers or grenadiers, one fourth officers, and one fourth non-commiſſioned officers.

8. The maritime departments, ſquadrons, flotillas, and armed veſſels of the Empire, ſhall ſend fifty detachments of ten men, with a flag to each detachment.

9. Every corps of Horſe, of all the different deſcriptions throughout the army ſhall ſend a deputation of 16 men, the half of which ſhall be grenadiers, fuſileers, ſoldiers, dragoons, light horſe, one fourth officers, and one fourth non-commiſſioned officers, with the colours, ſtandard or guidon.

10. The preceding article is applicable to the Marine Artillery.

11. The Engineers ſhall ſend three deputations of 16 men each.

12. The 20 legions of the gens d'armes ſhall each ſend a deputation of 4 men and a guidon.

13. The invalids of the hotel at Paris, and thoſe of Louvain and Avignon, ſhall ſend three deputations, whoſe compoſition ſhall be regulated according to the inſtruction of the War Miniſter.

14. All theſe deputations ſhall ſucceſſively take the oath of fidelity and obedience to his Majeſty the Emperor.

15. The deputations of the national guards, thoſe of the maritime circles, and ſuch of the corps who have colours, guidons, or ſtandards, ſhall afterwards receive from his Majeſty, for their department or regiments, a pair of colours for each department, a flag for each detachment of marine, and a guidon or ſtandard for each battalion or ſquadron.

16. The colours of the department ſhall remain in the moſt conſpicuous place of the Hotel of the Prefectory, under the guard already ſettled for the Prefects. They ſhall never be taken from thence but by an officer named by the Emperor; and ſhall be unfurled and ſhewn to the people on all ſolemn occaſions.

17. The flags ſhall be diſtributed among the maritime circles, and depoſited at the Marine Hotel, under a guard of honour, in the principal place of the Seven Circles in which Antwerp is compriſed, in order to be given to the ſquadrons, naval armies, flotillas, or other armaments and expeditions, according to the orders of the Emperor. On their return, theſe flags ſhall be carried to the Marine Hotel, where they ſhall be kept in the Council chamber, for ſome ſucceeding expedition.

18. The colours, ſtandards, and guidons, &c. of the corps, ſhall be returned to each battalion or ſquadron. Thoſe who, by the events of war, ſhall loſe them, ſhall not receive others of the ſame kind, but by a direct order from his Majeſty, after it has been proved that they were not loſt by any fault of the regiment. Thoſe who ſhall loſe them from their own fault, ſhall not receive any others from the Emperor.

(Signed)

NAPOLEON.

Allocution

Allocution delivered by his Holineſs the Pope to a Secret Conſiſtory, addreſſed on the 29th October, 1804, previouſly to his Departure from Rome on his Journey to France, in order to aſſiſt in the Coronation of the Emperor Napoleon.

VENERABLE BRETHREN,

It was from this place that the Concordat was begun by us, his Majeſty the Emperor of the French then Firſt Conſul; and it is from this place that we have communicated to you that joy with which the God of all comfort has cauſed our hearts to overflow for the happy change, or converſion to the intereſt of the Catholic religion, which has been produced by that Concordat in thoſe vaſt and populous regions. From that time the holy temples have been again opened and purified from the profanations they had endured: altars were again built, the ſtandard of the health-bearing croſs was again raiſed, the true worſhip of God reſtored, the auguſt myſteries of religion freely and publicly celebrated, lawful paſtors given to the people who could labour in feeding a flock. The Catholic religion itſelf moſt happily emerged from that obſcurity in which it had been buried, and placed in noon-day ſplendor in the midſt of that renowned nation, ſo many ſouls recalled from the paths of error into the boſom of eternity, and reconciled to themſelves and to their God: theſe conſiderations united, juſtly filled our hearts with joy and exultation which we poured out to the Lord.

That great and wonderful taſk not only then excited in our minds the moſt lively gratitude to that powerful prince, who in eſtabliſhing the Concordat, put forth all his power and authority to accompliſh it; but the recollection muſt always incline our minds whenever the opportunity ſhall offer, to prove that we are ſtill ſtrongly impreſſed with thoſe feelings towards him. And now the ſame moſt powerful prince, our deareſt ſon in Chriſt, Napoleon, Emperor of the French, who has deſerved ſo well of the Catholic religion for what he has done, has ſignified to us his ſtrong deſire to be anointed with the holy unction, and to receive the Imperial crown from us, to the end that the ſolemn rights which are to place him in the higheſt rank, ſhall be ſtrongly impreſſed with the character of religion, and call down more powerfully the benediction of heaven.

A requeſt of this nature not only in itſelf affords the cleareſt proof of his religion, and filial reverence to his holy ſee, but it has been alſo accompanied with expreſs declarations, by which the Emperor has informed us of his conſtant deſire to promote the holy faith, to repair the injuries for the preventing of which he has laboured with ſo much zeal in theſe flouriſhing regions.

You therefore ſee, moſt venerable brothers, what juſt and momentous cauſes we have for undertaking this journey; we are moved not only by the intereſts of our holy religion, but by gratitude to that powerful Emperor, who has put forth all his authority to cauſe the Catholic religion to be freely profeſſed: publicly exerciſed in France: and who has ſhewn his mind ſo anxious for increaſing the proſperity of that religion.

We

We have alſo formed great hope, that having undertaken this journey by his invitation, when we ſhall ſpeak to him face to face, ſuch things may be effected by his wiſdom for the good of the Catholic church, which is the only ark of ſalvation, that we may be able to congratulate ourſelves on having perfected the work of our moſt holy religion. It is not ſo much on our weak eloquence that we build that hope, as on the grace of him whoſe unworthy vicegerent we are upon earth, whoſe grace, when invoked by holy rites, is poured largely into the hearts of princes, who are rightly diſpoſed for receiving the good effects of a ſacred ceremony, eſpecially when they are the fathers of their people, ſolicitous about their eternal ſalvation, and determined to live and die true ſons of the Catholic church.

For theſe cauſes, venerable brethren, following the example of ſome of our predeceſſors, who have, for a certain time, left their own abode to viſit diſtant regions to promote the intereſts of religion, and to gratify thoſe princes who have deſerved well of the church, we undertake the preſent journey, although the diſtance, the unfavourable ſeaſon of the year, our advanced age, and the infirm ſtate of our health, would have otherwiſe completely deterred us from ſuch a voyage. But we eſteem theſe conſiderations as nothing, if God will but grant us the prayers of our heart.

Nor have thoſe things which ſhould be before our eyes, at all eſcaped our mind before we formed our ſerious reſolution; but we have ſeen and conſidered every thing: in which conſideration many difficulties aroſe, and our conſcience was on ſome of them doubtful and uncertain; but ſuch anſwers have been returned, and ſuch declarations made by order of the Emperor, that we have been perſuaded of the utility of our journey for the good of religion, which is an object. But it is unneceſſary to detail, in a diffuſe harangue, theſe cauſes to you, to whom I have already communicated them, and whoſe opinions (before we undertook a ſtep of ſuch moment) we not only conſulted, but to whom, as it was right, we gave the greateſt weight.

Not to paſs over, however, that which is above all things neceſſary in important deliberations, well knowing that (according to the ſaying of Divine Wiſdom) the reſolutions of mortals are weak and timid, and their foreſight doubtful, even of thoſe men who excel moſt in morals and in piety, and whoſe ſpeeches riſe like incenſe to the preſence of God; we have, therefore, taken care to put up the moſt earneſt prayers to the Father of all Light, that directed by him, we may do that only which is pleaſing in his eyes, and which may end in the proſperity and increaſe of his church.

God is our witneſs, before whom we have in all humility poured forth our heart, to whom we have often raiſed our hands in his holy temple, beſeeching him to liſten to our prayer and help us, that we have propoſed to ourſelves nothing elſe than what ought always to be our object; his glory, the intereſts of the Catholic religion, the ſalvation of ſouls, and the diſcharge of thoſe apoſtolic functions which have been entruſted to us, unworthy

worthy as we are. You alſo are our witneſſes, venerable brethren, to whom, as we aſſiſted at your councils, we wiſhed that every thing ſhould be perfectly known and underſtood, and to whom we have fully communicated the genuine feelings of our heart. Therefore, when ſo great an object is likely by divine aſſiſtance to be completed, acting as a faithful vicegerent of God our Saviour, we have undertaken that journey, to which we have been prompted by ſuch ſtrong reaſons. The Father of all mercies will, as we hope, bleſs our footſteps, and ſhine on this new epoch of religion, with the fulneſs of increaſed glory.

After the example of our predeceſſors, and particularly the recent example of Pope Pius VI. of revered memory, who made the ſame reſolution when he ſet out for Vendoſme, we inform you, venerable brethren, that we have diſpoſed and ordered every thing, ſo as that the curiæ, and the hearing of cauſes with aſſiſtance from this holy ſeat, ſhall remain in their preſent ſtate, until we ſhall have returned; and, as we have conſidered in our minds, that the neceſſity of death is impoſed upon all, and that the day of our death is uncertain, we have therefore thought it neceſſary to follow the example of our predeceſſors, particularly of Pope Pius VI. when he ſet out for Vendoſme, by ordering the pontifical comitia to be held, if God ſhall pleaſe to take us away, from this world, during our abſence from you.

Laſtly, we beg and intreat of you always to retain for me the affection you have hitherto ſhewn for me, and that in our abſence you will commend our ſouls to the all-powerful God, to our Lord Jeſus Chriſt, to his moſt glorious virgin mother, and to the bleſſed apoſtle Peter, that this journey of our's may be fortunate and proſperous, and that it may end happily. Which if we ſhall, as we hope, be able to obtain from the author of all good, you, venerable brethren, whom we have always called to ſhare with us in our councils, and in all that concerns us, muſt have a great ſhare in the common joy, and we ſhall exult and rejoice in the mercy of the Lord.

Note preſented to the French Government, by the Ruſſian Chargé d' Affaires, M. D'Oubril, relative to the Occurrences at Ettenheim. Dated Paris, April 20, 1804.

According to the orders which the underſigned Chargé d'Affaires of his Imperial Majeſty, the Emperor of all the Ruſſias, has received from his court, he haſtens to inform the Miniſter of the French republic, that his illuſtrious maſter has learned, with equal aſtoniſhment and concern, the event that has taken place at Ettenheim, the circumſtances that have accompanied it, and its melancholy reſult. The concern of the Emperor on this occaſion is the more lively as he can by no means reconcile the violation of the territory of the Elector of Baden to thoſe principles of juſtice and propriety which are held ſacred among nations, and are the bulwark of their reciprocal relations. His Imperial Majeſty finds in this act a violation of the rights of nations, and of a neutral territory, which, at leaſt, was an arbitrar

arbitrary as it was public: a violation, the conſequences of which are difficult to eſtimate, and which, if conſidered as admiſſible, muſt entirely annihilate the ſecurity and independence of ſovereign ſtates. If the German empire, after the misfortunes it has ſuffered, which have made it ſenſibly feel the neceſſity of tranquillity and repoſe, muſt ſtill be in fear for the integrity of its territory, could it have been expected that this ſhould have originated on the part of a government which has laboured to ſecure to it peace, and impoſe on itſelf the duty of guaranteeing its continuance?

All theſe conſiderations have not permitted the Emperor to paſs over in ſilence this unexpected event, which has ſpread conſternation through all Germany.

His Imperial Majeſty has held it to be his duty, as a guarantee and mediator of the peace, to notify to the ſtates of the empire the manner in which he views an action which endangers their ſecurity and independence. The Ruſſian Reſident at Ratiſbon has, in conſequence, received orders to deliver in a note to the Diet, and to repreſent to it, and to the head of the empire, the neceſſity of remonſtrating to the French government, by the underſigned, as his Majeſty is aſſured that the Firſt Conſul will haſten to attend to the juſt remonſtrances of the German political body, and feel the preſſing neceſſity of taking the moſt active meaſures to relieve all the governments of Europe from the alarm he muſt have occaſioned to them, and put an end to an order of things too dangerous to their ſafety and future independence. The underſigned hereby fulfils the commands of his illuſtrious maſter, and avails himſelf of this opportunity to communicate to the citizen miniſter for foreign affairs, the aſſurance of his high eſteem.

(Signed) D'Oubril.

Tranſlation of an Imperial Ukaſe, iſſued by the Emperor of Ruſſia at St. Peterſburgh, the 7th May, 1804, relative to the Admiſſion of Foreigners into his Imperial Majeſty's Dominions. Signed by the Emperor, and counterſigned by Count V. Kotchcuby.

I. To enter our frontiers, all perſons, except in the undermentioned caſes, are to be provided with paſſports from our miniſters or other agents reſiding in foreign countries. Particular inſtructions will be ſent to our miniſters and conſuls as to the manner in which ſuch paſſports are to be granted, ſo as to cauſe the leaſt inconvenience to trade or general intercourſe.

II. Perſons coming from cities or places where we have neither miſſions nor conſuls, muſt produce paſſports at the frontiers from the governors or chief officers there. Paſſports from inferior officers, from country juſtices or commiſſioners, or from the magiſtrates, will not be acknowledged. The governors of our frontier provinces will receive inſtructions in what manner they are to communicate with the governors of provinces belonging to another power relative to this point, and directions will be given at the barriers where paſſports are to be acknowledged.

III. Ruſſian ſubjects, traders, and other perſons uſually reſiding in Ruſſia, having paſſports to go abroad

abroad for a limited term, will be permitted to return with the ſame paſſport.

IV. Perſons owing allegiance to two powers (ſujets mixtes) muſt, from our ſide, be provided with a paſſport for a year from the regency of that government in which their property lies, with which, during that term, they may paſs out and in without interruption.

V. All perſons muſt produce their paſſports at the frontiers; and, if conformable to theſe regulations, they will be allowed to paſs without moleſtation, except ſuch as may be particularly ordered to be ſtopped.

VI. Theſe regulations are to extend to all ſea-ports, in ſo far as regards paſſengers arriving there. Ship maſters and perſons ſerving on board of ſhips, are to be admitted upon the former exiſting regulations.

VII. All theſe regulations ſhall be enforced for the nearer parts of Europe within two months; and for the more diſtant, namely, Italy, Spain, and Portugal, within four months, reckoning from the date of this ordinance (ukaſe) which ſhall be publiſhed in the newſpapers of both our capitals.

VIII. The daily communications of perſons reſiding on the frontiers will remain on the former footing.

IX. The intercourſe with various Aſiatic nations on the frontiers of the Cuban, on the lines of the Caucaſus and Orenburg, and alſo with the Turkiſh ſubjects in general, is to remain on the former footing.

X. Paſſports will be granted to perſons going out of the country as formerly.

Note delivered by the Miniſter Reſident of Ruſſia, Mr. Kluppell, to Baron D'Albini, and communicated to the Diet of Ratiſbon, on the 5th of May, 1804. It was dated at Ratiſbon on the 5th of May, and ſigned De Kluppell.

The event which has taken place in the ſtates of his Highneſs the Elector of Baden; the concluſion of which has been ſo melancholy, has occaſioned the moſt poignant grief to the Emperor of all the Ruſſias. He cannot but view with the greateſt concern the violation which has been committed on the tranquillity and integrity of the German territory. His Imperial Majeſty is the more affected by this event, as he never could have expected that a power which had undertaken in common with himſelf, the office of mediator, and was conſequently bound to exert his care for the welfare and tranquillity of Germany, could have departed in ſuch a manner from the ſacred principles of the law of nations, and the duties it had ſo lately taken upon itſelf.

It would be unneceſſary to call the attention of the Diet to the ſerious conſequences to which the German empire muſt be expoſed, if acts of violence, of which the firſt example has juſt been ſeen, ſhould be paſſed over in ſilence; it will, with its accuſtomed foreſight, eaſily perceive how much the future tranquillity and ſecurity of the whole empire, and each of its members, muſt be endangered, if ſuch violent proceedings ſhould be deemed allowable, and ſuffered to take place without obſervation or oppoſition. Moved by theſe conſiderations, and in quality of guarantee of the conſtitution of the Germanic empire,

pire, and that of mediator, the Emperor conſiders it as his duty ſolemnly to proteſt againſt an action which is ſuch an attack on the tranquillity and ſecurity of Germany. Juſtly alarmed at the mournful proſpect it preſents, his Majeſty made no delay to repreſent his manner of thinking on the ſubject to the Firſt Conſul, by the Ruſſian Chargé d'Affaires at Paris.

While his Majeſty adopts a meaſure preſcribed to him by his ſolicitude for the welfare of the German empire, he is convinced that the Diet and the head of the empire will do juſtice to his diſintereſted and manifeſtly indiſpenſable care; and that they will unite their endeavours with his, to tranſmit their juſt remonſtrances to the French government, to prevail on it to take ſuch ſteps and meaſures as the violation of their dignity may require, and the maintenance of their future ſecurity may render neceſſary.

Note tranſmitted by the French Miniſter for Foreign Relations, to the Imperial Ruſſian Chargé d'Affaires, dated May 16, 1804, and ſigned Ch. M. Talleyrand.

I have laid before the Firſt Conſul the note of the 22d April, which you did me the honour to tranſmit to me.

The Firſt Conſul obſerves with regret, that the influence of the enemies of France has prevailed in the cabinet of St. Peterſburgh, and that it now puts at hazard the good underſtanding which was eſtabliſhed with ſo much pains, and which appeared to be ſo well confirmed by the happy effects which it has produced.

His Majeſty the Emperor of Germany, and his Majeſty the King of Pruſſia, who undoubtedly are the two powers the moſt concerned in the fate of the German Empire, have underſtood, that the French government was ſufficiently authorized to arreſt, at two leagues diſtance from her frontiers, French rebels, who conſpired againſt their own country, and who, by the nature of their plots, as well as by the terrible evidence which corroborated them, had placed themſelves out of the protection of the law of nations.

The German princes having thus been ſatisfied, the Firſt Conſul would have nothing to ſay to the Emperor of Ruſſia on a point which does not in the leaſt concern his intereſt: but he will always be happy to ſpeak to his Majeſty the Emperor of Ruſſia, with that openneſs which Europe knows he poſſeſſes, which is only becoming great and powerful ſtates. If it be the intention of his Majeſty to form a new coalition in Europe, and to recommence the war, what need is there for empty pretences, and why not act more openly? Much as the renewal of hoſtilities would grieve the Firſt Conſul, he knows no man in the world that could put France in fear; no man whom he would ſuffer to interfere in the internal concerns of the country; and ſince he himſelf does not meddle with the parties or opinions between which Ruſſia may be divided, his Imperial Majeſty can have no right to meddle with the parties or opinions between which France may be divided.

In the note, Sir, which you have delivered, you require—

'That France ſhould employ the moſt efficacious means to tranquillize the different governments, and to let an order of things ceaſe in Europe, which is too alarming for their ſecurity and independence.' But is not this independence of the ſtates of Europe attacked, if it appears that Ruſſia protects and maintains, at Dreſden and at Rome, authors of plots, who ſeek to abuſe the privilege of their reſidence, for the purpoſe of diſquieting the neighbouring ſtates? and if the Ruſſian miniſters at moſt of the courts of Europe pretend to place under the protection of the law of nations, perſons who are natives of that very country where thoſe miniſters reſide, as M. de Marcoff wanted to do at Paris with a Geneveſe? Theſe are real infringements of the independence of the ſtates of Europe; theſe are the very infringements which ought to excite their vigorous remonſtrances.

The circumſtance againſt which an outcry is raiſed, is of a very different nature. By the treaty of Luneville, Germany and France had mutually engaged to allow no aſylum to any of thoſe men who could diſturb their reſpective tranquillity. The emigrants who reſided at Baden, at Friburg, at Dreſden, &c. were by that treaty not to be ſuffered in the German empire; and this circumſtance ſhews what real impropriety there was in the conduct of Ruſſia.—France requires of her to remove emigrants who were in the employment of Ruſſia, at the time when the two countries were at war, from countries where they rendered themſelves conſpicuous only by their intrigues; and Ruſſia inſiſts upon maintaining them there; and the remonſtrance ſhe now makes, leads to this queſtion:—If, when England planned the murder of Paul I. (ſuppoſing intelligence to have been received, that the authors of the plot were at a league from the frontier), would not pains have been taken to arreſt them?

The Firſt Conſul hopes that his Imperial Majeſty, whoſe excellent mind and noble character are ſo well known, will ſooner or later perceive that there are men who avail themſelves of every means to raiſe enemies to France, and who thereby ſeek to make a diverſion, and rekindle the flames of a war, which is advantageous only to England. This war never will take place with the Firſt Conſul's conſent; but whoſoever may declare it againſt him, he ſhall ever prefer it to a ſtate of things which ſhould tend to deſtroy that equality between great powers, which tend to the detriment of France.

And as he does not arrogate to himſelf any ſuperiority, and does not interfere with any operation of the Ruſſian cabinet, he demands a perfect reciprocity in this reſpect.

I continue, Sir, firmly to hope, that declarations ſo candid will be fully appreciated by your court, and that they will tend to diſpel the clouds which malice ſpreads between our countries with a ſucceſs greatly to be lamented. Accept, Sir, the aſſurance of my perfect eſteem, &c.

Note preſented by M. d'Oubril, Ruſſian chargé d'Affaires at Paris, to the French Miniſter of Foreign Affairs. Paris, July 21, 1804.

The note, which the Citizen Miniſter of Foreign Affairs tranſ-

mitted to the underſigned Chargé d'Affaires from his Majeſty the Emperor of all the Ruſſias, he did not fail to tranſmit to St. Peterſburgh; but the underſigned has to declare, that his court greatly diſapproved his receiving a paper, which did not anſwer his preceding official communications, and was by no means calculated to be laid before his auguſt Sovereign.

The ſaid paper, however, at length came under the notice of his Imperial Majeſty, who ſaw, with ſurpriſe, that its contents conſiſt altogether of ſuch aſſertions as are not only unfounded, but alſo wholly unconnected with the note of the 22d April. The Emperor, already moved by the calamities which oppreſs a great part of Europe, and by the dangers which threaten the German empire, whoſe intereſts Ruſſia is particularly bound to ſupport, in conformity to her obligations, received intelligence of another recent violation of the law of nations, which was perpetrated at Ettenheim; he, therefore, thought himſelf bound to invite the aſſembled ſtates of the German empire, and the German princes, to concur with him in jointly proteſting againſt the French government, to whom his Majeſty communicated the ſame ſentiments, in hopes that it would repair the inſult offered to the German league, and allay the fears of Europe for the repetition of ſimilar outrages.

The French government could not avoid to return an anſwer to this plain declaration from his Majeſty the Emperor, but the evaſive reply which was made, is offenſive to Ruſſia, to the German empire, and to France herſelf; it impairs the good underſtanding which ſhe declares her wiſh to preſerve, but the effects whereof Ruſſia has not hitherto perceived.

"We live no longer in thoſe barbarous times when every country regarded only her immediate intereſt; modern polity, founded upon the law of nations, has introduced certain principles, reſpecting the intereſt of the whole community of ſtates. No ſtate could view with indifference the event already mentioned, which gave ſuch a dreadful blow to the independence and ſecurity of nations.

By the peace of Teſchen, Ruſſia undertook to guarantee and mediate for the German empire; in this quality, his Imperial Majeſty was not merely juſtified in raiſing his voice on this occaſion, but was abſolutely bound to do it. The French government, bearing a ſimilar quality, takes the liberty of violating the neutrality of Germany, and to act arbitrarily on that territory. It is difficult to conceive how his Imperial Majeſty ſhould be incompetent to ſtand up for the German empire, the ſecurity and independence of which he has guaranteed.

It would be in vain to attempt to explain otherwiſe the conduct of Ruſſia, whoſe motives are ſo evident; or to diſcover therein the influence of the enemies of France; its ſole motive is the wretched condition to which the French government, by its influence, has reduced Europe.

Should Ruſſia propoſe to eſtabliſh a coalition, for the purpoſe of renewing the war on the continent, it would not at all be required to ſeek any unfounded cauſe for it.

The French government has long given too much and too juſt cauſe for breaking the bands of harmony, which the Emperor has preſerved merely by his moderation, and which he deſired to preſerve for ever. No perſon, and the French government leaſt of all, can miſtake the views of the cabinet of St. Peterſburgh, ſince his Imperial Majeſty ſo explicitly declared, even before the preſent war, how neceſſary it was to labour for the conſolidation of peace; to prevent new revolutions in Europe, to avoid carefully every cauſe for miſtruſt; and to let every ſtate quietly enjoy its independence.

At the ſame time, Ruſſia diſcloſed to the French cabinet, how much ſhe deſired that this latter power might contribute to conſolidate the preſent order of things; that it ſhould, by its moderation and diſintereſtedneſs, give a hope to the other ſtates of Europe, that every government could at laſt (after the unhappy war, which coſt ſo much blood) devote itſelf, with ſafety and quiet, to the happineſs of the people entruſted to it. Far from deſiring to rekindle the flames of war on the continent, his Ruſſian Majeſty moſt ardently wiſhes to ſtifle thoſe flames every where; but his Majeſty harbours this particular wiſh, that the French government, as it pretends to the ſame deſire, would let thoſe nations alone, who wiſh nothing more fervently than to avoid taking a part in the preſent troubles.

This was the only (though unfortunately for the cauſe of humanity, it proved an ineffectual) wiſh of Ruſſia, which never deviated from thoſe principles; every ſtep ſhe took with the French government, which ſhe conſtantly referred to treaties already concluded, had no other view.

Upon the ſame ground ſhe propoſed to act as a mediator between France and England, but was not accepted. Since the renewal of the war, the French government thinks itſelf competent to occupy thoſe countries, and deprive them of their commerce which in vain appeal to their neutrality; his Imperial Majeſty was thereby alarmed, not indeed on his own account, ſince, from the actual ſituation and power of his empire, his Majeſty can remain a quiet ſpectator of thoſe diſtreſſing ſcenes; but he was alarmed for the ſecurity of the other ſtates of Europe.

His Majeſty repeatedly urged with the French government, but always ineffectually, that thoſe countries at leaſt ſhould be permitted to remain neutral, whoſe neutrality France and Ruſſia had guaranteed by mutual treaties; his Majeſty alſo repeatedly diſcloſed his ſentiments with reſpect to thoſe ſtates that are already in danger of ſharing the fate of Italy, of a part of Germany, and of the other countries which France has already got in her poſſeſſion.

Meanwhile the Emperor ſaw, in ſpite of all his exertions and remonſtrances, the danger increaſing daily; French troops, on the one ſide, occupying the coaſts of the Adriatic; on the other, levying contributions on the Hanſe Towns, and menacing Denmark; conſequently, his Imperial Majeſty has reſolved, as the theatre of war approaches his frontier, to eſtabliſh a military force, which ſhall be adequate to put a ſtop to further encroachments.

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The fact is notorious to all Europe; the Emperor was particularly desirous that it might not remain unknown to the French government, and the mutual explanations always referred to the same objects. Never then did any government act more candidly, or for a purpose which requires less secrecy, or is subject to less false constructions than Russia did in the present circumstances. If this conduct be not upright; if it can be considered as hostile to France, or as an attack on the welfare and tranquillity of the German empire, then there is no longer any difference existing between manifest encroachments on the one part, and that just indignation which the other part must consequently feel; between attack and defence; between the oppression and protection of the weak.

The undersigned will not, in this place, examine, by the law of nations, the question, whether the French government be justified in persecuting, in every country, those persons whom it has exiled from their own; and in prescribing to foreign powers the manner in which they shall be permitted to treat or to employ the late emigrants, whom they may have adopted for their subjects, or employed in their service. Such a tenet is at variance with every principle of justice; nay, with those principles which the French nation has so solemnly proclaimed. To suppose that Russia attacks the independence of the states of Europe, because she will not permit a person in her employment abroad to be appointed somewhere else at the will of the French government, were to confound all ideas and words; or because she claims another person, who is a naturalized Russian, and has just now been delivered up by another state, without any previous trial, and contrary to every appearance of justice.

Never did the Emperor protect conspirators; his noble and upright character is too well known to all Europe to require an elaborate contradiction of this assertion, as false as it is indecent. The French government itself is convinced of the contrary; it need only remember, that the Emperor has frequently declared, that if such an accusation were proved against any Russian in his employment, he would hasten to punish him most severely for a crime which he considers of a most heinous nature. But the cabinet of St. Cloud returned no answer to this candid communication, nor did it furnish any proof to support its pretensions; it has then no right to complain of its unsupported demands not being complied with. But at the present moment, when Portugal was obliged to purchase her neutrality; when Naples, to save her's, was compelled to contribute at an enormous expense, to the maintenance of the French troops on her own territory; when all Italy, especially those republics that had been promised independence and happiness; when Swisserland and Holland were considered merely as French provinces; when one part of the German empire is occupied, while in another part French detachments execute arrests in contempt of the sacred law of nations; at such a moment the Emperor will leave to all the states alleged, nay, to the impartial opinion of the cabinet of St. Cloud itself,

itſelf, the deciſion of the queſtion, which of the two, Ruſſia or France, menaces the ſecurity of Europe? which of them acts on principles the moſt favourable to the independence of other ſtates? which interferes moſt in the government and internal police of other countries, and practiſes the moſt arbitrary acts againſt them?

Although the ſorrow which the Emperor felt at this alarming ſituation of affairs, was as notorious as the opinion he entertained of it, he neverthelefs held himſelf bound to make his declaration as explicit as poſſible, that it might not with truth be ſaid, that there was not a ſingle government on the continent which had the courage to raiſe its voice in the cauſe of juſtice; and that the Ruſſian government might not be charged with having omitted to call the attention of its co-eſtates to the dreadful conſequences which muſt neceſſarily enſue from a further neglect of order, and of thoſe principles on which their well being and their ſecurity depend. It does not appear how it could be ſo eaſily proved in the preſent diſpute, that Ruſſia, by proteſting againſt a manifeſt violation of the law of nations, committed beyond the limits of the French republic, on a neutral territory of the German empire, by a guaranteeing and mediating power, has thereby interfered in the internal affairs of France, and to interfere in which the Emperor never had the moſt diſtant idea.

Every ſtate is indeed competent to outlaw a perſon within its own limits; but no ſtate has a right arbitrarily to place any perſon out of the protection of the law of nations, becauſe the latter does not depend upon the decrees of any ſingle ſtate, but is grounded upon the unanimous will of the commonwealth of ſovereign ſtates.

Thus the French government could at moſt demand of the princes of the German empire, in conformity to the treaty of Luneville, that the emigrants in their ſtates, who had not yet made the choice of a country, and againſt whom authentic proofs could be produced, ſhould be removed; but the French government was by no means juſtified in the invaſion of thoſe ſtates, ſword in hand, to carry off ſuch perſons by main force.

It will hardly be credited, that the French cabinet could, to maintain its erroneous principle, deviate ſo far from every requiſite decorum, and the regard due to truth, as to allege examples which were altogether improper to be mentioned; that it ſhould, in an official document, recall even a father's death to the recollection of his illuſtrious ſon, in order to wound his tender feelings; and that it ſhould (contrary to all truth and to all probability) raiſe an accuſation againſt another government, whom France never ceaſes to calumniate, merely becauſe ſhe is at war with it.

France has endeavoured, in vain, to juſtify herſelf by the moſt extraordinary ſurmiſes and ſuggeſtions, but they cannot alter the ſtate of the preſent queſtion, nor can they be made to juſtify with effect an arbitrary act, which annihilates the leading, and hitherto undiſputed, principles of the law of nations.

It is not, by any means, neceſſary to analyſe the whole contents of the note from the Citizen Miniſter

niſter for Foreign Affairs, in order to be convinced that it is evaſive and unſatisfactory, if the object be conſidered, which the Emperor propoſed, when he, in the courſe of laſt ſpring, cauſed the notes to be delivered at Paris and at Ratiſbon; it is alſo evident, from the ſaid French note, that the French government rather wiſhed to increaſe the Emperor's juſt indignation, ſince its only object in that note is, in an indecent manner, to avoid the important queſtion propoſed, inſtead of offering a candid inveſtigation of it.

The Emperor is, however, ſuperior to the emotions of perſonal reſentment. He has principally at heart the well being and tranquillity of Europe: he, therefore, does not heſitate to make a laſt effort for the preſervation, if poſſible, of a friendly intercourſe with France.

His Majeſty's ſole wiſh is, that peace may revive in Europe; that no perſon may aſſume any authority whatſoever over any other ſtate; and that the French government do acknowledge an equality of rights for inferior ſtates, but who are not leſs independent than France.

Ruſſia, it cannot be too often repeated, entertains not the leaſt inclination for war, nor can ſhe be benefited by it; her conduct will alone be influenced by the preſſure of circumſtances. She may, however, juſtly preſume, that the French adminiſtration entertains ſuch an opinion of the Ruſſian government, as to be convinced that the latter will not remain an idle or indifferent ſpectator of any new encroachment. His Majeſty the Emperor of Ruſſia is not himſelf influenced by fear, nor does he wiſh to direct its operations to the minds of others. It is his deſire to preſerve his former relations with France, but upon no other ground than that of perfect equality. The firſt condition is, that the terms mutually agreed upon ſhall be ſacredly fulfilled, and on this condition only can the two ſtates, after what has happened, enjoy their former relations of good will and amity.

The underſigned has been ordered to declare, that he cannot prolong his ſtay at Paris, unleſs the following demands are previouſly granted:

1. That conformably to the 4th and 5th articles of the Secret Convention of the 11th of October 1801, the French government ſhall order its troops to evacuate the kingdom of Naples; and when that is done, that it ſhall engage to reſpect the neutrality of that kingdom, during the preſent and any future war.

2. That, in conformity to the ſecond article of the ſaid Convention, the French government ſhall promiſe to eſtabliſh immediately ſome principle of concert with his Imperial Majeſty, for regulating the baſis upon which the affairs of Italy ſhall be finally adjuſted.

3. That it ſhall engage, in conformity to the 6th article of the Convention aforeſaid, and the promiſes ſo repeatedly given to Ruſſia, to indemnify, without delay, the king of Sardinia for the loſſes he has ſuſtained.

Laſtly, 4. That in virtue of the obligation of a mutual guarantee and mediation, the French government ſhall promiſe immediately to evacuate and withdraw its troops

from the north of Germany; and enter into an engagement to reſpect, in the ſtricteſt manner, the neutrality of the Germanic body.

The underſigned has to add, that he has received orders from his government to demand a categorical anſwer to theſe four points, and avails himſelf of this opportunity, &c.

Note of his Excellency M. Talleyrand, Miniſter of Foreign Affairs, to M. D'Oubril, Chargé d'Affaires from Ruſſia, dated Paris, July 28, 1804.

The underſigned Miniſter for Foreign Affairs has ſubmitted to his Majeſty the Emperor the note of M. D'Oubril, Chargé d'Affaires from Ruſſia (of the 21ſt July 1804). The underſigned has received orders to declare, that whenever the court of Ruſſia ſhall fulfil the articles of its treaty with France, the latter will be ready to execute them with the ſame fidelity; as Ruſſia muſt naturally think that the treaty is equally binding upon the two contracting powers. If the cabinet of St. Peterſburgh is of opinion, that it has ſome demands to make in conſequence of the articles 4, 5, and 6, of the Secret Convention of the 18th Vendemaire, year 10, France alſo claims the execution of the 3d article of that treaty, which is expreſſed in the following terms:

"The two contracting parties, deſirous, to the utmoſt of their power, to contribute to the tranquillity of the two reſpective governments, engage not to ſuffer their reſpective ſubjects to maintain any correſpondence, direct or indirect, with the enemies of the two ſtates, or to propagate principles contrary to their reſpective conſtitutions, by fomenting any diſturbance whatſoever; and that in conſequence of this agreement, every ſubject of theſe powers inhabiting the ſtates of the other, who ſhall do any thing contrary to its ſafety, ſhall be removed from the ſaid country, and be tranſported beyond its frontiers, without having any claim to the protection of his own government."

This article, framed with as much preciſion as wiſdom, declares the very friendly diſpoſitions which bound the two powers at the time of forming this treaty. France, therefore, did not expect that Ruſſia would grant its protection to French emigrants, by accrediting them to the neighbouring powers of France, where they might indulge their hoſtile diſpoſitions againſt their country: nor did ſhe expect ſuch a conduct from M. Marcoff, the Miniſter of Ruſſia, who was the real cauſe of the diſunion and coolneſs exiſting between the two powers. During his reſidence in Paris, he conſtantly encouraged every kind of intrigue that could diſturb the public tranquillity; and he even went ſo far as, by his official note, to place under the protection of the law of nations, French emigrants, and other agents in the pay of England.

France did not expect that Ruſſia would purpoſely ſend on a miſſion to Paris thoſe officers who had excited ſtrong complaints againſt them, as was well known to that government. Strange conduct, when it is conſidered what is the duty of all governments; but ſtill more ſo, when reference is made to the article already cited.

Laſtly,

Laſtly, was the mourning which the Court of Ruſſia aſſumed for a man whom the tribunals of France had condemned for having plotted againſt the ſafety of the French government, ſuch a conduct as was conformable to the letter or the ſpirit of this article?

The French government demands the execution of the 9th article of the Secret Convention, in which it is ſtated, "that the two contracting parties acknowledge and guarantee the independence and the conſtitution of the republic of the Seven United Iſlands, formerly belonging to Venice; and that it be agreed, that there ſhall be no foreign troops in thoſe iſlands:" an article evidently violated by Ruſſia, as ſhe has continued to ſend troops thither, which ſhe has openly reinforced, and has changed the government of that country, without the conſent of France.

France alſo demands the execution of the 2d article of the ſame Convention, the evident application of which ſhould have been, that inſtead of manifeſting ſuch a partiality for England, and of becoming, perhaps, the firſt auxiliary of its ambition, Ruſſia ſhould have been united to France, in order to conſolidate a general peace, to reeſtabliſh a juſt balance in the four parts of the world, and to procure the liberty of the ſeas. Theſe are the preciſe expreſſions of the article.

"Such ought to be, without doubt, the conduct of the two powers reſpecting the treaty which binds them both; but the cabinet of Ruſſia expects that France will fulfil the ſtipulations to which ſhe is engaged, without executing thoſe which ſhe is bound to perform. This is acting like a conqueror towards a vanquiſhed power: this is to ſuppoſe that France can be intimidated by menaces, or that ſhe will acknowledge the ſuperiority of any other power; but the hiſtory of the years which preceded the peace made with Ruſſia, plainly demonſtrates, that that power has no more right than any other to aſſume a haughty tone towards France. The Emperor of the French wiſhes for the peace of the continent. He has made all poſſible advances to re-eſtabliſh it with Ruſſia; he has ſpared nothing to maintain it; but with the aſſiſtance of God and his arms, he is not in a ſituation to fear any one.

The underſigned requeſts M. le Chargé d'Affaires of Ruſſia to accept the aſſurance of his conſideration.

(Signed)
CH. MAUR. TALLEYRAND.

Copy of the Note preſented by M. d'Oubril, the Ruſſian Chargé d'Affaires, to the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs.

Paris, Auguſt 28, 1804.

The underſigned Chargé d'Affaires of his Majeſty the Emperor of all the Ruſſias, in anſwer to the note tranſmitted to him by the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs, feels it incumbent on him to confine himſelf to a recapitulation of that conduct which his auguſt maſter has conſtantly held towards the French government, the plain expoſition of which will ſufficiently demonſtrate the nature of the reciprocity which he has in his turn experienced from that power.

From the moment that his Majeſty aſcended the throne, he laboured

boured with all his care to renew the good intelligence which had formerly prevailed between France and Ruſſia. His Imperial Majeſty, in anticipating the explanations which were to produce a ſolid and permanent underſtanding between the two countries, was happy in the perſuaſion, that he would by that means effectually contribute to the general pacification of Europe, the tranquillity of which had been too long diſturbed by the events which occaſioned the war that was terminated by the treaty of Luneville.

The readineſs which his Majeſty ſhewed to make peace with the French government, at the time it was at war with ſeveral other powers—the renewal of the former treaty of commerce, which was entirely to the advantage of France; the good offices of Ruſſia in bringing about a reconciliation between the Republic and the Ottoman Porte, are all convincing proofs of the diſpoſition of his Majeſty, and of his wiſhes to neglect nothing on his part, which could tend to conſolidate that connexion which he hoped might exiſt for ever.

Since that period, when, in conſequence of the misfortunes which Germany experienced in the courſe of the war, and that many members of the Germanic body were put under the neceſſity of ſubmitting to make ſacrifices, and that it became neceſſary to aſcertain thoſe ſacrifices, for the purpoſe of ſettling the indemnities that were to compenſate for their loſſes, the Emperor conſented to become a joint mediator with the French government, in the cordial hope, that the act of mediation would ſeal the tranquillity of the continent.

The completion of this ſalutary work, allowed his Imperial Majeſty to turn his attention to the engagements which France voluntarily entered into at the period of the concluſion of her peace with Ruſſia. His Majeſty, having ſcrupulouſly fulfilled thoſe which he entered into with France, had a right to expect that the French government would alſo have ſhown itſelf anxious to equal his punctuality, and to perform its own obligations. However reaſonable this expectation was, it has never been realiſed; and the French government, ſo far from ſhewing any diſpoſition to fulfil them, has taken no little pains, if the underſigned may uſe the expreſſion, to retard their accompliſhment.

The King of Sardinia, who has been wholly deprived of his poſſeſſions in Italy, by the union of Piedmont to France, has ſtill to look for that indemnity which the cabinet of the Thuilleries had ſolemnly pledged itſelf to Ruſſia to allow him, and which the latter has continually demanded.

The king of Naples, who was freed for a ſhort time from the preſence of a French army in his kingdom, beholds it again occupying his provinces, under a pretext, the nature of which is not known to his Imperial Majeſty; and he is conſequently placed out of the line of independent ſtates. The repreſentations of Ruſſia, founded upon the ſolemn ſtipulation of France, to conſider the kingdom of Naples as a neutral ſtate, and to enjoy all the advantages of neutrality, have been productive of no determination favourable to that power.

The whole of Italy has been changed by the innovations which the

the government of the republic has caused it to undergo, since the conclusion of the peace between Russia and France, without any preliminary concert with his Imperial Majesty, although it had been agreed upon by the two powers at that period, that there should be an understanding between them as to the political arrangements that were to be adopted in that country.

Hostilities having been renewed between France and England, the integrity of the territory of the German empire was violated, notwithstanding France had very lately engaged to protect it in common with his Majesty the Emperor. The cabinet of St. Cloud thought proper to assert that the dignity of the King of England, and that of Elector of Brunswick Lunenburgh, being united in the same person, were not distinct; though such distinction was never disputed by the republican government during the last years of the late war; it was, therefore, contrary to every notion of right and justice, to make war upon a country which, by the constitution of the Germanic empire, of which it was part, and the public proceedings by which it was guaranteed, should be totally exempt from such a visitation.

The possession of Cuxhaven, which under no pretext could have been considered as English property, was notwithstanding effected by the French troops, and the Hans Towns have been compelled to make forced loans to avoid a similar fate. The repeated and urgent applications which the Emperor has made to the French government, to induce it to fulfil its engagements with Russia, and to put an end to all apprehension that the neutral powers, who were anxious to remain in peace, may feel of being involved in the war, have been attended with no effect.

To those numerous causes of dissatisfaction, connected with the higher interests of Europe, the government of France has thought proper to add all those which it could directly offer to the court of Russia, by the offensive assertions which it advanced and circulated against ministers honoured with the confidence of his Imperial Majesty; by the scenes which the Russian envoy was compelled to witness at the Thuilleries; by the improper perseverance which the cabinet of St. Cloud displayed, in persecuting, in foreign countries, persons who were employed by the court of Russia; and, lastly, by that unexampled proceeding which it took the liberty of committing, when it compelled the Pope to deliver up a naturalized Russian, without paying any regard to the representations and claims of his Imperial Majesty on that point.

The recent act of violence, committed by the French troops in the territory of the Elector of Baden, having roused the anxiety of the Emperor, for the security and independence of the states of Europe, which are within the reach of France, his Majesty expressed his opinion as to the necessity of tranquillizing them on that point; and that he should make such satisfaction as the Empire had a right to demand, and adopt such measures as might tend to calm the uneasiness and alarm of Europe. To this good office, the empire received an answer, which left it no hopes that the just expectation of his

his Majeſty would be fulfilled; which gave a wrong interpretation to that frank, loyal, and diſintereſted conduct, which his Majeſty conſtantly held reſpecting the affairs of Europe, and particularly with regard to France: and which made it but too clear, that there was a determined deſign to thwart and irritate further the court of Ruſſia. So little attention and condeſcenſion on the part of the French government, to the juſt claims of his Majeſty, and a conduct ſo decidedly oppoſed to any deſire of preſerving a good underſtanding between the two ſtates, ſufficiently demonſtrated to Ruſſia, that if, on the one hand, the French government attached apparently but little value to its relations with her, and conſequently furniſhed her with a poſitive reaſon for no longer continuing them; on the other, ſhe had taken an invariable reſolution to adopt for her conduct, a line abſolutely contrary to the principles of juſtice and the laws of nations, and which, conſequently, could not harmonize with the ſentiments and principles profeſſed by his Majeſty.

The Emperor, nevertheleſs, was willing to make a final effort with the French government, and after ſo many reaſons of diſſatisfaction, he was diſpoſed to forget them whenever the above mentioned engagements (which were alſo detailed in the note of the 21ſt of Auguſt) ſhould be fulfilled; which had been ſolemnly entered into by the two governments, and ſhould have long ſince been executed.

This laſt effort having been followed by an evaſive and unſatisfactory anſwer, full of fallacious imputations, and which is only remarkable for the ſtrange and unexpected aſſertion, 'That the Ruſſian troops had taken poſſeſſion of the republic of the Seven Iſlands, without the concurrence of France; while it is notorious, and the Miniſter for Foreign Affairs muſt have it in view, that this country, which had been firſt evacuated by the Ruſſian troops, was occupied by thoſe drawn from the ſtate of Naples, with the conſent of the Porte, by the requeſt of the inhabitants, and in conſequence of a previous arrangement with France; nothing further remains for the underſigned, than to declare, that all correſpondence between Ruſſia and France, becoming, by theſe means perfectly uſeleſs, muſt now ceaſe; and that his Majeſty the Emperor only waits for intelligence of the departure of his Chargé d' Affaires from Paris, to ſignify to the French miſſion, that it ſhould quit his capital.

His Majeſty the Emperor having nothing to reproach himſelf with on this head (for if it had depended on him, the ties between the two nations, far from being diſſolved would be drawn cloſer), ſees himſelf with regret compelled to ſuſpend all relation with a government which refuſes to fulfil its engagements, which will not conform to the reciprocal reſpect nations owe to each other, and in regard to which his Majeſty, ſince the renewal of the connexion between the two countries, has experienced increaſing mortification. Still faithful to his principles, and anxious to avoid the ſhedding of human blood, the Emperor will confine himſelf to that reſolution which the reſpective poſitions of the two countries admit. Ruſſia

and France can do without thoſe relations, the continuance of which is only to be warranted by reaſons of advantage and accommodation, and without which it is better that they ſhould have no connexion. As it is the French government alone which has given riſe to the preſent ſtate of affairs, it will alſo depend upon it to decide whether war is to follow or not. In caſe it ſhall compel Ruſſia, either by freſh injuries, or by provocations aimed againſt her, or againſt her allies, or by ſtill threatening more ſeriouſly the ſecurity and independence of Europe, his Majeſty will then manifeſt as much energy in employing thoſe extreme meaſures, which a juſt defence requires, as he has given proofs of patience, in reſorting to the uſe of all the means of moderation conſiſtent with the maintenance of the honour and dignity of his crown.

The underſigned having thus fulfilled the orders which he has received from his court, requeſts, in conſequence, that the Miniſter for Foreign affairs, will be kind enough to ſend him, without delay, the neceſſary paſſports to enable him to quit France; and he embraces this opportunity of giving to the Citizen Miniſter for foreign affairs, the aſſurance of his high conſideration.

Verbal Declaration, made on the 16th of May, at the Diet of Ratiſbon, by the Miniſters for the Elector of Baden, Brandenburgh, and others, relative to the Subject of the Ruſſian Note.

The Electoral Legation has not failed to tranſmit to the court of Baden, and their other principals, the Imperial Ruſſian Note; but have not received, nor indeed could they as yet receive any commands on the ſubject. They conceive, however, that they may declare that his Majeſty the King, and the other courts whom they repreſent, entertain a well founded hope that the Firſt Conſul will of himſelf be inclined (according to the ſentiment of the Bohemian and Auſtrian Miniſter) to give a full and ſatisfactory explanation on the ſubject that has occaſioned anxiety, and ſuch as may entirely correſpond to the expectation of his Majeſty, the Emperor of Ruſſia.

Verbal Declaration of the Miniſter of the Elector of Baden, made at the Diet of Ratiſbon, July 2, 1804.

His Electoral Highneſs of Baden, while he honours the pure intentions of his Ruſſian Imperial Majeſty in the repreſentation which he laid before the Diet of the Empire on the 6th of May, and is penetrated with the livelieſt gratitude for the benevolent friendſhip which his Majeſty has manifeſted for himſelf and his Electoral Houſe, cannot ſuppreſs his profound grief that the occurrence in queſtion, which took place on his territory, ſhould be likely to produce diſagreeable differences that may be productive of the moſt dangerous conſequences to the peace of Germany.

This important conſideration, added to a full confidence in the well-intentioned ſentiments of the French government and its exalted head,

head, towards the whole German Empire, ſo lately envinced in the mediation of peace, and in the explanations, perfectly ſuitable to theſe ſentiments, of the occurrence in queſtion, his Electoral Highneſs cannot but moſt earneſtly wiſh that the repreſentations made to the Diet on the 6th and 14th of May, may have no farther conſequences, and that thus the preſent anxiety may be diſpelled, ſince otherwiſe the tranquillity and welfare of the German Empire, and probably indeed of all Europe, may be again diſturbed and endangered.

Vote of his Majeſty the King of Sweden, in the Deliberations at the Diet of Ratiſbon, relative to the Imperial Ruſſian Note of the 7th of May, concerning the ſeizure of the Duke D'Enghein. Dated Ratiſbon, July 27, 1804.

His Majeſty the King of Sweden as Duke of interior Pomerania, has charged his Envoy to inſert the following vote in the protocol, on the ſubject of the declaration of his Majeſty the Emperor of Ruſſia, laid before the Diet on the 7th of May laſt. His Majeſty, who on ſo many occaſions has manifeſted how much he intereſts himſelf in the affairs of the German Empire, could not learn without the greateſt anxiety and alarm, the events which took place in the Electorate of Baden in the month of March laſt, events by which the territorial rights of the German Empire are flagrantly violated, and its future ſecurity expoſed to the greateſt danger. His Majeſty, therefore, thinks it the duty of every member of the empire not to conceal the wiſh that the French government may give full and ſatisfactory explanations to the Emperor and the empire, relative to the ſaid events, and ſuch as may remove all fears for the future ſecurity of the Germanic territory. As a member of the empire his Majeſty thought it his duty to expreſs theſe ſentiments; though he has not judged it neceſſary to notice the occurrences alluded to in a more particular manner, in his capacity of Guarantee of the peace of Weſtphalia and the Germannic conſtitution; and the leſs ſo ſince his Majeſty could not doubt that a power which had formerly ſhared with Sweden in the labour and glory of co-operating to the reſtoration of the laws, and of order and ſecurity in the Empire, would be convinced of the neceſſity of maintaining objects ſo important unimpaired and inviolate.

Order iſſued by the Court Chancellor at Stockholm on the 7th September, 1804.

His Majeſty the King has been pleaſed to inform me, by his gracious letter of the 26th of Auguſt, that for a long time the prevalent tone of moſt French Journals and daily papers has been marked by a want of due reſpect for Kings and Princes, and for every lawful Government; that this inſolence, ſo worthy of chaſtiſement, has continued to increaſe, and the conſequences thereof have lately appeared in one of the newſpapers moſt generally known, which has dared

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to infert expreſſions attacking the King's exalted perſon, and, conſequently, the dignity of the Empire; and as this cannot be paſſed over without animadverſion, his Majeſty has been pleaſed to order:

I. That from the hour when this notification is made public, the importation into the Swediſh empire, and the provinces belonging thereto, of French Journals, Weekly Magazines, and Daily Papers, is ſtrictly prohibited; and that no exception can be granted or demanded.

II. That all importation of books and writings, which may be printed in France in future, is likewiſe prohibited; thoſe, however, which have already appeared, are not included, provided their contents be not contrary to the regulation of the ordinances ſtill in force; but, with reſpect to French books, which may be publiſhed in future, exceptions may be admitted, if an humble requeſt be made for the purpoſe through the office of the King's court of Chancery.

In conſequence whereof, I am required to publiſh this gracious command and ordinance of his Majeſty the King, that all people may conform themſelves thereto.

(Ex Officio) "C. B. ZIBET.
"A. D. HUMMEL.

Note tranſmitted by Order of his Swediſh Majeſty to M. Gaillard, the French Chargé d'Affaires at Stockholm, Sept. 7, 1804.

His Majeſty the King of Sweden has received a report of the improper, the inſolent, and the ridiculous obſervations which Monſieur Napoleon Bonaparte has allowed to be inſerted in his Moniteur of the 14th of Auguſt, under the article Ratiſbon.

The tone, the ſtile, and even the ſubject, of this article, are all of ſo extraordinary a nature, that his Majeſty has been yet hardly able to comprehend the object of ſuch an act of political extravagance. If it has been done in the hope of miſleading the public as to the conduct of his Majeſty, as it appears from the uncommon pains that are taken to draw a line of ſeparation between his Majeſty and his ſubjects, let the world underſtand, that any inſtigation to that effect never could have been leſs likely to ſucceed than at this moment, or than it always will, with a people whoſe intereſts are bound up with thoſe of a ſovereign, who has never ſeparated his proſperity from theirs, and who never feels ſo happy as when he contributes to the glory and to the happineſs of his ſubjects.

As his Majeſty cannot, conſiſtently with his own dignity, or the honour of his Crown, permit any official intercourſe, after ſuch an inſult, he has ordered me, Sir, to communicate to you, that, from this day, all diplomatic intercourſe of every kind, both private and public, is immediately to ceaſe between the French Legation at Stockholm and his Majeſty's government.

As a ſentence in the article above mentioned ſeems to imply that the French government is diſpoſed to admit that the continuance of the commercial intercourſe between Sweden and France would be attended with ſome advantages, his Majeſty, on his part, is willing to permit the ſame, from thoſe ſenti-

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ments which he has inherited from his anceſtors, and which owe their origin to far happier times.

(Signed) T. D. EHRENHEIM.

Official Declaration of the Emperor ſent to the Deputy of the Equeſtrian Order of Franconia.

The underſigned, Vice Chancellor of the empire, has laid before his Imperial Majeſty the moſt humble addreſs, in which the thirteen members of the Equeſtrian Order of Franconia, ſummoned to Bamberg the 19th of November by the Bavaro Palatine government, have given an account of the remarkable events of that day.

His Majeſty has ſeen, with pleaſure, by that addreſs, that the ſaid members of the Equeſtrian order, regarding as they ought the intentions manifeſted of the date of the 3d of laſt month, and guided by that ſentiment of attachment to their ſupreme chief which they have inherited from their anceſtors, have remained faithful to the Emperor and empire; and that, conducting themſelves as brave and loyal Germans, neither the menaces nor the attacks actually made, have been able to turn them from the obligations which they have contracted by oath, nor from the conſtitution which has ſubſiſted until the preſent moment, and has been ſolemnly ſanctioned by the laſt decree of the empire.

His Majeſty, in his quality as Supreme Chief and defender of the rights of the Germanic League, has oppoſed an energetic interference, addreſſed to his Electoral Highneſs the elector of Bavaria, formally demanding that the *ſtatus quo*, relative to the Equeſtrian Order, ſhould be re-eſtabliſhed in all its relations, ſuch as it exiſted before his Highneſs took poſſeſſion of the countries aſſigned to him as indemnities, and ſuch as it has been ſolemnly guaranteed by the laſt decree of the General Diet; that it ſhould not be troubled again in future with arbitrary ſteps and meaſures, and that for the particular differences that might exiſt, his Highneſs would never loſe ſight of what is preſcribed by the decree of the empire of 1753. That his Imperial Majeſty expected from the character of the Elector, from his wiſdom and his love of juſtice, that after having weighed with coolneſs this requeſt of his Imperial Majeſty, founded entirely upon the laws and the conſtitution, he would feel no difficulty to ſatisfy them completely, ſo much the more, as his Majeſty the Emperor is firmly reſolved in his quality as Supreme Chief, and conformably with his duty, to maintain the tranquillity of the empire, to protect, by ulterior meaſures, the immediate Equeſtrian order againſt all violence and oppreſſion.

The underſigned, Vice Chancellor of the empire, has the honour to communicate this ſupreme deciſion to the Envoy of the Equeſtrian Order, in order that he may communicate it to his companions, and that they may find in it new encouragement to continue invariably in the glorious firmneſs which they have diſplayed, and in their attachment to the Supreme chief and to the Conſtitution. (Signed)

PRINCE DE COLLERODO MANSFIELD.

Vienna, Dec. 3.

Declaratio

Declaration given in to the Diet at Ratiſbon, by the two Comitial Miniſters of the Court of Vienna, on the 30th of January, 1804.

The numerous infringements which, ſince the occupation of the countries aſſigned as indemnities, have been made by ſeveral ſtates of the empire, in the rights and the immediacy of the Equeſtrian Order and its members, have for a long time excited the attention of Germany.

His Imperial Majeſty, as ſupreme Chief of the Empire, and agreeably to the obligation under which he lies to maintain the decrees of the Diet, as well as order and tranquillity, has already endeavoured, as is well known, by paternal exhortations, to put a ſtop to meaſures contrary to the ſtate of poſſeſſion, and to the laws which have been purſued in regard to the Equeſtrian Order and its members, and to re-eſtabliſh things on their legal footing. Theſe efforts of his Imperial Majeſty have not produced that effect which he had a right to expect. The infringements, on the contrary, have become more general and more oppreſſive, and the conſequences in the interior of the empire has been events which muſt neceſſarily endanger the public tranquillity, and bring on abſolute oppreſſion of the Equeſtrian Order; the exiſtence and rights of which are, however, equal to thoſe of all the ſtates of the empire, and have been ſecured, as well as the conſtitution itſelf, by the peace of Weſtphalia, by the old and new decrees of the diet, and particularly by the laſt decree of the empire.

At the requeſt of the general directory of the Equeſtrian Order in the Aulic council of the empire, as a conſtitutional authority, there was iſſued, on the 23d of January, by this ſupreme tribunal, a *conſervatorium*, for the protection of the Equeſtrian Order againſt all encroachments, which might in future be attempted, and for the reeſtabliſhment of that order in the ſtate in which it was before the occupation of the countries aſſigned as indemnities. The execution of this ſentence is referred to the elector, the Arch-Chancellor; the Electors of Saxony and Baden, and to his Imperial Majeſty himſelf in his quality of Archduke of Auſtria, with the clauſe, each individually, and all collectively.

His Imperial Majeſty, in his quality as a ſtate of the empire, is animated with a ſincere deſire of contributing, according to his ſtrength, to the maintenance of juſtice in the empire, as well as of the public ſafety and tranquillity, and of the ſecurity of the German conſtitution, and he enjoins his miniſters to make a declaration on this ſubject to the general diet.

Declaration of his Pruſſian Majeſty.

His Majeſty, the king of Pruſſia, has obſerved with attention and intereſt the events which have taken place for ſome time paſt in ſeveral parts of the empire and in the heart of Germany, in regard to the poſſeſſions of the members of the Equeſtrian Order. It would have been of great advantage if in the receſs of the Deputation of the empire it had been poſſible to eſtabliſh a regulation, or fixed rule for inſuring the future relations of the Equeſ-

trian Order, in a manner ſo as to reconcile a regard for the rights of all with the new ſituation of things, the new wants, and the real good of the empire.

If the eccleſiaſtical ſtates ſeculariſed have paſſed into the hands of new poſſeſſors, not only with the rights really exerciſed, but alſo with their pretenſions; and if theſe governments formerly eccleſiaſtic according to their nature and organiſation, and according to the intereſt, merely perſonal, of their eccleſiaſtical ſovereigns, can have ſeen with indifference the efforts of the Equeſtrian Order to extend its territorial independence, and its immediacy, the new poſſeſſors as ſovereign and hereditary laics, may have brought with them new intereſts, and may have conſidered things under a different point of view. They muſt and ought to have found themſelves differently obliged to claim rights, which might be conſidered as real and ancient integrant parts of their ſhare of the indemnity—rights which could not be weakened but by negligence and by encroachments made at a former period.

Arouſed by ſuch an event, the other poſſeſſors of the ancient lay countries, where ſimilar relations, equally hurtful to their rights and to their adminiſtration exiſted, have begun to bring forward their pretenſions. Hence it has happened that almoſt at the ſame time ſeveral of the moſt diſtinguiſhed ſtates of the empire, ſuch as the Elector of Bavaria, the prince of Fulda, the elector of Heſſe Darmſtadt, the duke of Saxe Meinungen, and other princes, have all tended to the ſame object. Theſe princes have formed claims to the villages and lands of the Equeſtrian Order lying within the territory, or ſituated on their frontiers, both becauſe theſe poſſeſſions formerly made an integrant part of their countries, and becauſe they are ſtill in relation with the latter by their geographical poſition, by the feudal law, by the duties and rights of Juriſdiction, and other connexions, which as ancient ſources, muſt ſtill be conſidered as indications of Sovereignty. They have conſequently thought themſelves authorized to replace under their ſovereignty theſe places and lands, and to cauſe to be announced by patent, the poſſeſſion they have taken of them by ſending thither military detachments. Hitherto no uniform and certain principles have been eſtabliſhed or followed; and not only have conteſtations ariſen among the ſovereigns and perſons of the Equeſtrian Order, who have been expoſed to encroachments: but differences have broken out between one ſovereign and another, in regard to the limits of their reſpective territorial juriſdictions.

A Juridical examination and inſtruction in regard to this object having been inſufficient, becauſe the organization of the circles is not yet completed; the queſtion is to know, whether or in what manner the tribunals of the empire ought to interfere in this affair? The whole Germanic body participates in the regret excited by this ſtate of things, and by the anarchical criſis which threatens, in ſo great a number of places, the property and ſubjects of the empire. If every one is convinced that this criſis cannot be of long duration, but that meaſures ought ſpeedily to be taken to put an end to it: it

is the more indiſpenſably neceſſary to think of the means of accompliſhing this end; the affair has become too important and too general to be diſcuſſed by the tribunals of the empire.

It cannot be diſſembled, that in the ſtate in which the affairs of the empire are at preſent, the diſpoſitions of theſe tribunals would never operate but in a partial manner, and would never be any thing but palliatives. The colliſions in queſtion are, indeed, too complex and too extenſive; they lead too immediately to general complaints on the part of the ſtates; they are even too intimately connected with the affair of the indemnities, and they have ſtill too much need of general principles, well determined, and which may accord with the new ſituation of the empire, for a juridical procedure to be proper and ſufficient.

His Majeſty can never ſee, with indifference, advantage taken of this opportunity to ſpread by procedures diviſion in the empire, and by theſe means to accompliſh ſome political object,

His Majeſty cannot either permit that his moſt powerful co-eſtates ſhould be weakened, by taking away for no end of the vaſſals and property of the Equeſtrian Order.

His Majeſty guided by conſtitutional ſentiments, is, conſequently, of opinion, that there can be no means ſurer and more proper than to ſubmit to the diet this object, which is equally important to the ſafety and tranquillity of the particular members of the empire; in order, that in the deliberations which may take place, there ſhall be eſtabliſhed general principles in concert with all the ſtates, and particularly with thoſe intereſted, that the latter may regulate their conduct accordingly.

His Majeſty has reaſon to expect that the ſtates of the empire, who have received from him in the moſt important affairs an aſſiſtance ſo effectual, and on the continuation of which they may depend, will acknowledge his good intentions in the complex affair in queſtion, and will regulate themſelves according to his counſels.

In his patriotic ſolicitude, and the affliction he experiences in regard to the differences which have already taken place, and which may ſtill occur, his Majeſty cannot help expreſſing an ardent wiſh, and poſitively requiring that all the ſtates, and particularly thoſe who are intereſted in the relations of the Equeſtrian Order, will concert among themſelves and determine above all, in the moſt preciſe manner, by means of a regular deliberation of the Diet, the general principles to be obſerved in regard to theſe relations, as is required by the eſſential rights of thoſe intereſted by the new ſituation of the empire, and the need of conſolidating more and more its internal force, that thoſe who are injured may regulate their conduct accordingly; and that the ſtates between whom differences have ariſen, may terminate them in an amicable manner, according to this baſis.

His Majeſty, in judging this meaſure eſſential for maintaining internal tranquillity, muſt require alſo, that in the interval, and until the diet has come to ſome determination on this ſubject, the preſent *ſtatus quo* ſhall be proviſionally maintained, with reſpect to every thing hitherto done, in regard to

the poſſeſſions of the Equeſtrian Order; that in the mean time the military detachments ſhall be recalled to their garriſons, the meaſures of execution every where ſuſpended, and that the preſent ſtate of things ſhall receive no extent, in order that farther colliſions may be prevented.

His Majeſty, for the preſent, will abſtain from any declaration on the principles to be eſtabliſhed, and will in no manner anticipate the future deliberations. In the mean-time he will perſiſt in the principles which he is authorized to carry into effect, in his principalities of Franconia, againſt the members of the Equeſtrian Order, who are there domiciliated.

Memorial of the Pruſſian Miniſter preſented to the Dictature of the Diet of Ratiſbon, dated March 27, 1804.

His Majeſty the King of Pruſſia is informed that the two high powers, to whoſe amicable mediation Germany is indebted for the ſalutary arrangement reſpecting the affair of the indemnities, are ready again to offer to the Germanic empire their intervention in regard to the numerous difficulties and diſſentions to which the execution of the laſt receſs of the deputation of the empire gave riſe, and particularly concerning the immediate nobility, and that an overture on this ſubject has already been made to the diet on the part of the French government, his Majeſty conſequently thinks that he can no longer defer explaining with openneſs, to his high co-eſtates of the empire, his opinion on this overture, and in general on the turn which things have taken.

In the memorial delivered on this ſubject, on the 26th of January laſt, to the general diet of the empire, it was recommended as the beſt expedient, and as the wiſh emitted in the propoſal of his Majeſty—"That, in order to eſtabliſh general principles, ſuited to the future relation between the Equeſtrian Body and the territorial ſovereigns, the affair ſhould be carried to the diet, and ſubmitted to a common comitial deliberation, and that in the mean time, the princes, who had proceeded to the act of taking poſſeſſion, in regard to the Equeſtrian property, ſhould be compelled to ſuſpend all theſe proceedings. A declaration was at the ſame time added, that his Majeſty the King could not ſee, with tranquillity, advantage taken of this opportunity to foment diſſentions in the empire by forms of procedure, and to accompliſh certain political objects. His Majeſty remains invariably attached to this opinion and theſe views, even after what has long paſſed.

Even at the period of the ſaid comitial declaration and before it was made, his Majeſty had tranſmitted to the ſame purpoſe, overtures, counſels, and amicable invitations, to the courts with which he is moſt intimately connected, and particularly to thoſe which are directly intereſted in this affair. While his Majeſty had reaſon to hope for a better effect from theſe ſteps, the concluſion of the Imperial Aulic Counſel of the empire, which is generally known, made its appearance, ordering to the princes intereſted in the re-eſtabliſhment of the

the ancient ſtate of the Equeſtrian poſſeſſions, and decreeing, at the ſame time, a Commiſſion of Conſervation to the Archducal houſe of Auſtria, and to three other electors of the empire, with the clauſe of conjointly and ſeparately, by which each of them is furniſhed with the full powers given by the Commiſſion to all.

By declarations made on the part of his highneſs the elector of Bavaria, and the example he has given, and which, according to the counſel of his Majeſty, has been already followed, or will be, by the princes who are in the ſame ſituation; things have been, in the mean-time, re-eſtabliſhed in a manner which could alone be the object of the aulic council of the empire, which has no longer a right to give to its ſentence an effect farther comminatory. This ſtate of things then does not permit his Majeſty to delay any longer to make known his opinion to the Commiſſion of Conſervation which has been decreed.

His Majeſty the King conſequently declares, that he reſerves, in the moſt ſolemn manner, his rights, all thoſe of the States which are united in the ſame principles with him, and the intereſt of the empire in general, againſt the ſelf-titled commiſſion of conſervation, which the aulic council of the empire may have iſſued in this complex, and very important affair, and particularly fit for a comitial deliberation; eſpecially as it unconſtitutionally paſſes over in ſilence his ſaid Majeſty in regard to thoſe circles, the directory of which he exerciſes;-- and, on the other hand, introduces the Archducal houſe of Auſtria, which is thus, in one cauſe, conſtituted a party in regard to his own relations in Suabia, and as a Judge and Executive power.

His Majeſty the King, repeating the declaration, that he can never ſee, with tranquillity, advantage taken of this opportunity to foment diſſentions in the empire, by forms of procedure, and to accompliſh certain political views, invites, at the ſame time, all his high co-eſtates to accept with confidence the mediation offered by the two high powers, Ruſſia and France, chiefly to regulate the differences in regard to the Equeſtrian Order, and to furniſh their miniſters with the neceſſary inſtructions to take advantage of it in the reſidence of the general diet of the empire, by the way of a comitial deliberation, to be opened as ſoon as poſſible.

Convention concluded between his Majeſty the Emperor of the French and the reigning Count of Bentheim Steinfurth. Dated at Paris, May, 12, 1804.

Art. I. His Excellency the reigning count of Bentheim ſhall, with all the cuſtomary and proper forms uſual in Germany, be put in poſſeſſion of the country of Bentheim immediately on paying into the Hanoverian treaſury the ſum of 800,000 livres, which without the deductions, which the French government reſigns, is the original ſum for which the County is pledged.

Art. II. The French government guarantees to the Count Bentheim Steinfurth the maintenance and full force of this conven-

tion, whatever may be the future fate of the Hanoverian Territory.

Ratification. His Majeſty the Emperor approves and ratifies the above convention, which was ſigned and ratified on the 22d of Floreal, of the year 12, by Charles Morice Talleyrand, our miniſter for foreign affairs, provided with full powers for that purpoſe, and Count Louis, reigning Count of Bentheim.

Given at St. Cloud,
the 2d Prairial (22d
May.

(Signed) NAPOLEON.

Note lately delivered to the Diet of of Ratiſbon, by the King of Great Britain's Electoral Envoy, Baron Von Redin, relative to the County of Bentheim.

His Britannic Majeſty and electoral Highneſs of Brunſwick Lunenburgh, having learned that the Count Bentheim Steinfurth, has in the courſe of the preceding ſummer, attempted to avail himſelf of the unexampled invaſion by the French, of the territory belonging to the German empire, and appertaining to his Britannic Majeſty, as elector of Brunſwick and Lunenburgh, in order, unjuſtly, to appropriate to himſelf the county of Bentheim, which, as is well known, is poſſeſſed by his Majeſty as a ſecurity. Not being able to ſucceed in the attempt, Count Bentheim Steinfurth, according to every appearance, is now engaged in a negotiation with the French government, to obtain for himſelf, in the moſt ſhameleſs and unjuſt manner, the above-mentioned ſecurity, which was made with the full conſent and concurrence of the houſe of Bentheim Steinfurth, and the validity of which was never diſputed by the preſent Count.

His Britannic Majeſty might have left this injurious tranſaction to its own nullity and invalidity; but he has rather choſen explicitly to declare, as he has already publicly made known his determination with reſpect to all loans of money, that he will not acknowledge any negociations or treaties that may be entered into without his conſent, relative to the county of Bentheim, but will aſſert his juſt claims and rights againſt the Count of Bentheim Steinfurth.

Decree of the Council of State at Vienna. Dated Vienna, 11th Auguſt, 1804.

His Royal, Imperial, Apoſtolical Majeſty arrived in this city on the 10th inſtant, from Baden, to aſſiſt at an extraordinary conference of State, at which were preſent his Royal Highneſs the Archduke Charles, the Archduke Palatine of Hungary, the Chancellor of Hungary, that of Bohemia and Auſtria, that of Tranſylvania, the Tavernicus of Hungary, and the preſident of the chamber of finances and of the bank.

In conſequence of the ſupreme determination which has been declared in this council of ſtate, the following Patent is publiſhed:—

PATENT.

We, Francis II, by the grace of God, elected Emperor of the Romans,

Romans, always auguſt, King of Germany, of Hungary, and Bohemia, of Gallicia, Lodomeria, &c. Archduke of Auſtria, Duke of Burgundy and Lorraine, Grand Duke of Tuſcany, &c. &c.

Though we have already attained, by the divine will, and by the choice of the Electors of the Roman and Germanic empire, to a dignity which leaves no room to deſire any augmentation of titles and conſideration, it is, however, our duty, in our quality of Chief of the Auſtrian Houſe and Monarchy, to provide for the maintenance and preſervation of that equality of hereditary titles and dignities with the firſt ſovereigns and powers of Europe, which belongs to the ſovereigns of Auſtria, both on account of the ancient luſtre of the Houſe, and regard to the extent and population of their eſtates, comprehending independent kingdoms and principalities ſo conſiderable, and which have been ſecured to them by poſſeſſion, agreeably to the right of nations and by treaties. To eſtabliſh, in a durable manner, this perfect equality of rank, we have determined, and think ourſelves authorized, after the example which has been given us in the preceding century by the Imperial court of Ruſſia, and that which is now given to us by the new ſovereign of France, to confer alſo on the houſe of Auſtria, as far as it relates to its independent ſtates, the hereditary title of "Emperor." We have therefore reſolved, after mature reflection, ſolemnly to aſſume and eſtabliſh, for us, and for our ſucceſſors, in the unalterable poſſeſſion of our independent kingdoms and ſtates, the title and dignity of "hereditary Emperor of Auſtria," (as the denomination of our houſe), in ſuch a manner that all our kingdoms, principalities, and provinces, ſhall invariably retain the titles, conſtitutions, prerogatives, and relations, which they have hitherto enjoyed.

According to the ſupreme deciſion and declaration, we decree and enact—

I. That immediately after our title of elected Emperor of the Romans ſhall be inſerted that of hereditary Emperor of Auſtria; after which ſhall follow our titles of King of Germany, Bohemia, Hungary, &c.; then thoſe of Archduke of Auſtria, Duke of Styria, &c., and thoſe of the other hereditary countries. But as, ſince our acceſſion to the throne, there have ſucceſſively taken place, in the poſſeſſions of our houſe, ſeveral changes, which have been confirmed by ſolemn treaties, we at the ſame time make known the undermentioned titles, newly regulated according to the preſent ſtate of things; and our will is, that they be introduced and employed in future.

II. The title of Imperial prince and imperial princeſs ſhall be given and conferred with that of Archduke and Archducheſs, as well as of Royal Highneſs, to our deſcendants of both ſexes, and to thoſe of our ſucceſſors in the ſovereignty of the houſe of Auſtria.

III. As all our kingdoms and other poſſeſſions muſt retain, without reſtriction, their preſent denominations and relations, this is underſtood in particular of our kingdom of Hungary, and of the countries which are united to it, and alſo of ſuch of our hereditary ſtates as have hitherto been in immediate

relation with the Germanic empire which ought in future to preſerve the ſame relations with it, agreeably to the privileges granted to our Houſe by the Emperors our predeceſſors.

IV. We reſerve to ourſelves the right of determining hereafter the ſolemnities which ſhall take place at our coronation, and that of our ſucceſſors, as hereditary Emperor. Thoſe, however, which were practiſed at our coronation, and at that of our predeceſſors, as king of Hungary and Bohemia, ſhall continue to ſubſiſt in future without any change.

V. This declaration and ordinance ſhall be publiſhed and carried into execution throughout all our hereditary kingdoms and ſtates, without delay, and in the accuſtomed forms. We have no doubt that all our ſtates and ſubjects will receive with gratitude and patriotic intereſt this diſpoſition, the object of which is to maintain the conſideration of the Auſtrian monarchy.

GRAND TITLE.

We, Francis II. by the Grace of God, elected Emperor of the Romans, always auguſt; Hereditary Emperor of Auſtria; King of Germany, Jeruſalem, Hungary, Bohemia, Dalmatia, Croatia, Sclavonia, Gallicia, Lodomeria; Archduke of Auſtria; Duke of Lorraine, Venice, Saltzburg, Styria, Corinthia, and Carniola; Grand Duke of Tranſylvania; Margrave of Moravia; Duke of Wurtemberg, Upper and Lower Sileſia, Parma, Placentia, Guaſtalla, Auſchwitz and Zator, Teſchen, Friouli, and Zara; Prince of Suabia, Eichſtadt, Paſſau, Trent, Brixen, Betchtolſgaden, and Lindau; Princely Count of Habſbourg, Tyrol, Kybour, Goricia, and Gradiſka; Margrave of Burgau, Upper and Lower Luſatia; Landgrave of the Briſgau, Ortenau, and Nellenbourg; Count of Montfort and Hohenem, of Upper and Lower Hohenberg, Bregentz, Sennenberg and Rothentels, Blumeneck, and Hofen; Lord of the March of Sclavonia, Verona, Vicenza, and Padua, &c.

MIDDLE TITLE.

We, Francis II. by the Grace of God, elected Emperor of the Romans, always auguſt; Hereditary Emperor of Auſtria; King of Germany, Hungary, Bohemia, Dalmatia, Croatia, Sclavonia, Gallicia, Lodomeria, and Jeruſalem; Archduke of Auſtria; Duke of Lorraine, Venice, and Saltzburg; Grand Duke of Tranſylvania; Duke of Styria, Corinthia, and Carniola; Wurtemberg, Upper and Lower Sileſia; Princely Count of Habſbourg, Tyrol, &c.

SMALL TITLE.

Francis II. by the Grace of God, elected Emperor of the Romans, always auguſt; Hereditary Emperor of Auſtria; King of Germany, Hungary, Bohemia, &c. Archduke of Auſtria; Duke of Lorraine, Venice, Saltzburg, &c.

Note preſented to the Diet of Ratiſbon on the 24th Auguſt, 1804, by the Imperial Envoys, accompanied by the Imperial Patent already publiſhed, containing the grand, ordinary, and abridged Titles of his Majeſty the Emperor.

The

The Envoys for the Electorate of Bohemia, and the Archduchy of Auſtria, have received from their Sovereign the annexed printed pragmatic ordinance, by which his Imperial and Royal Majeſty, as ſovereign of the Auſtrian monarchy, after the example of France, and for the reaſons therein contained, has reſolved to aſſume the hereditary Imperial title. The underſigned Envoys have not delayed to communicate this ordinance to the general Diet of the empire, and as his Majeſty has already addreſſed letters of notification to his ſeveral co-eſtates, it is not to be doubted that his communication will be received with the moſt friendly regard. As this new hereditary dignity, according to the expreſs contents of the pragmatic ordinance, will produce no alteration whatever in the relation between the German hereditary ſtates and the Roman empire; the underſigned envoys for the Electorate of Bohemia, and Archduchy of Auſtria, have it particularly in charge, explicitly to declare, that no change will be hereby produced in any other political relations and connexions, but that his Majeſty will, with redoubled attention, continue to preſerve, unimpaired, the friendly and benevolent ſentiments which he has conſtantly moſt aſſiduouſly cheriſhed towards all his co-eſtates of the empire.

FREDERIC COUNT DE STADION.
EGID JOSEPH CHARLES DE FAHNENBERG.

Note on the Part of the King of Sweden, communicated to the Diet; dated Auguſt 26, 1804.

In conſequence of the note given in to the Diet of the empire, on the 25th inſtant, by the Envoys for the Electorate of Bohemia and Archduchy of Auſtria, relative to the Auſtrian Imperial title, the underſigned Envoy from his Swediſh Majeſty finds himſelf obliged to declare—That his Majeſty the King of Sweden participates with the moſt ſincere ſatisfaction in every thing which can tend to promote the intereſt or gratifications of his Imperial houſe, yet his Swediſh Majeſty, both in quality of guarantee of the conſtitution of the empire, and in that of a ſtate of the empire, cannot but conſider the object of this notice as ſo inſeparably connected with the compoſition of the German empire, that it is not to be laid before the Diet merely as a notification, but as a ſubject for deliberation, in the diſcuſſion of which all the members of the Diet may expreſs their opinions as authorized by the conſtitution.

KNUT BILDT.
Ratiſbon, Aug. 26, 1804.

Correſpondence between Mr. Frere, Engliſh Miniſter to the Court of Spain, and the Prince of Peace, Prime Miniſter of his Moſt Catholic Majeſty: preceded by the Article in the French Paper, the Moniteur, by which the Correſpondence was occaſioned.

Moniteur, No. 184.

"*Madrid, March 10, 1804.*

"Mr. Frere, the Engliſh miniſter at this place, ſeems to be much affected by the news which have arrived from Paris. A few days

days before he forgot himself so far as to assert, in a conversation which he had with the Prince of Peace, that assassination and murder are lawful, in the present state of things, to save England from the extraordinary situation in which it is placed." The Prince of Peace bluntly replied, "But, Sir, should France adopt the same principle, nations would carry on war by the medium of assassins, instead of fighting with fleets and armies. I cannot help declaring that this morality would excite horror in the mind of his Catholic Majesty. For my part I can only tell you, that the example of all ages proves that crimes, in the end, always fall on the heads of those who order, or are the instruments of them."—Then comes the following note, by the editor of the Moniteur.—"The observation of the Prince of Peace has been verified; and at the moment when England was employing the Count d'Artois as an assassin, one of the individuals of his family perished, as an atonement for the crime, under the sword of justice. Infamous ci-devant Bishop of Arras, such is the result of your counsels!"

Madrid, April 7, 1804.

Sir,

Your Excellency has undoubtedly read the conversation ascribed to us by the French Official Gazetteer, concerning the late events in Paris. As I flatter myself that my colleagues, and the enlightened persons of the Court, will not be apt to credit stories so ridiculous and so diametrically opposite to the principles which they know me to profess, I might perhaps have dispensed with noticing a calumny which must reflect upon its authors; and should merely have invited your Excellency to estimate the accuracy of other accounts, proceeding from the same source, by this of which you are at once the judge, and witness. And yet, as it appears that the writer of that article presumes to ground his statement on the testimony of your Excellency, it appears to me that I should, in some manner, be wanting to my own justification, and to the representation with which I am entrusted, were I to neglect appealing to that very testimony myself. Besides, the official character of that accusation seems to demand an equally formal and authentic contradiction. These considerations induce me to apply to your Excellency, and to request that you will declare whether any such conversation did really pass between us, in which I asserted the principle imputed to me by the Official Gazetteer, and above all, as maintained by him, before the Paris news arrived; in short, whether your Excellency acknowledges the answer ascribed to you, and which concludes by a very intelligible threat of assassination.

(Signed) J. H. Frere.

Madrid, April 8, 1804.

I have actually seen, that in the Madrid article, inserted in No. 184 of the Gazette, an account is given of a conversation between us, and I was waiting, Sir, for your application to remove, by my answer, the unfavourable opinions you might have formed. But, as in this kind of business the degree of probability entirely depends upon opinion, and our conferences have taken

taken place without either witneſſes or hearers, and as it is impoſſible, therefore, that they ſhould have been tranſmitted to the Gazetteer with truth or accuracy, I deem the juſtification you require from me perfectly uſeleſs, ſince it will be indifferent to the editor of the Gazetteer whether he publiſh a contrary ſtatement to-morrow, the value ſet upon thoſe accounts being relative to the truth they contain. Such has been my opinion when I have ſeen my character blackened in ſtill darker colours; and he, who ſhould endeavour to reſtrain the actions of men, whom fortune has placed out of his power, would obtain no other end than that of giving himſelf conſtant uneaſineſs.

(Signed)

THE PRINCE OF PEACE.

Madrid, April 10, 1804.

SIR,

I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your Excellency's note, and you will ſee, by the date of this, that I have well reflected before I determined to renew ſo unpleaſant a ſubject; but, in truth, the longer I weigh the expreſſions of your Excellency's note, the leſs I find that they anſwer the purpoſe for which it was dictated, namely, to remove the unfavourable opinions I might have formed. Your Excellency does me the honour to obſerve, that you expected me to take ſuch a ſtep; it was not, therefore, quite ſuperfluous in itſelf. And indeed, ſince I was to make application to your Excellency, I do not ſee how it was poſſible for me to prefer a demand more moderate, or how I could now deſiſt from it, without obtaining, ſome way or other, a ſatisfactory anſwer. I am fully aware how delicate and difficult the preſent circumſtances are; but, if your Excellency did not think it proper directly to oppoſe the official Gazetteer's aſſertions, it would, at leaſt, have been poſſible, by ſtripping his ſtatement of all authority, to reduce it to that vague and conjectural character which you yourſelf have aſcribed to it; for this purpoſe nothing more was required than that your Excellency ſhould aſſure me you never had divulged any particulars of our converſation, ſince it is evident that the Moniteur did not mean to cite furtive and clandeſtine witneſſes, but the very perſon of your Excellency. Your Excellency might likewiſe have given a very plain and very natural teſtimony in my favour, namely, that the only time I ſpoke with you upon the ſubject, I expreſſed an opinion preciſely the reverſe of that which the Gazetteer pretended to cite.

(Signed) J. H. FRERE.

Aranjuez, April 13, 1804.

The Editor of the French Gazette ſuppoſing, in his No. 184, that a converſation had taken place between you, Sir, and me, has been wanting in the conſideration due to my character, by believing me capable of entering upon ſubjects unworthy of the greatneſs of ſoul which adorns me. I do not complain of his offence, and you cannot calm the perturbation of your mind at being implicated in it. How ſhall I be able to perſuade you? I have nothing to add to the reflections contained in my preceding note; may this anſwer

to

to your's of the 10th, prove more ſatisfactory, and let vague opinions circulate in arbitrary prints.

(Signed)

THE PRINCE OF PEACE.

Madrid, April 17, 1804.

SIR,

It had appeared to me that my perſonal honour, as well as my ſovereign's, in fine, that the value I ought to ſet upon the good opinion of the Spaniſh nation, equally impelled me to take the ſtep I have towards your Excellency; and though that greatneſs of ſoul your Excellency had ſo juſt a title to claim, had leſſened the importance of theſe conſiderations in your eyes, I ſhould ſtill have flattered myſelf, that you would ſhew ſome indulgence for the weakneſs of thoſe, who, on being conſcious of thoſe diſtinguiſhed qualities which raiſe people above calumny, think that there are inſtances in which a man, without being wanting to his own dignity, is called upon to ſhew ſome reſpect for public opinion. But, if our notions upon the ſubject be greatly different, the ſituation we are in is no leſs ſo. On my part I am charged with having maintained an atrocious principle; while they put in the mouth of your Excellency ſentiments worthy of your character, and ſuch as all who are not ſtrangers to your loyalty, muſt know that you yourſelf could have wiſhed to have had aſcribed to you, had I been capable of holding the language attributed to me. I cannot, therefore, conceal that in the denial of your Excellency to diſavow that converſation, I look in vain for that greatneſs of ſoul which you invite me to imitate, when ſilence, on our part, coſts you nothing but the ſacrifice of my reputation, inaſmuch, at leaſt, as it depends upon your ſuffrage. Seeing myſelf deprived of this advantage, there ſtill remains for me the ſatisfaction to think that I can deſiſt from farther importuning your Excellency upon the ſubject, and that I am able to await, without that perturbation of mind you aſcribe to me, the deciſion of the public, the opinion of my colleagues, and that of the enlightened perſons in this court. They have hitherto been pretty decidedly in my favour, and I flatter myſelf they will prove ſufficient to protect me, not only againſt the aſperſions of the Gazetteer, but likewiſe againſt the conjectures which may be built upon the ſilence of your Excellency.

(Signed) J. H. FRERE.

Madrid, April 19, 1804.

SIR,

I cannot avoid returning an anſwer to your note of the 17th inſt. as, although its contents do not vary from the former one concerning the opinions entertained in France, upon your character, and mine, I ſee that you touch other points of greater importance, ſuch as the dignity of your ſovereign, and the public opinion. This queſtion is too ſerious, and ought not, therefore, to be blended with private intereſts. I will never believe that the king of England gives his miniſters directions derogatory from his majeſty and dignity; I reſpect his high rank as I ſhould, and will not conſent, Sir, to your making a court buſineſs of what

what is merely perſonal. You know, Sir, that whenever you have called to converſe with me, I have anſwered, that political affairs were not within my province, and that the king, my maſter, had his Secretary of State, through whoſe medium the demands of foreign courts were to be tranſmitted to him. To the other ambaſſadors and miniſters I made the ſame obſervation; ſo that I have received their viſits as mere acts of goodneſs and civility from them. Under ſuch circumſtances, therefore, cauſes ought not to be confounded with ſubſequent events, nor ought what depends upon the private conduct of ſubjects to be imputed to edicts of the government. My ſincerity has more than once prompted me to caution you, Sir, that ſome individuals about you could do you neither honour nor credit, ſince their reputation being blaſted in other courts, no great opinion could be entertained of their morals in this. And do you know, Sir, whether or not theſe people may be the authors of the ſtory publiſhed by the Paris Gazetteer? I have likewiſe mentioned ſeveral other things to you; and it was, perhaps, owing to my advices that you avoided their conſequences, as, for inſtance, General Bournonville's affair, when you wanted to make yourſelf maſter of his papers. Let your Excellency call to mind my former conduct, and entertain a proper regard for the ſincerity you have experienced from your affectionate ſervant.

(Signed)

THE PRINCE OF PEACE.

If you chuſe, Sir, I will give an account of what has taken place to the king, my maſter, that it may be forwarded to the miniſter of his Britannic Majeſty, through the channel of his ambaſſador in London; and your Excellency may, from the moderation and terms of my note, form an idea of the high reſpect I bear his Britannic Majeſty, ſince, if it were not for this juſt conſideration, I ſhould not have anſwered your laſt note.

Madrid, April 20, 1804.

I yeſterday received the note of your Excellency, which I have read with all the attention it merits. There is a very plain conſideration which directly occurs to one's mind, namely, that your Excellency might have ſpared yourſelf the unpleaſant taſk of continuing a painful correſpondence. Your Excellency does me the honour to tell me, that, being no miniſter, your correſpondence cannot be drawn to any political conſequence; and yet you propoſe to tranſmit it to the miniſter of his Catholic Majeſty in London, for the purpoſe of ſhewing your reſpect for his Britannic Majeſty. Your Excellency adds, that without ſuch motive you would not have thought yourſelf bound to anſwer my note. Upon this I muſt obſerve, that expreſſions of perſonal reſpect from a private individual to a ſovereign, do not appear to me to be cuſtomary; and that, viewing the note of your Excellency in this light, I would not undertake to lay it officially before his Majeſty. And yet, as it contains certain alluſions to my conduct, I thought it my duty to tranſmit it to the Secretary of State of his Britannic Majeſty, with proper explanations.

If I return no direct anſwer to your Excellency concerning thoſe alluſions, it is becauſe I think them foreign to the ſubject upon which we began to correſpond, and abſolutely without an object, ſince your Excellency has declared you would not be looked upon as a miniſter. Moreover, nobody being preſent when the converſation in queſtion took place, the diſcuſſion would prove endleſs, and be of no other uſe than that of preſenting to the public the indecent ſpectacle of two perſons, each of whom has ſome claim to their reſpect, mutually contradicting one another in the face of the whole world.

(Signed) J. H. Frere.

Madrid, April 12, 1804.

I perſuade myſelf that your Excellency will not be ſurpriſed at the courſe I take, and which is, in my opinion, the only rational one. Since I deſiſted in my note of the 17th, from the demand of a diſavowal, our correſpondence could no longer have any object. From the moment that your Excellency declared that you would not be conſidered a miniſter, I became ſenſible that farther diſcuſſions would only produce a perſonal altercation. This was the motive why I avoided diſcuſſing various points contained in the laſt note of your Excellency, and it is alſo the motive which influences me at preſent. When your Excellency has taken into conſideration the ſituation you place me in, by ſtripping me, as well as yourſelf, of our miniſterial characters, I am convinced you will not aſcribe to a want of regard, that which is, in reality, the reſult of moſt ſerious reflection.

(Signed) J. H. Frere.

The Preſident and Members of the Departmental Government of Zealand, to General Monnet, exerciſing the Command of Fluſhing and the Iſland of Walcheren.

Sir,

Before we received your letter of the 17th Pluvioſe, we had already information of the meaſures which you had taken, by order of your government, to ſeize upon the Engliſh merchandize found in the commercial houſes and ſhops within this city; now we have intelligence that the ſame has alſo been done at Fluſhing and Veere.

It is impoſſible to withhold our ſurprize at the ſtep againſt the inhabitants of this country, which you find yourſelf authorized to take. We have no room to ſurmiſe that the Batavian government had the ſmalleſt intimation of a meaſure, which is as extraordinary as ſingular, or that it has been adopted and carried into execution with its previous knowledge, or that it ſhould have co-operated in it.

All the lamentable circumſtances which ſtrike in ſucceſſion our country, dear to us, and the inhabitants on this iſland, whoſe intereſts are entruſted to us, afflict us in the moſt ſenſible manner.

However it may be as to what has paſſed, as long as we are ignorant of the motives and the cauſe which has led to what has paſſed, we find ourſelves compelled, from duty and love for our fellow-citizens, to conſider every thing which has been done, or that may be undertaken, againſt their property and poſſeſſions, as an act of arbitrary authority, which we ſolemnly diſavow.

We beſeech you, Sir, by the liberty of Batavia, acknowledged for

for more than two centuries, and acquired in battle by our anceſtors, at the expenſe of their valour and their blood, that you will not convert that liberty to a ſhadow, by perſevering farther in the execution of a meaſure which has been carried to great lengths already, and againſt which we proteſt with all our might.

If in the mean time, againſt all expectation, you refuſe to give ear to this juſt and well-founded proteſt, we ſolemnly and energetically implore you, that the goods and property of our fellow-citizens, already ſeized and placed in ſecurity, may not be tranſported elſewhere; at leaſt, that the ſacred right of property be ſo long reſpected till both the Governments ſhall have treated and determined as to the deſtiny of ſo many inhabitants, whoſe welfare and exiſtence alone depend on the preſervation of their property and poſſeſſions.

We have the honour to be,
With reſpect,
Preſident and Members of the Departmental Government of Zealand.
J. W. SCHORER, Preſident.

Middleburg, Feb. 8, 1804.

Letter of the French Commercial Agent at Rotterdam to the American Conſul at that Place, relative to Engliſh Goods, dated Sept. 12, 1803.

SIR,

I have the honour to communicate the decree which the French Government have juſt enacted, for preventing the introduction into France, of every deſcription of merchandize from the colonies or manufactories of England, and to inſtruct you in the formalities neceſſary to be obſerved by foreign navigators entering the ports of France, in order that they may be admitted without difficulty. You will obſerve that the 2d article exacts the moſt rigid attention to the lading of veſſels deſtined for France. The neceſſity of conforming with the views of government, and at the ſame time to facilitate the means of fulfilling the formalities required by this decree, induces me to adopt the following regulations, which you will oblige me by communicating to the captains of your nation, that they may conform thereto. Every captain or ſupercargo intending to load for a French port, ſhould declare at the French conſulate office, That he will not embark any merchandize without the permiſſion of the charterer, and agreeably to the decree regulating the lading. The permit ſhould be delivered into the conſular office, containing a ſworn declaration of the charterer, comprifing the mark, weight, and quantity, agreeably to the original bills; and he ſhould further accompany the above with the declaration of the broker who made the purchaſes, or with ſuch other vouchers as will fully prove that the merchandize is the produce of neither the commerce, colonies, nor manufactories of England. He ſhall, as before ſtated, deliver the original bills of merchandize, and when delivered they ſhall entitle him to a permit to load. When the captains or ſupercargoes have finiſhed their lading, they ſhall return two manifeſts to the commiſſary's office, ſigned by them, and counterſigned by the conſul of their nation,

nation, or when that ſhall be impracticable, then by the commiſſary himſelf. The manifeſt ſhall contain the particulars of the marks, numbers, weights, and quantity of each package, and each package of merchandize ought to be accompanied with a ſeparate certificate. One of the manifeſts to remain in the commiſſary's office, and the other to be delivered to the captain, counterſigned by me. And there ſhall, moreover, be delivered to the captain ſuch other certificate as the decree of government requires.

(Signed) C. Guyz.

Orders iſſued by Deſſalines, as Governor General of St. Domingo, dated April 9, 1804.

All proprietors that have produce to ſell ſhall previouſly pay a fourth part as a territorial impoſition. The power of ſelling produce of the 11th year ſhall only belong to proprietors who belonged to the indigenous army in the 11th year. Perſons who ſince that period have reſided with the French are not to have the benefit of that year's produce; their property being confiſcated for the uſe of the indigenous army. Mules, horſes, and other animals belonging to the habitations ſequeſtered, are to be given up to the adminiſtrators of domains, who are to give an account of the ſame to the general commanding the department, who will place them in the moſt advantageous manner on the ſequeſtered eſtates, to be employed in cultivation. It is expreſsly forbidden, that any officer ſhall intermeddle with the cultivation of the eſtates. All ſugar manufactories previouſly given to chief of corps, ſhall be returned to the adminiſtrators of domains. All proprietors reſident with the French to the time of the indigenous army taking poſſeſſion of a place, ſhall forfeit all the produce of their eſtates during the 11th year. The generals commanding departments ſhall cauſe generals of brigade to execute the fortifications ordered to be erected in the high mountains of the interior; and the generals of brigade ſhall from time to time make reports of their proceedings, and their works. All ſales, or gifts of moveables, or immoveables, made by emigrants, in favour of perſons reſiding in the iſland, are annulled; it being underſtood when ſo made after the indigenous army had taken up arms to expel the French from Hayti.

Proclamation by Deſſalines, dated at the Cape, May 8, 1804; firſt Year of Independence.

Scarce had the French army been expelled, when you haſtened to acknowledge my authority; by a free and ſpontaneous movement of your heart, you ranged yourſelves under my ſubjection. More careful of the proſperity than the ruin of that part which you inhabit, I gave to this homage a favourable reception. From that moment I have conſidered you as my children, and my fidelity to you remains undiminiſhed.

As a proof of my paternal ſolicitude, within the places which have ſubmitted to my power, I have propoſed for chiefs none but men choſen from

from amongſt yourſelves. Jealous of counting you in the rank of my friends, that I might give you all the time neceſſary for recollection, and that I might aſſure myſelf of your fidelity, I have hitherto reſtrained the burning ardour of my ſoldiers.

Already I congratulated myſelf on the ſucceſs of my ſolicitude, which had for its object to prevent the effuſion of blood; but at this time a fanatic prieſt had not kindled in your breaſts the rage which predominates therein: the incenſed Feerand had not yet inſtilled into you the poiſon of falſehood and calumny. Writings, originating in deſpair and weakneſs, have been circulated; and immediately ſome amongſt you, ſeduced by perfidious inſinuations, ſolicited the friendſhip and protection of the French; they dared to outrage my kindneſs, by coaleſcing with my cruel enemies.

Spaniards, reflect! On the brink of the precipice which is dug under your feet, will that diabolical miniſter ſave you, when with fire and ſword I ſhall have purſued you to your laſt entrenchments? Ah! without doubt, his prayers, his grimaces, his relics, would be no impediment to my career.

Vain as powerleſs, can he preſerve you from my juſt anger, after I ſhall have buried him, and the collection of brigands he commands, under the ruins of your capital! Let them both recollect that it is before my intrepid phalanxes that all the reſources and the ſkill of Europeans have proved ineffectual: and that into my victorious bonds the deſtiny of the captain-general Rochambeau has been ſurrendered.

To lure the Spaniards to their party, they propagate the report that veſſels laden with troops have arrived at Santa Domingo. Why is it not the truth? They little imagine that, in delaying to attack them until this time, my principal object has been to ſuffer them to increaſe the maſs of our reſources, and the number of our victims.

To ſpread diſtruſt and terror, they inceſſantly dwell upon the fate which the French have juſt experienced; but have I had reaſon to treat them ſo? The wrongs of the French, do they appertain to Spaniards? and muſt I viſit on the latter the crimes which the former have conceived, ordered, and executed upon our ſpecies?

They have the effrontery to ſay, that, reduced to ſeek ſafety in flight, I am gone to conceal my defeat in the ſouthern part of the iſland. Well then! Let them learn that I am ready; that the thunderbolt is going to fall on their heads. Let them know that my ſoldiers are impatiently waiting for the ſignal to go and re-conquer the boundaries which nature and the elements have aſſigned to us.

A few moments more, and I ſhall cruſh the remnant of the French under the weight of mighty power. Spaniards! you, to whom I addreſs myſelf, ſolely becauſe I wiſh to ſave you; you who, for having been guilty of evaſion, ſhall ſpeedily preſerve your exiſtence only ſo far as my clemency may deign to ſpare you; it is yet time; abjure an error which may be fatal to you; and break off all connections with my enemy, if you wiſh your blood may not be confounded with his.

Name to me, without delay,

that part of your territory on which my firſt blow is to be ſtruck, or inform me whether I muſt ſtrike on all points without diſcrimination. I give you fifteen days, from the date of this notification, to forward your laſt intentions, and to rally under my banners.

You are not ignorant that all the roads of St. Domingo in every direction are familiar to us; that more than once we have ſeen your diſperſed bands fly before us. In a word, you know what I can do, and what I dare; think of your preſervation.

Receive here the ſacred promiſe which I make, not to do any thing againſt your perſonal ſafety or your intereſt, if you ſeize upon this occaſion to ſhew yourſelves worthy of being admitted amongſt the children of Hayti.

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CHARACTERS.

Memoirs of Dr. Beattie.

From Bower's Account of his Life.

JAMES Beattie, LL.D. was born on the 5th of November, in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and thirty-five. The pariſh of Laurencekirk, in the county of Kincardine, in Scotland, has the honour of enrolling his name among thoſe of ſeveral other literary characters, which that remote part of the iſland has produced.

His anceſtors had reſided there for a conſiderable period. The Beatties or Beatons, however, came originally from the weſtern iſles; upon what occaſion, or at what preciſe time, cannot be exactly aſcercertained. His father, James Beattie, followed the honourable profeſſion of a farmer. His mother's name was Jean Watſon.

Dr. Beattie's father was a man of very conſiderable abilities—of the ſtricteſt probity—exact in taking an account of the manner wherein he ſpent his time; and at his leiſure hours he cultivated the Muſes. A journal kept by him, as well as ſome ſpecimens of his poetry, are ſtill in the poſſeſſion of his deſcendants. This laſt circumſtance is the more worthy of being noticed, as it proves that Dr. Beattie derived his poetical turn from his father.

The ſubject of this memoir was deprived of his father at a very tender age; he was then only ſeven years old. An event of this kind is always accompanied with ſerious conſequences, in whatever ſituation the ſufferer may be placed; ſuch misfortunes, however, are felt more ſeverely by ſome ranks in ſociety than by others. Thoſe who are in circumſtances, not ſufficiently deſtitute to excite the commiſeration of the public, are generally left to their own unaſſiſted exertions; and in this ſituation was the family of Mrs. Beattie. The hopes of the widow, and her helpleſs offſpring, were immediately fixed upon the ſenior, and only brother of the doctor. In him they were not diſappointed. David Beattie, at the time of his father's death, was eighteen years old: and as it was not then the cuſtom, in Scotland, to initiate boys ſo early into the knowledge of the learned languages, as has of late become faſhionable, he was at that age at ſchool proſecuting his ſtudies. His father in conſequence of the promiſing talents which he diſcovered, had reſolved to ſend him to the Univerſity; but a premature death deprived him of this advantage, and imperiouſly called upon him to relinquiſh ſuch purſuits, and to devote his time and abilities to the ſupport of his mother's family. This duty, for a long ſeries of years, he diſcharged with aſſiduity and affection; and whatever pleaſure, or inſtruction, the public have derived from Dr. Beattie's writings, they ought to conſider themſelves as highly indebted for it to the foſtering, generous, and, I may ſay, parental care of his elder brother.

In his early years Dr. Beattie was of a very weakly conſtitution. It is, however, of little conſequence to inquire in what particular year he went to ſchool; it is likely he would afford as early indications of a capacity to acquire the elements of knowledge, as the generality of boys exhibit; and this, it will be admitted, is the ordinary and common maxim, whereby a judicious parent is actuated, when it is reſolved on to ſend a child to ſchool.

A narrative of the moſt minute circumſtances in the hiſtory of the progreſs of a man of letters, will be conſidered by every judicious perſon as a moſt invaluable treaſure. We are informed in the Eſſay on Poetry, that the firſt opportunity he ever had of being acquainted with Virgil, was through the medium of Ogilvie's tranſlation. It is probable that he had at this time made ſome progreſs in the knowledge of claſſical literature; but this alluſion, trifling as it may appear to ſome, diſcovers the early bent of his mind, and the pleaſure he derived from poetry.

The practice of writing Latin verſes has never been generally introduced into the public ſchools of Scotland—Beattie had ſeldom or never ſurely attempted this in the early part of his life, becauſe he was wont to confeſs at a time, when he had already acquired the moſt diſtinguiſhed reputation as an author of real poetical genius, that he experienced great difficulty when he tried it. I ſuppoſe he never wrote ſix lines of Latin verſe.

At a very early period of life Beattie was diſtinguiſhed by his fellow-ſcholars not only by the ſuperiority of his powers, but by his indefatigable application. He was always in the higheſt ſtation in his claſs. Diligent, attentive, and regular in accompliſhing the taſks preſcribed to him, his reputation within the ſmall circle of his friends began to extend.

The particular circumſtances attending the progreſs of his fame among his ſchool-fellows, I cannot now aſcertain. It is an unqueſtionable truth, that he was called *Poet Beattie* at ſchool. Owing to the delicate ſtate of his health, his elder ſiſter, Elizabeth, always accompanied him to ſchool. This young lady died at an early age. Her attachment, however, to her brother was ſo great, that ſhe not only gave attendance at the public ſchool, but aſſiſted him in private, and made ſuch proficiency that ſhe could read Virgil with facility.

In the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and forty-nine, the two brothers left Laurencekirk, and directed their courſe to Aberdeen.

Beattie's, or rather his brother's circumſtances not being very affluent, it was determined that he ſhould be a candidate for what, in the academical language of Scotland, is called a burſe, or burſary. The definition of the word burſar, by Johnſon may have miſled many Engliſhmen. He ſeems to have ſuppoſed that it was ſolely the prerogative of the preſbytery to give a title to theſe exhibitions or petty penſions. This, however, is a great miſtake. I may affirm with certainty, that no preſbytery, of the ſeventy-eight in Scotland, poſſeſſes any ſimilar prerogative.

The reputation of Mariſchal college had induced Beattie to appear as a candidate there. The form upon ſuch occaſions is, that a piece of Engliſh is dictated to the the candidates by a profeſſor, which

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they are required to tranſlate into Latin. They are incloſed in the college-hall, with one of the town clerks and the profeſſor who preſcribes the trial, and are at liberty to retire whenever they have written their verſion. The name of the writer is ſubſcribed at ſuch a convenient diſtance that it can be eaſily cut off. It is then numbered; and the ſame number is written upon the ſlip of paper, on which the name is. The judges are therefore prevented from being partial, even though they were ſo diſpoſed. After the different merits of the competitors have been aſcertained, and the moſt valuable burſe adjudged to the writer of the beſt tranſlation, they arrange ſuch as remain according to their comparative excellence. When this part of the buſineſs is finiſhed, the names of the ſucceſsful candidates are eaſily obtained, by comparing the number on the verſion with the number on the ſlip of paper containing the writer's name.

On the day of the competition, David Beattie waited with great anxiety for the iſſue of the trial. He was ſurprized at the ſhort time James had taken to finiſh his verſion, and even expreſſed to him his fears that he had been in too great a hurry, and had not beſtowed ſufficient pains upon it. Next day, however, when the roll was called, James Beattie's name was firſt on the liſt, and he was conſequently entitled to the beſt burſe.

The ſmall ſums of money thus beſtowed upon young men are quite inadequate to ſupport them while at college, without ſome other pecuniary aid; the value of money having fallen ſo much, ſince the funds were originally eſtabliſhed from which the greater number of burſes are paid. The average value in Aberdeen may be conſidered as too high when it is ſtated at five pounds ſterling per annum. There are ſeveral however much above that ſum.

Beattie was exceedingly fortunate in having an opportunity preſented to him of profiting by the inſtructions of Principal Thomas Blackwell, profeſſor of Greek, author of the life of Homer, and of the court of Auguſtus.

As no evidence exiſts by which it can be proved how early in the ſeſſion Blackwell diſcerned Beattie's genius, it is in vain to enter into a particular enquiry what the real ſtate of the caſe might have been. It is an undoubted fact that Blackwell not only diſcovered the abilities of his pupil, but alſo patronized him.

I have converſed with ſeveral of Beattie's claſs fellows. They unanimouſly affirmed, that he was conſidered ſuperior to any of his claſs. This is no ſmall teſtimony of his proficiency. Boys do not judge very accurately upon many things. Upon the figure which one of their companions makes at college or even at ſchool, they are impartial and unexceptionable witneſſes.

Beattie's proficiency, during the firſt year of his college courſe, is the more remarkable, becauſe he was then in a very delicate ſtate of health. An anecdote frequently related by his brother proves this. —When David was about to leave Aberdeen, James accompanied him to a ſtreet called the Green. When they had ſeparated, David could not reſiſt the temptation to look back, and perceiving James ſtill ſtanding in the middle of the ſtreet looking after him, he ſaid to himſelf, how can I leave ſuch a poor

creature in Aberdeen for the winter; he cannot ſurely ſurvive that period. He had boarded him with a diſtant relation, a Mr. David Langlands, whoſe ſon, if I miſtake not, is an eminent counſellor in London. Beattie's health nevertheleſs was but little altered during that winter.

On his return to Laurencekirk it improved conſiderably. During the vacation, which at this college is ſeven months in the year, he applied to his ſtudies with unremitting induſtry.

At the proper period Beattie ſet out a ſecond time for Aberdeen. Being a burſar, it was abſolutely neceſſary that he ſhould attend the different claſſes in the order preſcribed by the ſtatutes of the univerſity, otherwiſe he could not apply for the degree of Maſter of Arts.

Beattie though poſſeſſed of unqueſtionable genius, never diſcovered any great attachment to mathematical purſuits. He ſometimes expreſſed in converſation his own antipathy to that noble ſtudy, rather in ſtrong terms. The turn of his mind does not ſeem to have led him to cultivate the ſcience of *quantity*, for proficiency in which Dr. Reid and Dr. Smith were ſo eminent. Whatever light ſuch an antipathy may throw upon the peculiarity of his mental character, it is certain that it produced no good effect during the period of his profeſſorſhip.

Though Beattie diſcovered no particular partiality to the mathematics, it is plain from his eſſay on truth, and other works, that his powers of abſtraction were not incompetent to have diſtinguiſhed him as a mathematician.

Beſides the ſtudy of mathematics, Beattie's attention was, during the ſecond ſeſſion, directed to hiſtory, geography, chronology, with an introduction to natural hiſtory.

It ought however to be mentioned that Mr. Beattie was poſſeſſed of as much theoretic knowledge of the mathematics, and practical ſkill as to make a *quadrant*. With this inſtrument he took the altitude of the church of Laurencekirk, &c.

It is unneceſſary to obſerve that Beattie uniformly returned to Laurencekirk at the concluſion of each ſeſſion. In his mother's hoſpitable manſion, and by the frank and generous exertions of his brother, he was enabled to proſecute his ſtudies without interruption. Dr. Beattie, as well as almoſt all his relations, poſſeſſed a very correct ear for muſic. Even at a period preceding this, the natural impulſe of his mind had induced him to cultivate his talents in this way. And it is certain that he practiſed, in the moſt buſy part of his life, what he recommended to other ſtudents in his works, and what conſtituted the favourite amuſement of Luther and of Milton, in the intervals between their uſual hours of ſerious ſtudy.

Beattie was now about to enter the higheſt claſs in the academical arrangements in the univerſity of Aberdeen. He could not have been more fortunate in a profeſſor than in the perſon who, at that time, was to be his teacher. This was Dr. Alexander Gerard.

The Literary Society in Aberdeen, of which Reid, Campbell, Gregory, Skene, and Gerard were members, had exiſted ſeveral years before Beattie was added to their number. The object of their aſſociation was mutual improvement in literature and philoſophy. The liberal intercourſe which ſubſiſted between the members muſt have greatl

greatly promoted the progreſs of their ſeveral ſtudies. Not only the excellence of their different works, but the great ſimilarity of the doctrines they have inculcated, both in philoſophy and polite literature, ſhew that they were not inattentive to the ſuggeſtions of one another. What probable improvement Beattie derived from this we ſhall have occaſion to notice as we proceed.

The regular courſe of Mariſchal college is completed in four years. No one can apply for the degree of maſter of arts who has not attended the claſſes in the order preſcribed by the ſtatutes of the univerſity. Beattie at the uſual time (in the end of the ſeſſion 1753) took his degree. This ceremony was always public till he himſelf, from a diſlike to what he conſidered to be oſtentation, or perhaps from ſome other cauſe, made it private. During his profeſſorſhip it was public only for ſixteen years, and was private for the nine following years. In 1786, however, the graduation, as it is technically called, was public. His oldeſt ſon took his degree that year.

I have now brought down Beattie's hiſtory to the period when he left college; that is, when he had completed his term at thoſe claſſes which gentlemen generally attend who propoſe nothing elſe than obtaining the benefit of a liberal education.

About the beginning of April 1753, he returned to Laurence-kirk, and waited patiently for ſome employment which would not greatly interrupt the progreſs of his ſtudies.

Upon his return to Laurence-kirk he was always treated with the greateſt kindneſs and attention by the Rev. Andrew Thomſon, miniſter of that pariſh. This gentleman poſſeſſed an excellent library, was a very good ſcholar, and was among the very firſt who patronized Beattie in early life.

But, as it was neceſſary that Beattie ſhould now engage in ſome employment, and endeavour by his own exertions to ſupport himſelf. To teach a ſchool was the only way that was left for him.

His character, as a good ſcholar, and a young man of genius, was juſtly, on his return from college, ſo very high, that he ran little riſk of being an unſucceſsful candidate for any of thoſe ſituations which are in general requeſt by ſuch perſons as propoſe to be, and thoſe who, in Scotland, are ſtudents of divinity.

While Mr. Beattie reſided with his brother, the neighbouring pariſh of Fordoun was deprived of its ſchoolmaſter. He applied for, and eaſily procured, that humble appointment. Its emoluments were ſmall. He was then about the age of nineteen, as he entered upon his new employment in the end of 1753, or in the beginning of 1754.

With what ability he acquitted himſelf as the teacher of a ſchool, in a remote country village, cannot be deſcribed with the utmoſt accuracy. What one would not have expected, I have been informed, upon evidence the moſt unqueſtionable, that he was a very ſevere diſciplinarian. It is likely that he did not ſit very eaſy under his new employment. His views were more aſpiring than his ſituation at that time could warrant any hopes of ever having it in his power to gratify. The teazing detail of the buſineſs of a country ſchool was but little accommodating to a young man like

Beattie. It is neceſſary that a ſchoolmaſter ſhould devote his time, his talents, and his purſuits, to thoſe placed under his tuition. Any object, either higher or lower, is not calculated to benefit the ſcholars; and this (whatever other qualification the maſter may poſſeſs) is the ordinary ſtandard whereby his ability is eſtimated.

Beattie's manner and addreſs are repreſented as having been at this time blunt, and rather uncultivated. He had hitherto but little opportunity either of converſing or aſſociating with his ſuperiors, in regard to fortune. It is in ſuch ſociety that any little awkwardneſs of manner is moſt likely to be corrected; and no general rule can poſſibly accompliſh this ſo effectually. Notwithſtanding this diſadvantage, wherever he went he always gained friends, and found individuals who did themſelves honour by patronizing him as a man of genius.

About the time he went to Fordoun, he began to ſend his little poetical compoſitions to the Scots Magazine. This periodical publication commenced about the year 1738. Whoever conducted it, an aſſociation of Edinburgh booksellers were the proprietors. Ruddiman, the relation of the grammarian of the ſame name, and the author of the Life and Adventures of Peter Williamſon, the beſt imitation which has yet appeared of the popular romance of Robinſon Cruſoe, had not at that time begun to publiſh his magazine. A conſiderable number of Beattie's poems in the Scots magazine are under fictitious ſignatures. They are, in general, however, ſubſcribed with the initials of his name.

One of his earlieſt patrons was Mr. Francis Garden, afterwards Lord Gardenſtone.

Mr. Garden was ſheriff of Kincardineſhire when Beattie went to Fourdon. He did Mr. Beattie a ſervice which at that period of his hiſtory was not a ſmall one. He afforded him his patronage, and introduced him to the principal gentlemen of the county: not the principal in point of fortune alone, but to thoſe alſo who were qualified to appreciate real talents, and who poſſeſſed the ariſtocracy of genius. It muſt be confeſſed that few parochial ſchoolmaſters ought to be compared with Mr. Beattie. There are, however, ſtill fewer patrons like Lord Gardenſtone.

While at Fordoun he reſided in the houſe of James Anderſon. The Rev. Mr. Forbes, at that time miniſter of the pariſh, ſhewed him many marks of kindneſs. He very ſoon diſcovered Beattie's abilities, and though he held them in juſt eſtimation, he was not blind to his defects. Beattie's ſituation, as pariſh ſchoolmaſter, was early perceived by Mr. Forbes not to be very congenial to his inclination, nor adequate to his deſerts. He generouſly wiſhed that an opportunity might occur on which it might be in his power to afford him thoſe recommendations which he ſo juſtly deſerved. An opportunity of this kind, however, did not preſent itſelf for ſome time.

The diſcharge of the duties of Beattie's office, was not incompatible with his attendance at the Divinity Hall; at leaſt what is reckoned attendance.

Before any one can be licenſed to preach in the church of Scotland, it is neceſſary that he ſhall not only have previouſly attended the claſſes of philoſophy, but he muſt alſo

alſo be enrolled as a ſtudent of divinity for a certain nnmber of years, and have delivered, with the approbation of the profeſſor, a certain number of diſcourſes. The number of years depends upon the regularity with which the ſtudent attends the prelections of the profeſſor. Young men, like Beattie, who are obliged to teach a ſchool in order to enable them to attain the object of their ambition, cannot give regular attendance. They muſt be contented with a term very ſhort indeed. The greater number of them take their leave of the hall for a ſeſſion, when they have delivered the preſcribed diſcourſe.

Very little is left for a biographer to relate of one in Mr. Beattie's circumſtances while at Fordoun. He had his public duty to perform, which conſiſted in teaching a ſchool, and on each Sunday in officiating as clerk, or what in Scotland is called *precentor*. Every pariſh ſchoolmaſter muſt do the latter as well as the former, or pay another for doing it.

Of his particular ſtudies during this period, an exact account cannot be given. There is little doubt that a very conſiderable portion of his time was devoted to the claſſics. However excellent his abilities were, he could not have otherwiſe reached that degree of eminence which he attained. Sudden and irregular fits of ſtudy are incapable of producing very great effects, becauſe the lot of man is ſuch, that proficiency in any branch of knowledge cannot be reaſonably expected without laborious and long continued application. Notwithſtanding that the bent of Mr. Beattie's mind ſeems to have led him to the cultivation of polite literature, it may be obſerved, that it was one of thoſe ſtudies which a perſon in his ſituation could beſt proſecute with ſucceſs. He had not to ſubmit to the drudgery of learning the elements; and he was in the poſſeſſion of ſome of the beſt claſſics, havingneceſſarily purchaſed them when at ſchool and at college. Such books are alſo moſt commonly to be met with in a country place, where public libraries have not been eſtabliſhed.

At Fordoun alſo he amuſed himſelf by compoſing little poems. Many of theſe were ſhewn to his friends, who univerſally agreed in their admiration of his poetical talents. They tranſcribed ſome of them, and they were handed about in a certain circle.

It is probable that ſoon after he went to Fordoun he was engaged in the tranſlation of Virgil's paſtorals. This he publiſhed in the firſt edition of his poems. In the preface we are informed that it was written at a "very early time of life when ſolitude left the mind at liberty to purſue, without any fixed deſign, ſuch amuſements as gratified the preſent hour." This appears to ſuit no period of his life ſo well as that which elapſed between his going to Fordoun in 1753, and his brother David's removing from Laurencekirk, and taking up his reſidence at Fourdon in 1755.

Though not altogether diſcontented with his ſituation, Mr. Beattie had for a conſiderable time looked cut for ſome preferment which would contribute to his comfort, and place him in the way of improving himſelf in his favourite purſuits. The firſt opportunity of this kind was in conſequence of a vacancy in the grammar ſchool of

Aberdeen,

Aberdeen, occaſioned by the death of Mr. John Smith, one of the maſters; but on this application he was unſucceſsful, a preference being given to the competitor James Smith.

Beattie returned to his old employment at Fordoun, not without the expectation that he might ſucceed according to his wiſhes. He however did not procure, becauſe he did not apply for an appointment to any other ſchool.

About ſeven months after his competition with Mr. Smith, another vacancy occurred in the grammar ſchool of Aberdeen. Mr. Alexander Reid, one of the maſters, and a preacher of the goſpel, was preſented to the church of Kemnay in Aberdeenſhire. Whether the patrons of the ſchool upon more ſerious conſideration eſteemed it a dangerous precedent to introduce any maſter into the ſchool without a competition—or whether they had only expreſſed themſelves in general terms to Mr. Beattie when he ſtood a candidate—or whether, as is more probable, it had been the opinion of two or three of the judges only that he ought to be preferred to the firſt vacancy, I know not; but certain it is, that an advertiſement informed the public, "That upon the 15th June, 1758, a competition was to take place for the grammar ſchool in room of Mr. Alexander Reid.

Mr. Beattie was not deſired by thoſe who had formerly examined him to come forward a ſecond time. His brother and Mr. Forbes, however, did not fail to urge him to make a ſecond attempt. For reaſons beſt known to himſelf, he would not comply with their ſolicitations, and therefore did not make his appearance on the day appointed. Two candidates however appeared, and when examined were declared to be unfit for the office. The patrons now conſidered themſelves at liberty, without farther delay, to give the preference to one who, they knew, was fully competent to acquit himſelf with honour, with credit to the ſchool, and benefit to the public. Their choice fell on Mr. Beattie, who being invited by them to accept of the vacant office, repaired to the ſpot, and being inducted after the uſual manner, taught there upwards of two years. Thus having reſided at Fordoun for the ſpace of five years, he diſcharged the duties of a ſchoolmaſter for the ſpace of ſeven years.

Mr. Beattie's ſituation was now very different from what it had been at Fordoun. He was in every reſpect more comfortable. He was a maſter in by far the moſt reſpectable ſeminary for claſſical literature in the north of Scotland. He was much more in the way of receiving the patronage of thoſe who could promote his advancement. He had an opportunity of aſſociating with literary men, and of obtaining acceſs to books. Theſe advantages he improved as well as he could.

His ardour however was conſiderably relaxed, and his ſtudies interrupted by frequent head-aches. He had from his earlieſt years been afflicted with attacks of that kind. They might however become more frequent in conſequence of his removing from the country, and reſiding in a town. The neceſſary confinement to which he was ſubjected, might likewiſe affect the general ſtate of his health.

The hours of attendance required of Mr. Beattie were, if I miſtake not,

not, precisely the same with those at present established. He had to teach five hours on each day, Wednesday and Saturday excepted, when the classes do not meet in the afternoon. Two of those hours, by a regulation sufficiently absurd, are, during summer and winter, between three and five in the afternoon. The health, both of the master and scholars, cannot fail to be injured in some degree by being close pent up in a crowded room, where for a considerable part of the year it is necessary to keep so many candles constantly burning. Besides, neither master nor scholars are so fit for mental exertion immediately after as before dinner.

The time which Beattie passed as a teacher in the grammar school seems to have been very agreeably spent. He was more in his element, and as a natural consequence of that situation, he either spontaneously, or at the recommendation of his friends, determined to exhibit a specimen to the public of what he was capable of performing

It is not unworthy of remark, that the same paper which contained the first intimation of his intention to publish a volume of poems, contained also a notification of the death of his colleague Mr. James Smith, who had only taught for two years and three months. The volume appeared in February 1761.

It was one of the peculiarities of Dr. Beattie's character, that he was very solicitous about his poetical fame. The numerous alterations and emendations of his poems are not so much here alluded to, as the zeal which he uniformly discovered to obliterate any remembrance of the verses composed by him at an early period. The latter presents a feature very characteristic of him.

There is every reason to presume, that Mr. Beattie had paid an uncommon attention to the Latin classics, during his residence at Fordoun. When he was more particularly called upon to distinguish himself as a professional man in the grammar school, Aberdeen, it is not improbable that his diligence was redoubled, though no proof of it can at this distance of time be specified.

He had not resided long in Aberdeen when he was universally acknowledged to be a young man of genius. Classical learning has long been cultivated there; and those of the inhabitants who have a taste for literature have frequent opportunities of meeting together. A man's abilities are consequently very soon ascertained. Mr. Beattie might have remained in obscurity for life, even though his knowledge of Roman literature had been much more profound than it really was, had he not possessed poetical genius. Otherwise he could never have excited so general interest, never have raised the admiration, nor called forth the good offices of the public. Poetry is more generally read than any other kind of composition; it is more agreeable to the taste of both sexes than the study of any art or science; and an individual rarely possesses the ability of excelling and contributing so essentially to the pleasure and happiness of his fellow-creature. These, as well as other causes, have no doubt stamped a value upon the productions of the poet.

Mr. Beattie had, as I have already observed, published proposals for printing his poems. Many of his pieces were shewn to his friends, and

and from their opinion of the merit they poſſeſſed, the genteeleſt part of the inhabitants of Aberdeen were deſirous of cultivating his acquaintance, and were anxious to be favoured with a peruſal of his verſes. His ſituation as a maſter of the grammar ſchool was alſo the means of introducing him into the beſt company in the town of Aberdeen.

In May, 1760, about two months after he printed his propoſals, Mr. Beattie had accepted of an invitation to dinner from the parents of one of his ſcholars. It required little ſagacity to diſcover his ſuperior abilities; and beſides, his fame had gone before him. He was, however, at laſt requeſted to recite a part of a poem he had written. It had in a great meaſure eſcaped his memory. The ſpecimen it was then in his power to give produced a great deſire in thoſe who heard it, to hear the whole. He accordingly went to his lodgings, and returned to the company with his manuſcript. He was informed, however, either while he was going or returning from the place where he lived, of the ſudden and unexpected death of Profeſſor William Duncan. This information he naturally communicated to thoſe perſons to whom he was about to ſhew his poetical effuſions.

There were now, it will be remembered, two vacant profeſſorſhips in Mariſchal College, becauſe Dr. Gerard had a year before been choſen profeſſor of divinity on the death of Dr. Pollock, and the chair of moral philoſophy had not yet been filled.

It was ſuggeſted by Mr. Arbuthnot, at whoſe particular requeſt Beattie had gone home for his poems, that a young man of genius, and who had produced ſuch unqueſtionable proofs of his talents, would be a very fit ſucceſſor either to Duncan or Gerard. In conſequence of this converſation, it is likely Beattie received a conſiderable acceſſion to his ambition; and, though conſcious of his own powers, he was pleaſed with the favourable opinion of Mr. Arbuthnot.

This gentleman however did not confine himſelf to empty and unmeaning compliments; but generouſly offered to write in his behalf to the Earl of Erroll, Lord High Conſtable of Scotland. He actually prevailed upon his lordſhip to recommend him to his Majeſty, as one well worthy of being appointed to a profeſſorſhip.

The late Duke of Argyle had in thoſe days the nomination to almoſt every office in Scotland under the patronage of the crown; and it is by no means improbable, that Lord Erroll's application had been principally regarded by his Grace. Yet it is certain, that others intereſted themſelves in Mr. Beattie's ſucceſs. The late Lord Gardenſtone, in particular, made application to government, and in very ſtrong terms recommended Mr. Beattie to thoſe who were moſt likely to do him a ſervice,

Nearly four months, however, had elapſed before Mr. Beattie was officially informed that the recommendations of his friends had proved ſucceſsful, and had made him be eſteemed in the eyes of thoſe at the helm of affairs as a fit object of royal bounty. Towards the end of September, 1760, his Majeſty's patent came to Aberdeen appointing him a profeſſor of philoſophy in Mariſchal College; and on Wedneſday, the 1ſt of October following, his Majeſty's patent came to Aberdeen,

Aberdeen, to Mr. George Skene, appointing him alſo a profeſſor of philoſophy.

The newly appointed profeſſors, had both fixed their eyes upon the chair of moral philoſophy. Though Mr. Beattie's patent had the advantage of being received a few days earlier than Mr. Skene's, yet this was conſidered as conferring no additional title to precedence, as it regarded the right of choice. It was argued, that the whole plan of education in the college, as it then (in 1760) ſtood, was a mere private ſtipulation among the profeſſors themſelves; the patents had nothing to do with the queſtion at iſſue.

Whether the two gentlemen actually caſt lots, as I have often heard affirmed, I will not pretend to ſay, but upon Wedneſday, the 8th of October, 1760, Mr. George Skene was admitted profeſſor of natural and civil hiſtory, and Mr. Beattie, profeſſor of moral philoſophy and logic.

We have now deduced Mr. Beattie's hiſtory till he received as honourable, uſeful, aud reſpectable an appointment as any member of ſociety can hold. He was undoubtedly more fortunate than moſt men. The diſcharge of all the duties of his office was perfectly compatible with the poſſeſſion of much leiſure, wherein he could both prepare himſelf for the better performance of thoſe duties that were publicly required of him, and could proſecute other favourite ſtudies without interruption.

It muſt be remembered that he obtained his profeſſorſhip very unexpectedly. No one will therefore be ſurpriſed that, in his twenty-fifth year, Mr. Beattie was not ſo well prepared to deliver a courſe of prelections upon moral philoſophy and logic, as he would doubtleſs have been, had he poſſeſſed time to examine and ſtudy thoſe extenſive, and in ſome reſpects, abſtruſe ſciences with that expreſs object in view.

The very circumſtance of being obliged to write out a ſyſtem of ethics or of logic ſo comprehenſive in its outline as to deſerve that name, is not the work of a few days. And beſides, as an academical courſe is deſigned to initiate the youth into the knowledge of a ſcience, with the very firſt principles of which they are by ſuppoſition unacquainted, there is a neceſſity for a minuter detail and greater amplification, than if thoſe to whom the courſe is delivered had made greater progreſs.

Nearly a year before Mr. Beattie became a profeſſor, Adam Smith had publiſhed his Theory of Moral Sentiments. This year forms as it were a new æra in the hiſtory of Scottiſh literature. Hume publiſhed his hiſtory of the houſe of Tudor. Robertſon publiſhed his Hiſtory of Scotland, and upon the 11th of December, 1759, Dr. Blair began his Lectures on Rhetoric. Blair had the example ſet him by profeſſor Robert Watſon, of St. Andrews, who, in winter 1755-6, after the example of Dr. Smith, (ſhewed him ſome years before) delivered a courſe of lectures upon the ſame ſubject.

From thoſe and other ſources Mr. Beattie derived much information. His habits of ſtudy were regular and conſtant. Little time was ſpent in idleneſs, becauſe he was ambitious to acquit himſelf with credit

credit, and to benefit his ſtudents as far as was in his power.

An academical life is ſo barren of incidents, that it cannot be expected to furniſh much in the narrative. The lives of moſt literary men conſiſt of little more than a hiſtory of their works. His pleaſant and agreeable manners, even at this time, have been much commended. To his old aſſociates he was kind and affable. And at his houſe and table they were always welcome.

The Doctor informs us that his Eſſay on Poetry and Muſic, as they affect the mind, was written in the year 1762. It was delivered before the Literary Society, of which we have already given ſome account.

The only proſe compoſition he had acknowledged, and I have reaſon to think that (beſides the diſcourſes he delivered in the hall) the only ſmall pieces he had written, were his preface to the firſt edition of his poems, and the ſhort notes he added to the paſtorals of Virgil.

Mr. Beattie, with a felicity of arrangement peculiar to himſelf, has diſcuſſed with great judgment and taſte, the ſubjects he had propoſed to treat of in this eſſay. He was eminent as an elegant critic; and every deference is due to an authority to which the public have ſo long looked up. After a few introductory obſervations, he, in the firſt chapter, treats of the End of Poetical Compoſition.

This eſſay is ſo well known, that it appears to be an unneceſſary labour to give a very full account of its contents. It is admirably calculated to initiate the youth into the general principles of criticiſm; and is undoubtedly one of the beſt treatiſes of the kind in the Engliſh language. The illuſtrations he has given of his particular doctrines are ſo many; or, in other words, there is ſo much amplification, that it is much adapted to ſerve thoſe purpoſes for which it was originally compoſed.

The remarks on muſic which he has introduced are exceedingly ingenious, and very intereſting; and diſcover a thorough acquaintance both with the theory and practice of that art. The ſtyle of all Beattie's writings is excellent; but if he has ſurpaſſed himſelf in that reſpect in any part of them, it is (in my opinion) in the chapter appropriated to muſic in this eſſay. A faſtidious critic might perhaps affirm, that the connection between the chapter referred to, and the other parts of the eſſay, is not very apparent; and that it ought rather to be conſidered as analogous to what in poetical compoſition is called an epiſode.

During the interval that elapſed between the compoſition of his Eſſay on Poetry, &c. and his writing, in the year 1764, the Eſſay on Laughter and Ludicrous Compoſition, he was buſily employed in poliſhing his lectures, and in making them more uſeful to the youth committed to his care.

The general doctrine of this eſſay, though not ſo copiouſly treated, had been laid before the public by Dr. Campbell in his Philoſophy of Rhetoric. It is worthy of being remarked, that the authors of both performances have informed the public that they had followed the ſame train of thought when aſſigning the cauſe or object of laughter, without any mutual communication of their ſentiments. "It may not

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be improper," ſays Beattie, "to inform the public, that neither did he know of my having undertaken this argument, nor I of his having diſcuſſed that ſubject, till we came mutually to exchange our papers, for the purpoſe of knowing one another's ſentiments in regard to what we had written."

The buſieſt part of Dr. Beattie's life was between the time that he became a profeſſor, and the year in which he publiſhed his Minſtrel. All the works he ever publiſhed were planned and written during this period, excepting his Evidences of the Chriſtrian Religion, and his projected treatiſe on the ſlave trade.

In the year 1766, he married Miſs Mary Dun, daughter of Dr. James Dun, who, for nearly ſeventy years, was a teacher in the grammar ſchool, Aberdeen. It has been miſ-ſtated by ſome, that Beattie was married during the time that he was a maſter in that ſchool. He had been nearly ſix years a profeſſor before he was married; and this lady ſtill ſurvives him. Her brother ſucceeded Mr. Beattie in the grammar ſchool.

I have every reaſon to preſume, that the far-famed Eſſay on the Nature and Immutability of Truth, was compoſed about this period, though not publiſhed till ſome time after. His duty as a profeſſor naturally led him to the examination of thoſe doctrines ſo zealouſly maintained by the admirers, or I ought rather to ſay, authors of the ſceptical philoſophy. And how he has acquitted himſelf in that reſpect is well known to the public.

This eſſay raiſed the author's fame very high. It was much read and much praiſed in England; and what is very extraordinary, this was at a time when the writings of Reid, from whom Beattie derived whatever it contained of any importance, were, comparatively ſpeaking, little known. In South Britain his character as a philoſopher was much higher than in his native country.

We are informed by Mr. Beattie himſelf, that the greater part of the Minſtrel was compoſed in the year 1768. It is probable that his great anxiety to qualify himſelf for the diſcharge of his profeſſional duty had interrupted, in a conſiderable degree, the ſtrong bent of his genius to cultivate the muſes. However he returned with new vigour to his favourite amuſement; and the Minſtrel, or the progreſs of genius, has enrolled his name in the liſt of the moſt diſtinguiſhed poets. The firſt part of this beautiful poem was not publiſhed till about three years after it was compoſed.

Few poems have been ſo generally read and ſo juſtly admired. In the preface he has aſſigned his reaſons for imitating Spencer in the meaſure of his verſe; and there are few who will not allow that what he has there ſtated deſerves great attention. It ſuited the ſubject of the poem, and beſides it pleaſed his ear. The meaſure which pleaſed the ear of Spencer, of Thomſon, of Shenſtone, and of Beattie, ought not to be raſhly condemned. It muſt not be diſſembled, however, that critics of very great eminence have been of a different opinion.

Mr. Beattie was then in the prime of life, being in his thirty-third year. A poem which has been ſo much read and admired by the

the public, ſtands in very little need of a critique on its merits. He has diſplayed very great powers of imagination. And the harmony, ſimplicity, and variety of the compoſition, will bear to be compared with the attainments of the greateſt maſters of Engliſh verſification. There are few ſtanzas in the two books which do not exhibit the moſt conſpicuous beauties —great correctneſs of taſte—a moſt admirable choice of imagery combined with thoſe other qualities which conſtitute excellence in poetical compoſition. The ſame opinion, however, has not ſo univerſally prevailed as to the unity or conſiſtency of the fable.

The publication of Dr. Beattie's Minſtrel, ſo very ſoon after his Eſſay on Truth, contributed moſt eſſentially to the general diſſemination of the latter. In Scotland it did not produce ſo ſudden nor ſo great effects as in England; but the friends whom his poetical genius gained him, were of all perſons in the world beſt able to give popularity to a work of merit, and which treated of ſubjects in which few of the great maſs of readers conſider themſelves intereſted.

On the 12th of December, 1770, he received the degree of Doctor of Laws from King's College, Aberdeen.

In the year 1771, Beattie, at the end of the ſeſſion of the college, propoſed to viſit London. His fame, as a man of genius, eaſily procured for him letters of introduction to the moſt celebrated literary characters in the metropolis. He did not, however, leave Aberdeen till the month of July.

Mr. Boſwell had the honour of introducing him to Dr. Johnſon, and his other friends exerted themſelves to procure for him as favourable a reception as his great merit deſerved. In Scotland this was an eaſy matter, becauſe he was already known to be a man of genius, and an author of very conſiderable reputation. Many were therefore willing to proffer their ſervices, who, whilſt they ſhewed their own conſequence, were only making uſe of him to bring themſelves into notice. Beattie's merit moſt certainly was the cauſe of the great attention which he received at London. He was, as the great Lord Bacon expreſſes it, Faber ſuæ fortunæ, the architect of his own fortune.

After remaining a ſhort time in London, he returned to Aberdeen, and felt thoſe agreeable ſenſations which perſons only who have experienced unexpected ſucceſs can eſtimate.

His uſual academical labours occupied his attention, for he was always zealous to promote the benefit of his pupils, and in their behalf did not regret any exertion on his own part. The extent and variety of his courſe could not fail to improve thoſe ſtudents who attended his claſs, and the proficiency which many of his ſcholars have made puts this beyond a doubt.

About the beginning of June, 1773, he again went to London. His encouragement upon his former viſit was, to a man in his eaſy circumſtances, a ſufficient inducement to undertake another journey to the capital. He had another reaſon, which, though conſidered by the envious and illiberal as entailing ſervitude, has never hitherto been applied to an improper purpoſe. His merit, as an author, had

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even called the attention of royalty; a ſignal proof how highly he was rated by all deſcriptions in the community.

His preſent Majeſty has, beyond all precedent, extended his patronage to eminent literary characters. This patronage has originated ſolely from himſelf; and the moſt diſcontented candidates for public favour have not had the hardihood to affirm, that the royal bounty has in any inſtance been conferred upon an unworthy object. This is no ſmall teſtimony to the rectitude of intention, and to the diſcrimination of the patron.

A ſhort time after Beattie went to London a memorial was preſented to the king. Dr. Beattie had, it is likely, the moſt expreſs aſſurance from his Majeſty's ſervants, that his memorial ſhould not paſs unnoticed. The form, however, of petitioning the king is never diſpenſed with. Beattie's petition was favourably received.

On the 30th of June, 1773, he was preſented to the king at the levee by Lord Dartmouth. The levee was on that day exceedingly crouded. Dr. Beattie, however, had the diſtinguiſhed honour of converſing with the king for five minutes; a mark of attention not conferred upon ordinary men, and which thoſe who are in the greateſt favour do not always preſume to expect.

The ſubſtance of this converſation with his Majeſty conſiſted chiefly in high commendations and compliments, ſtrongly and elegantly expreſſed on his writings, particularly his Eſſay on Truth. Such unexpected panegyric could not fail to make a laſting impreſſion on his mind.

On the 21ſt of Auguſt following, Dr. Beattie received a letter from Mr. Robinſon, Lord North's ſecretary, which communicated to him the agreeable information that his Majeſty had been pleaſed to appoint him a penſion; and aſſuring him that when other neceſſary buſineſs was diſpatched, the warrant for payment of the penſion ſhould be made out.

This was accordingly done after a reaſonable time had elapſed. He was obliged, however, ſtill to remain in London, as his buſineſs was not yet completed.

Beattie was during this time informed that his Majeſty had expreſſed a deſire to admit him to a private audience: and accordingly upon the 27th of October he had an audience of their Majeſties at Kew. He remained there for an hour and a quarter. He uniformly expreſſed his admiration of the general knowledge which both the king and queen diſcovered upon every topic which happened to become the ſubject of converſation. A more intimate knowledge with the former and preſent ſtate of literature was diſcovered by them, than in his opinion could have been expected from perſons in their elevated ſtation.

When Dr. Beattie was about to retire, he expreſſed himſelf thus to his Majeſty: "I hope, Sir, your Majeſty will pardon me, if I take this opportunity of returning you my humble and moſt grateful acknowledgements for the honour you have been pleaſed to confer upon me." His Majeſty was pleaſed to reply:

"I think I could not have done leſs for a man who has done ſo much ſervice to the nation in general,

neral, and to the cauſe of truth. I ſhall be always glad of an opportunity to ſhew the good opinion I have of you."

He was chiefly employed for a conſiderable period after he returned from London, in preparing his Eſſay on Truth for another edition. This he publiſhed at Edinburgh in the year 1776. Beſides the two eſſays formerly mentioned, viz. that on Poetry and Muſic, and that on Laughter and Ludicrous Compoſition, there is in the ſame volume an Eſſay on the Utility of Claſſical Learning.

In the year 1777, he was engaged in copying for the preſs the Eſſay on Memory and Imagination (ſee p. 12 of that Eſſay). I ſay copying, becauſe the public are expreſsly informed that what he then publiſhed were parts of thoſe lectures which he delivered to the ſtudents under his care.

This Eſſay is, in my opinion, the maſter-piece of Beattie's proſe works. It affords one of the beſt ſpecimens of what I may perhaps be permitted to call "the popular lecture." It contains a vaſt variety of facts collected with great care, and his reaſoning upon thoſe facts is in general unexceptionable. The ſame obſervation, however, may be made here which was made upon the Eſſay on Poetry and Muſic, that the two parts of the Eſſay do not hang together ſo cloſely as perhaps a ſevere critic would be diſpoſed to require.

Nothing very remarkable in his hiſtory occurred for ſome years. His fame was now firmly eſtabliſhed; and, if poſſible, was much higher in England than in his native country. He had now arrived at a more affluent ſituation than perhaps he had ever expected. In the year 1778, however, he projected a work on the ſlave trade, but never completed it. The ſubſtance of that treatiſe he has inſerted in his Elements of Moral Science. And in a note he has ſtated what prevented him from accompliſhing his original intention.

In the year 1779, he publiſhed, for the uſe of his claſs, a liſt of Scotticiſms to the amount of two hundred. This pamphlet has been of great benefit to many. It has often been remarked, however, that a conſiderable number of thoſe words and phraſes, which he has named Scotticiſms, might have been with as much propriety denominated vulgar Angliciſms. However, as they are not of claſſical authority, it is a matter of little importance by what name they are called.

The ſubſtance of Beattie's Eſſay on Dreaming was printed in a periodical paper called The Mirror, publiſhed at Edinburgh. He muſt have paid conſiderable attention to the ſubject. Yet I ſuſpect that no perſon dreams much who ſleeps ſound. How it happens that in (what may be called) this intermediate ſtate, the fancy ſhould conſider thoſe things as realities which have no exiſtence, will never perhaps be fully explained. It is certainly a proof of the activity of the human mind, and that after exertion it is not ſubjected to the ſame, or ſimilar laſſitude with the body, which requires reſt to recruit what it has loſt by fatigue.

The Theory of Language is one of his longeſt, and certainly the moſt important, and original of his detached Eſſays. I am not afraid

afraid of contradiction when I affirm it to be the moſt uſeful treatiſe on the ſubject in the language. The works of Harris and Monboddo are too abſtract for young ſtudents, and rather calculated for thoſe who have acquired ſome knowledge of the ſubject. Beſides, their plan is not ſo comprehenſive as Beattie's. Upon the whole, it is an excellent Eſſay. To enter, however, upon the diſcuſſion of the theories he has advanced, would be improper at the preſent time.

He who peruſes the remaining three diſſertations, contained in the ſame volume; on Fable and Romance; on the Attachment of Kindred; and Illuſtrations of Sublimity, will find many things to amuſe and to inſtruct him.

Theſe diſſertations were publiſhed early in the year 1783.

Next year Dr. Beattie paid a viſit to Dr. Porteus, then Biſhop of Cheſter, and now Biſhop of London. He "ſhewed his Lordſhip a ſketch of the firſt and ſecond chapter of a Treatiſe on the Evidence of Chriſtianity, and gave him a general account of what he meant to introduce in the ſequel." The biſhop ſaid; "that ſomething of this kind was much wanted, and that a comprehenſive view of the principal evidences of Chriſtianity, drawn up in ſuch a manner as to fix the attention without fatiguing it, might be highly uſeful in eſtabliſhing the religious principles of our youth at their firſt entrance into the world.

The deſign of this little work, thus diſtinctly expreſſed, cannot poſſibly be miſunderſtood. It is drawn up with great ability, and though nothing new could be expected upon ſo trite a ſubject, yet to thoſe who have paid little attention to the argument it may be uſeful.

In the year 1790, Dr. Beattie edited, at Edinburgh, Addiſon's Papers, in 4 vols. and wrote the preface.

About this time he ſuſtained a great loſs by the death of his eldeſt ſon James Hay Beattie. The Doctor wrote a very intereſting account of this excellent young man. No one who has any taſte for good writing, for ſimplicity of language, and narrative compoſed of a ſelection of the moſt intereſting incidents, will, I am perſuaded, be ſatisfied with peruſing it only once.

Dr. Beattie never completely recovered the ſhock he received by his ſon's death. He was a tender and indulgent father; and the amiable diſpoſitions, the filial obedience, and uncommon endowments of J. H. Beattie, gave full ſcope to the exerciſe of thoſe paternal affections. He was cut off too at a time of life when the hopes of the father, and indeed of all who knew him, were raiſed very high. Though young, he had given the moſt undeniable proofs of great abilities, and promiſed to be an ornament to that Univerſity whereof he was a member, and to be a ſource of comfort to his parent in his declining years.

In the year 1791, Dr. Beattie printed, but did not publiſh, a ſmall volume of his ſon's works, wherein are contained ſeveral pieces which he has not thought proper to reprint.

He went to London in the ſummer of the ſame year, accompanied by his ſon Montagu Beattie. This young man, who was about ten

years younger than his brother, died in the month of March, 1796. He was called Montagu, after Mrs. Montagu, who had patronized Dr. Beattie at a very early period, and whose Eſſay on Shakſpeare the Doctor has taken ſo many opportunities of commending.

This youth died of a diſeaſe ſimilar to that which cut off his brother.

Theſe and other misfortunes, to uſe the language of the poet, "harrowed up the ſoul" of Dr. Beattie, and his health, never at any time good, was thereby very conſiderably impaired. He was no longer under the neceſſity of doing the duty of the claſs, becauſe he had the influence to get Mr. George Glenny appointed his aſſiſtant and ſucceſſor.

Of late years he entirely ſequeſtered himſelf from ſociety, and even the kind attentions and civilities of his friends and admirers were not reliſhed by him. He dropped all correſpondence with his old Engliſh friends, and their numerous inquiries after the ſtate of his health did not now excite thoſe quick ſenſibilities of which he had formerly been ſo ſuſceptible. Premature old age, with all its infirmities, had made rapid advances upon him, and for three years before his death, he kept the houſe, and was for a great part of that time confined to his bed. If I miſtake not, the laſt time he ventured out to take a ſhort walk, was in the month of June, 1800. He was then very corpulent, and diſcovered extreme debility. At this time he was only about ſixty-five years of age.

His perſon was about the middle ſize, of a broad ſquare make, which ſeemed to indicate a more robuſt conſtitution than he really had. I have formerly mentioned that he was, during the whole courſe of his life, ſubject to atacks of head-ach, which upon many occaſions interrupted his ſtudies. His features were exceedingly regular; his complexion was ſomewhat dark; his eyes had more expreſſion than thoſe of any other perſon I remember to have ſeen.

In the earlier part of his life he ſhewed great convivial talents, and was much admired in company for his wit and uncommon flow of humour. He indulged himſelf, however, in liberties of that kind very ſeldom for many years paſt. He was a moſt admirable punſter. Many of his puns are often quoted in converſation in the north; which, as far as that kind of wit deſerves praiſe, diſcover great facility of invention. Any time that I ever ſaw him in company, he was remarkably ſilent, but I could diſcover that he was not only attentive to the converſation, but ſeemed to be ſtudying the features of thoſe perſons with whom he was in company.

In another ſituation, and with other aſſociates, it is likely that he would have exerted himſelf more, and would perhaps have taken a much greater ſhare in the converſation. He was an excellent phyſiognomiſt, and from his great intercourſe with the world, his long experience and his knowledge of human nature, he formed a very correct opinion of the characters of thoſe with whom he happened to converſe.

What enhances Dr. Beattie's merit in the eſtimation of all good judges, is, that the circumſtances wherein

wherein he was originally placed were ſo unfavourable towards procuring advancement. If he had poſſeſſed the advantages of birth or of fortune, his ſucceſs would not have been conſidered as ſo extraordinary.

In every ſituation in life he acquitted himſelf with credit, and had the addreſs to recommend himſelf to ſuch perſons as were likely to do him a ſervice. His manners were very conciliating, and he had a vein of good ſenſe that rarely deſerted him, and without which men of great abilities can never expect to intereſt in their behalf thoſe who have it in their power to adminiſter to their promotion. Learning alone cannot do this.

After he had endured much bodily pain, and in a great meaſure had become inſenſible even to what he himſelf was ſuffering, Dr. Beattie died, at Aberdeen, upon the 18th day of Auguſt, 1803.

It will be admitted, that if he was not at the time of his death the firſt literary character in the United Kingdom, he was ſecond or third in the liſt.

Biographical Notice of William Robert Fitzgerald, Duke of Leinſter.

(From the European Magazine.)

William Robert Fitzgerald was the ſecond of his illuſtrious family who had inherited a dukedom; his father, not only the moſt ancient earl, but the moſt ancient peer of Ireland, was, immediately after the acceſſion of his preſent Majeſty to the throne, promoted, from being earl of Kildare, to be Marquis of Kildare and Duke of Leinſter; (the latter is the eldeſt ſon's title of that family.)

His Grace was not leſs nobly deſcended in the maternal line:—His mother, the Dowager-Ducheſs of Leinſter, ſiſter to the preſent, and daughter of the late Duke of Richmond, and thus allied as well to the King of Sardinia as to the two rival relatives who had ſo long contended for the Imperial crown of Great Britain,—thoſe of Brunſwick and Stuart.

His Grace the late duke was born in March, 1748. Before his ſucceſſion to the peerage, he repreſented the city of Dublin in parliament; and in November, 1773, he took his ſeat in the Houſe of Peers, on the death of his father. In November, 1775, he married Emilia Olivia St. George, daughter and ſole heireſs of Uſher, Lord St. George; and by her Grace, who died ſome time ſince, had ſeveral children.

He was premier peer of Ireland, Marquis and Earl of Kildare, Earl of Offaley, Viſcount Leinſter, of Taplow, in the county of Bucks, (England,) and Baron of Offaley. He was one of the original knights companions of the illuſtrious order of St. Patrick, Governor of the County of Kildare, and a Member of his Majeſty's Moſt Honourable Privy Council.

The Duke of Leinſter received the firſt part of his education at Eton ſchool; whence he went to the univerſity of Cambridge, and, after taking a degree, viſited moſt of the polite Courts of Europe, where the rank of Marquis of Kildare procured him not more attention and reſpect than his amiable qualities peculiarly commanded.

His Lordſhip, charmed with the manners, the climate, and the fine arts of Italy, ſpent moſt of thoſe years devoted to making the grand tour in that delightful country. He was upon his travels when the Marquis Townſhend was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, who, in the year 1768, gave the royal aſſent to the Octennial Bill, which then changed the duration of the Iriſh Parliament from being perpetual to the period of eight years. The perpetual Parliament was then diſſolved, and a general election immediately followed; at which the freemen and freeholders of the city of Dublin nominated the Marquis of Kildare, who was then in Italy, and juſt entered into the twenty-ſecond year of his age, a candidate to repreſent them.

The ancient family felt themſelves much flattered by the kind partiality manifeſted, in this inſtance, by the Citizens of Dublin toward their eldeſt ſon. They accepted the invitation; the Marquis was declared a candidate, and a canvas upon the part of his Lordſhip immediately commenced.

The conteſt which took place at his election was greater than any which has ſince occurred on a ſimilar occaſion. One candidate * was almoſt unanimouſly returned; but the Marquis of Kildare was oppoſed by John La Touche, Eſq., whoſe father was then living, and was the richeſt and moſt reſpectable banker in Ireland. The firm of his houſe is yet continued by his ſons, (one of whom is John,) and continues to be marked with the ſame liberality and integrity which has diſtinguiſhed it for near a century, and given it the character of being, perhaps, the firſt private banking-houſe in this empire.

The Marquis being abroad, a gentleman of much celebrity, and at that time well known all over Europe, (the late John St. Leger, Eſq.,) became *locum tenens* for his Lordſhip, in whoſe favour the election ultimately terminated after a long conteſt, which is ſtated to have coſt each of thoſe two candidates above twenty thouſand pounds, while Dr. Lucas was returned free of expence.

This Parliament, the firſt aſſembled after the paſſing the Octennial Bill, continued almoſt the full period of its limitation, being called together in the year 1768, and not diſſolved until the year 1776; at which time, the death of the Duke of Leinſter prevented the Marquis from again becoming a candidate for the Iriſh metropolis, as he had now ſucceeded his father in his title and eſtates.

During the American war, a deſcent of the combined enemy upon Ireland was not only meditated, but ſeriouſly apprehended, and among the numerous corps which formed the volunteer armies of Ireland, a regiment was embodied at Dublin, in the year 1778, compoſed of the moſt reſpectable merchants and traders of that city, called the Dublin Volunteers, who unanimouſly elected the Duke of Leinſter their Colonel.

The ſpirit of the nation rapidly augmented this army of the peo-

* The late Dr. Lucas, an Iriſh phyſician of great eminence; a man not leſs celebrated for his great abilities than his genuine patriotiſm; and to whoſe memory the Citizens of Dublin have erected a finely-ſculptured pedeſtrian marble ſtatue in the Royal Exchange of that city.

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ple; and, upon the 4th of November, 1779, his Grace acted in the capacity of Reviewing-General of all the corps of Dublin and the neighbouring counties.

There were ſome men at this time in the Duke of Leinſter's regiment, whoſe patriotiſm indicated a ſtrong tendency to degenerate into ſedition: the ſpirit by which they were actuated ſpread itſelf among other corps; his Grace warmly reprobated, in the Houſe of Peers, their ſymptoms of diſaffection, and recommended, in their room, a ſteady perſeverance, tempered with moderation, in the attainment of thoſe great conſtitutional meaſures which the Iriſh volunteer army were then ſeeking, and afterwards obtained in the year 1782. This moderate conduct adopted by the Duke much offended ſome of the members of his Grace's regiment; they immediately ſeceded, and formed a corps, which they called the Independent Dublin Volunteers.

From this period, the popularity of the Duke of Leinſter continued to abate, and his Grace no longer held the diſtinguiſhed character of Reviewing-General of the Iriſh Volunteer Army; that honour was conferred upon the late Earl of Charlemont, who continued in the undiſturbed enjoyment of that rank as long as the Volunteers remained embodied.

Some few years ſince, his Grace held the office of Maſter of the Rolls in Ireland, now jointly held by the Earls of Glandore and Carysfort; and again, ſo lately as the adminiſtration of Earl Fitzwilliam, he accepted the office of Clerk of the Crown and Hanaper.

When the important queſtion of regency was agitated in 1789, the Duke of Leinſter ſupported the meaſure of appointing the Prince of Wales Regent without any reſtriction, and, with Earl Charlemont, conſtituted the deputation from the Iriſh Houſe of Lords, to wait upon his Royal Highneſs with their addreſs for that purpoſe.

The Duke of Leinſter's elder brother, Lord Charles Fitzgerald, (now Lord Lecale,) is an Admiral in his Majeſty's navy. His ſecond brother, Lord Henry, was, during the late Iriſh Parliament, the colleague of Mr. Grattan, in the repreſentation of the city of Dublin, to which they were both elected free of expence, in oppoſition to two Aldermen of that city, who were ſupported by the patronage of Government. His third brother, Lord Robert, was formerly Secretary to the Duke of Dorſet at the Court of Verſailles, and afterwards Chargé des Affaires in France. His youngeſt brother, the late Lord Edward Fitzgerald, terminated his political career, during a former unhappy rebellion, in a manner too melancholy to dwell upon.

Leinſter Houſe, his Grace's town reſidence at Dublin, is the moſt princely manſion in that city; and his country-ſeat, at Carton, in the county of Kildare, is not leſs magnificent; it is ſituated about twelve miles from Dublin, upon his Grace's eſtate, which, though occupying above eighty thouſand acres in that county, did not produce, at a general election in Ireland, one hundred regiſtered proteſtant freeholders.

His Grace, ſome years ſince, built a very neat and regular town, (called Maynooth,) adjoining his

country-reſidence, principally inhabited by an humble race of manufacturers; and near this town he granted a large piece of ground, containing ſeveral acres, to the truſtees of a ſeminary, eſtabliſhed by Act of Parliament, in the year 1795, for the education of Roman Catholic youth *; upon which they have ſince erected a very handſome and commodious college for that purpoſe.

The Duke of Leinſter formerly ſent eight Members into the Iriſh Houſe of Commons, viz. two for the county of Kildare, two for the borough of Kildare, two for the borough of Athy, and two for the borough of Harriſtown.

The Duke of Leinſter was always the firm advocate of his country; he eſpouſed the intereſts of the people, in ſpite of the factious frowns of official and preſuming men; and although his eloquence was far inferior to the goodneſs of his heart and the wiſhes of his ſoul, it often exacted a reſpect and veneration from the very quarter againſt which it was directed.

In the language of every ſpeech delivered in the Legiſlature by his Grace, there was an unſophiſticated diſplay of natural underſtanding; he was not accuſtomed to metaphorize his ſubject, by the introduction of foreign and poetic effuſions—his matter, like his manner, was extremely plain; his ſtile was peculiarly his own, and we recollect no inſtance where it was diſgraced by perſonal ſcurrility or mean adulation.

His Grace almoſt conſtantly reſided on his eſtate, where he was beloved by a numerous tenantry with that affection which beſt proclaimed his benevolence and worth. Familiarly acquainted with the circumſtances of all, he ſuffered none to endure the pangs of poverty or illneſs, without interfering to relieve them—his philanthropy, like the great Howard's, was extenſive—not the effuſions of temporary good nature, but the reſolution of a firm mind to alleviate the diſtreſſes of his fellow-creatures.

For ſome time paſt his Grace took no ſhare whatever in the politics of Europe—ſatisfied that "the poſt of honour was a private ſtation," he enjoyed in the circle of his family that enviable bliſs which is often vainly fought in camps or parliaments.

During the exiſtence of the Whig Club, the Duke of Leinſter was conſtant in his attendance; and thoſe who frequented that ſociety can beſt tell the equanimity of temper and harmony of ſoul which he preſerved, in ſpite of the malevolence of hired libellers—the torrent of whoſe party rage he never deigned to ſtem by legal interference—conſcious of his own rectitude and their falſehood.

His Grace was one of the Committee appointed by the Farming Society on the inſtitution of that body in the year 1800; and was

* The Iriſh Government deemed it neceſſary to eſtabliſh this ſeminary for the education of Roman Catholic youths, to obviate the ill effects of foreign education, and of principles of foreign politics, imbibed by gentlemen of that perſuaſion. The liberality of Parliament granted, from time to time, within three years, thirty-ſix thouſand pounds in aid of this inſtitution; and an implied promiſe to grant it an annual ſtipend of eight thouſand pounds. This ſtipend, having at one period paſſed through the Houſe of Commons, was nevertheleſs rejected by the Lords.

either

either a Governor or a principal ſupporter of almoſt every charity or other eſtabliſhment whoſe exiſtence was material to the welfare of the nation.

We may ſafely conclude this article by ſaying, that no man in any community was ever more generally eſteemed than his Grace of Leinſter—no man ever ſtrove to enlarge the underſtanding, and deſtroy the prejudices of the community with more aſſiduity. Tolerant and juſt in himſelf, he expected to find in others a ſimilarity of ſentiment; diſappointment too often ſucceeded his expectations; but in proportion as others ſought to prolong the cruel reign of bigotry, it was his invariable ſtudy to deſtroy it. As a magiſtrate, he was upright and impartial—as a parent, huſband, friend, and landlord, he never was ſurpaſſed; his whole life was ſo complete a ſcene of beneficence, untainted by any act which could ſhame morality, that the warmeſt eulogiſt would feel himſelf incapable of deſcribing it with juſtice.

His Grace has left iſſue eight children: two ſons and ſix daughters. His eldeſt ſon, the Marquis of Kildare, a fine promiſing youth, about fifteen years of age, ſucceeds to his titles and eſtates.

Account of George Morland the Painter.

(From the Monthly Magazine.)

George Morland was the ſon of an artiſt, whoſe talents, though reſpectable, were not of the firſt order in his profeſſion: this gentleman made, in the early part of his life, what is commonly called a great figure; but, having loſt much property, by engaging in ſchemes that were not prudently conducted, ſhrunk from the world in diſguſt during the latter part of his time, and educated his family in that obſcurity to which the narrowneſs of his circumſtances confined him.

Whether George ſhewed, in the earlieſt part of his life, that inclination for the art which frequently indicates genius, or whether the practice was forced upon him by his father, who might feel that it was the only art in which he could educate him, I know not; but I do know, that in the exhibitions of the original Society of Artiſts, to which the father belonged, were ſhewn drawings by George Morland, at the age of four, five, and ſix years, which would have done credit to youths who were learning the art as their profeſſion; and, from this time, his father forced him to ſtudy, unremittingly, the practice of every department of the art, till he entered the world upon his own account.

The whole of this time, he was confined in an upper room, copying drawings, drawing from the plaiſter caſts, or copying pictures. Reſtricted from ſociety almoſt entirely, what opportunities he had for amuſement were obtained by ſtealth; his aſſociates were a few boys in the neighbourhood, and the means of enjoyment were obtained by working ſo hard when at his ſtudies, as to produce a few drawings or pictures more than his father imagined he could do in a given time; theſe he has been known to lower, by a ſtring, from the window of his apartment to his aſſo-

aſſociates, who were appointed to receive them; by them they were turned into money, which was ſpent by them in common when opportunities offered.

In this manner paſſed the firſt ſeventeen years of the life of George Morland, and to this he is indebted for the immenſe power he had over the implements of his art, for it is notorious, that whether it was the pencils and pallet, or the crayon he was called upon to uſe, no one has had more command of his materials than this eminent artiſt.

Avarice was the ruling paſſion of the father, who ſold the drawings, &c. made by his ſon, for ſmall ſums; and as his paſſion was inſatiable, kept him continually at work, and gave him little, if any other, education. He probably intended, by this means, to keep him in his power; but in this caſe, as in many others, the ſorts of avarice defeated their own purpoſe.

George Morland's firſt original compoſitions were dictated by his father; they were ſmall pictures, of two or three figures, taken from the common ballads of the day, ſuch as "Young Roger came tapping at Dolly's window," &c.—Theſe the old gentleman put into frames, and ſold at different prices, from one guinea to three, according to the pockets of his cuſtomers; theſe, though infinitely inferior to Morland's ſubſequent works, were admired as the productions of a youth, and a great number were done; many got into the hands of engravers, and the prints that were made from them, firſt brought Morland into notice.

Some gentlemen, to whom the father was known, would have patronized the ſon: from one he borrowed two capital pictures of Vernet, which G. Morland copied moſt admirably. Mr. Angerſtein permitted him to copy Sir Joſhua Reynolds's celebrated picture of Garrick between tragedy and comedy: this copy is in exiſtence, and is highly creditable to Morland's talents. It was on this occaſion that the unfortunate peculiarity of his diſpoſition ſhewed itſelf. The picture was at Blackheath; and the two Morlands went there to copy it: Mr. Angerſtein wiſhed to notice the youth, and ſee the progreſs of the work; but the father told the writer of this article, that his ſon refuſed to begin his picture, till it was ſolemnly promiſed him that no perſon whatever ſhould overlook the work, and that he ſhould do whatever he pleaſed. The promiſe was made:—he painted the picture; aſſociated with the ſervants while he was in the houſe, and no intreaties could make him come within the reach of Mr. Angerſtein.

Another gentleman, who was going to ſpend the ſummer at Margate, adviſed the father to ſend his ſon thither to paint ſmall portraits. The plan was a good one; it was adopted; and George Morland, with his picture of Garrick, and ſome others, took lodgings for the ſeaſon. Company flocked round him; his portraits pleaſed, and a very great number of them were begun; but his unfortunate *mauvaiſe honte* rendered the undertaking unprofitable. The ſociety of elegant women, or rational men, made him feel his own ignorance and inſignificance: hence every ſitter was an object of diſguſt. The pig races, and ſuch ele-

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gant amuſements as are projected for the lower order of viſitors to Margate, obtained all his attention; and the portraits which a careful man would have finiſhed on the ſpot, and got paid for before the parties had quitted the place, were left to be completed in town. Inſtead of returning home with his pockets full of money, he only brought a large cargo of unfiniſhed canvaſſes; and as the engagements of the watering-place are forgotten in the capital, very few of them were afterwards finiſhed.

But though in this expedition he got but little money, he gained ſeveral points that were of much, and might have gained others that would have been of more, conſequence to him; he was talked of as an artiſt of conſiderable talents; he was emancipated from paternal authority, and now, inſtead of handing a ſketch ſlyly out of the window, to get a few ſhillings, he did whatever he pleaſed and fixed what price he thought proper upon his own work; he made many acquaintances too, who, unfortunately, contributed to fix his character for life.

Artiſts are prone to complain that they are neglected, and their works not ſo much encouraged as the works of muſicians and the profeſſors of other arts; much of this may be true, but more of it is to be attributed to the conduct of artiſts themſelves. The gentleman who patroniſes any liberal art has ſomething more in view than the mere acquiſition of the works of that art which he admires; he likes the art itſelf; perhaps he underſtands it, or at leaſt he thinks he does; he wiſhes to converſe with the artiſt upon his own art, invites him to his houſe, and forms an intimacy with him, as far as the difference of their ſituations allow: what now is the conſequence?

The muſician practiſes his art in the preſence of thoſe by whom he is employed; when not actually employed, he aſſociates with his patron, and by this means acquires an inclination for the habits of genteel life; and, if he is a man of the world, transforms his patron into a friend, the conſequences of which are beneficial to himſelf; but few artiſts have the education of gentlemen, or a taſte for the enjoyments of genteel life; their enjoyments are different, and place them in a different claſs; many a gentleman has taken a painter into the country, for the ſummer, to employ and recommend him among his connections; he paints in a room by himſelf, and is ſummoned to dine with the family; he finds the ſociety irkſome, becauſe the converſation turns upon topics which are not familiar to him; the next day he evades the ſummons to dinner, by pretending the neceſſity of finiſhing ſome part of his picture, and afterwards makes himſelf comfortable in the ſteward's room, or butler's pantry; and here he ventures to fix his ſtation during the time he ſtays, unleſs he makes an excurſion into the neighbouring village, and joins the company which the alehouſe affords; his patron, finding this to be the caſe, thinks no more about him till his work is done, when he pays and diſmiſſes him. Can ſuch men complain that they are neglected, or that their art, which certainly ranks high among the liberal ones, does not procure them more reſpect than is paid to common workmen, with

with whom their own conduct has a ſtrong tendency to confound them?

The younger part of ſuch men now became the companions of George Morland; with them he was equal in intellect, and ſuperior to them in talent; he was ſuperior to them too, in a circumſtance that will always obtain from ſuch beings what ignorant men covet, the adulation of their aſſociates. A ride into the country to a ſmock-race, or a grinning-match, a jolly dinner and drinking bout after it, a mad ſcamper home, with a flounce into the mud, and two or three other *et ceteras*, formed the ſum of their enjoyments; of theſe Morland had as much as he deſired; and, as he was the richeſt of the ſet, by the community of property eſtabliſhed among ſuch jolly dogs, he commonly paid for them more than his ſhare.

About this time he married, and became acquainted with Mr. J. R. Smith, the engraver, who then dealt largely in prints; for this gentleman he painted many pictures of ſubjects from the familiar ſcenes of life. The ſubjects were known to, and the ſentiments they conveyed were felt by all, and the prints which Mr. Smith made from them had a ſale, rapid beyond example, and ſpread the fame of Morland all over the continent as well as the kingdom. Theſe ſubjects were, in all probability, ſuggeſted by the taſte of Mr. Smith, as they diſplayed more ſentiment than Morland ever ſeemed to poſſeſs on any other occaſion: his own talent, as it now burſt forth in full ſplendour, was landſcape, ſuch as it exiſts in ſequeſtered ſituations, and with appropriate animals and figures.—He was exttemely fond of viſiting the Iſle of Wight in the ſummer ſeaſon, and there is ſcarcely an object to be met with along the ſhore, at the back of the iſland, that his pencil has not delineated. His beſt pictures are replete with ſcenes drawn from this ſpot. A fine rocky ſhore, with fiſhermen mending their nets, careening their boats, or ſending off their fiſh to the neighbouring market-towns, were ſcenes he moſt delighted in, when he attempted ſea-ſhore pieces; and the Iſle of Wight afforded abundant opportunities to gratify his taſte and fancy. He was once recogniſed in this his conſtant ſummer excurſion, at a place called Freſhwater Gate, in a low public-houſe, known by the name of The Cabin. A number of fiſhermen, a few ſailors, and three or four ruſtics, formed the homely groupe: he was in the midſt of them, contributing his joke, and partaking of their noiſy merriment, when his friend called him aſide, and intreated an hour of his converſation.—Morland, with ſome reluctance, withdrew from the Cabin, and on his friend's remonſtrating with him the next day for keeping ſuch company, he drew from his pocket a ſketch-book, and aſked him where he was to find ſo true a picture of humble life, unleſs it was in ſuch a place as that from whence his friend had withdrawn him. The ſketch was a correct delineation of every thing in the Cabin tap-room, even to a countenance, a ſtool, a ſettee, or the poſition of a figure. This repreſentation his remembrance had ſupplied, after leaving the houſe, and one of his beſt pictures is that very ſcene he then ſketched; a proof that his mind was

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ſtill intent on its favourite purſuit —that of nature in her homelieſt attire—though his manners at the moment betrayed nothing farther than an eagerneſs to partake in the vulgar ſenſualities of his ſurrounding companions. The manner in which he painted rural ſubjects obtained ſo much notice, that his fortune might now have been made; purchaſers appeared who would have taken any number of pictures he would have painted, and paid any price for them which he could have demanded; but here the low-bred dealers in pictures ſtepped in, and completed that ruin which low-bred artiſts had begun.

Whatever their apologiſts may ſay in extenuation of the fact, it is certain that picture-dealers are the bane of every artiſt who comes into contact with them. The dealers in old pictures may buy and ſell without injuring any but thoſe who are duped by the common artifices of their trade; but the moment they find it their intereſt to deal in the works of a living artiſt, that artiſt is doomed to penury, if not to deſtruction, unleſs he has the ſingular good fortune to eſcape from their clutches.

Their uſual plan is to find ſome young man of talents who is poor and unemployed; him they ſet to work at a price ſo low that all his exertions can barely procure him the means of living, while they ſell the works which they have thus obtained from him for high prices: but this plan would not ſucceed with Morland; he always knew the value of his own works, and always was well paid for them; except when he was in diſtreſs, which he often was artfully plunged into by thoſe who took that opportunity to obtain his pictures at a comparatively cheap rate.

His unfortunate peculiarities aſſiſted them much in this plan; the averſion he naturally or at leaſt originally had for the ſociety of gentlemen made him averſe to ſpeak to a gentleman who only wiſhed to purchaſe his pictures; this peculiarity his friends the dealers took care to encourage to ſuch a degree, that men of rank, of fortune, were often denied admittance to ſee him, when he was ſurrounded with a gang of harpies, who puſhed the glaſs and the joke about, nominally at the quiz who was refuſed admittance, but in reality at the fool who was the dupe of their artifices; they, in the character of friends, purchaſed all his pictures from him, which they afterwards ſold at very advanced prices.

This was carried to ſuch an extent, that gentlemen who wiſhed to obtain Morland's pictures ceaſed to apply to him for them; but addreſſed themſelves to ſuch of his friends as had them to ſell; by this means all connection between him and the real admirers of his works was cut off, and a competition between their friends began to try which ſhould get poſſeſſion of him, and exclude all the others from a ſhare of the prey.

For this reaſon all were anxious to join in his country excurſions, his drinking-parties, and haunt his painting-room in the morning, glaſs in hand, to obtain his friendſhip: thus his original failing was increaſed, his health, his talents injured; and, by the united efforts of the crew, his groſs debauchery produced idleneſs, and a conſequent embarraſſment of his circumſtances, when he was ſure to become a prey

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to ſome of this honeſt ſet. It frequently happened, when a picture had been beſpoke by one of his friends who advanced ſome of the money to induce him to work, if the purchaſer did not ſtand by to ſee it finiſhed, and carry it away with him, ſome other perſon, who was lurking within ſight for that purpoſe, and knew the ſtate of Morland's pocket, by the temptation of a few guineas laid upon the table, carried off the picture, and left the intended purchaſer to lament his loſs, and ſeek his remedy by getting Morland to paint him another picture; *i. e.* when he was in the humour to work for money which he had already ſpent; and in making this ſatisfaction he certainly was not very alert: thus all were ſerved in their turn, and though each exulted in the ſucceſs of the trick, when he was ſo lucky as to get a picture in this way, they all joined in exclaiming againſt Morland's want of honeſty, in not keeping his promiſes to them.

The conſequences of this conduct were frequently diſtreſs, the ſpunging-houſe, and the jail; except when he had the good fortune to eſcape into a retirement unknown to all but ſome truſty dealer, who for the time took all his works, and paid him a ſtipulated ſum for his ſupport. On one occaſion, to avoid his creditors, he retired from public ſight, and lived very obſcurely near Hackney: ſome of the neighbours, from his extreme privacy and other circumſtances, entertained a notion that he was either a coiner or a fabricator of forged bank notes; which ſuſpicion being communicated at the Bank, the Directors ſent ſome police-officers to ſearch the houſe, and if guilt ſhould appear, to take the offender into cuſtody. Upon their arrival, they were ſoon obſerved by Morland, who, underſtanding them to be a bailiff and his followers, come in queſt of himſelf, immediately retreated into the garden, went out at a back door, and ran over the brick fields towards Hoxton, and then to London. Mrs. Morland, trembling with ſurpriſe, opened the front door, when the police-officers entered, and began to ſearch the houſe; but upon explanation taking place, and upon her aſſuring them, with an unaffected ſimplicity (ſo very evidently the natural reſult of truth) that they were miſtaken, and likewiſe informing them of the cauſe of his flight, and on their diſcovering little more in the houſe than ſome very excellent unfiniſhed pictures, which even in theſe men excited ſentiments of admiration and reſpect, they ſaid they were convinced of the miſtake, and retired. Upon communicating the reſult of their ſearch to the Directors of the Bank, that they had made no diſcovery of bank-notes, but that it was Morland the painter's retreat from his creditors they had chanced to diſcover, and an account of his flight to avoid them as bailiffs, the Directors of the Bank commiſerated the pecuniary embarraſſment of this unfortunate genius, and alſo on account of the trouble they had unintentionally given him, generouſly ſent him, as a voluntary preſent, two bank-notes of twenty pounds each.

He was found at another time in a lodging in Somer's Town, in the following moſt extraordinary circumſtances: his infant child, that had been dead nearly three weeks, lay

lay in its coffin, in the one corner of the room; an aſs and foal ſtood munching barley-ſtraw out of the cradle; a ſow and pigs were ſolacing themſelves in the receſs of an old cupboard; and himſelf whiſtling over a beautiful picture that he was finiſhing at his eaſel, with a bottle of gin hung up on one ſide, and a live mouſe ſitting (or if you pleaſe, kicking) for its portrait, on the other.

Morland's garret ſerved him for all the purpoſes of life, and of this he has left a moſt admirable picture, as a companion to Sir Joſhua Reynolds's kitchen, in Leiceſter-ſquare, the houſe that once belonged to his father. A great number of his pictures were loſt a few years ago, in a ſhip that foundered on its paſſage to Ruſſia.

When in confinement, and even ſometimes when he was at liberty, it was common for him to have four guineas per day and his drink; an object of no ſmall conſequence, as he began to drink before he began to paint, and continued to do both alternately, till he had painted as much as he pleaſed, or till the liquor compleatly got the better, when he claimed his money, and buſineſs was at an end for the day. This laid his employer under the neceſſity of paſſing his whole time with him, to keep him in a ſtate fit for work; and to carry off the day's work when it was done; if he did not, ſome eyes-dropper got the picture, and he was to get what redreſs he could.

By this conduct, ſteadily purſued for many years, he ruined his conſtitution, diminiſhed his powers, and ſunk himſelf into general contempt. He had no ſociety, nor did he wiſh for any other but the loweſt of thoſe beings whoſe only enjoyment is gin and ribaldry, and from which he was taken, a ſhort time ſince, by a marſhalſea writ, for a ſmall ſum of money: when taken to a place of confinement, he drank a large quantity of ſpirits, and was ſoon afterwards taken ill. The man in whoſe cuſtody he was, being alarmed at his ſituation, applied to ſeveral of his friends for relief; but that relief, if it was afforded, came too late. The powers of life were exhauſted, and he died before he had attained the age of forty years. His wife, whoſe life had been like his own, died a day or two after him.

Thus periſhed George Morland; whoſe beſt works will command eſteem ſo long as any taſte for his art remains—whoſe ordinary productions will pleaſe, ſo long as any liking for a juſt repreſentation of what is natural can be found—and whoſe talents would have enſured him a life of happineſs, in the moſt brilliant ſtation he could deſire, if his entrance into life had been guided by thoſe who were able and willing to caution him againſt thoſe ſnares that are continually preparing, by knaves and fools, for unexperienced youth.

His command over every implement of his art was ſo great, that the uſe of them ſeemed to be nearly as natural to him, as the uſe of their native language to other men: hence he had no claim to the merit of that patient induſtry by which other artiſts produce works of merit indeed, but very inferior to his. With him to ſee, to determine—was to do; and then pictures flowed from his pencil, as words from other men. All the talent that he poſſeſſed, beſides the above-mentioned,

tioned, may certainly be deſcribed by the word obſervation. Knowledge, or rather learning, he had none; he was deſtitute of imagination; for there is no picture painted by him, after his talents had arrived at maturity, that can be called a work of imagination. Every thing in his works was either what he ſaw at the time he painted, or what he had ſeen and ſettled in his mind, before he ſat down to paint; and the peculiar talent he poſſeſſed, was the power of diſcriminating thoſe circumſtances, upon which depended the eſſential character of the object he imitated, delineating it truly with the leaſt poſſible trouble, and combining a number of theſe objects into one intereſting whole.

As all his pictures are founded on a correct obſervation of nature; they owe their value to that circumſtance, and are curious, as ſhewing the progreſs of his powers from his youth to the laſt ſtage of his life. His pictures from ballads, &c. are trifling, conſidered as works of art; but curious, as the productions of a youth deſigning from the ideas of others. In his picture of Garrick, he ſeized the true character of every object he copied, and produced a picture of conſiderable merit, all circumſtances conſidered, though not an exact copy of the original. What few portraits he painted, had the merit of ſtrong reſemblance; and there is no doubt that, if he had followed that branch of the art, he would have attained to great eminence in it. His pictures of familiar ſubjects had conſiderable merit in point of compoſition; and as he painted all his figures from nature, their merit was great in that reſpect: but, as theſe figures were taken from one or two women and children who were much about him, they have too much ſimilarity in that reſpect.

But he ſhines forth in all his glory in picturesque landſcape. In his beſt pictures of this kind, every intereſting circumſtance is combined and repreſented with an accuracy and ſpirit that left nothing to deſire or reprehend: upon theſe pictures his reputation will ſtand firm and ſecure. For about ſeven years that he painted ſuch ſubjects, he was in his prime; and though the figures he introduced were of the lower order, they were conſiſtent with the ſcenes, and had nothing to give diſguſt; but when his increaſing irregularities led him from the wood-ſide to the ale-houſe, his ſubjects aſſumed a meaner caſt, as they partook of the meanneſs of his ſociety: for he ſtill painted what he ſaw. Stage-coachmen, poſtillions, and drovers, drinking, were honoured by his pencil; his ſheep were changed for pigs; and, at laſt, with the true feeling of a diſciple of Circe, he forſook the picturesque cottage and the wood ſide, and never ſeemed happy but in a pig ſtye. I have ſaid, that his excellence conſiſted in marking the true character of what he ſaw, which is ſomething different from repreſenting objects with pure correctneſs and truth: hence his pictures afford the fineſt ſpecimens of the picturesque, but nothing that is elegant or beautiful in point of form. Of animals, the aſs, the ſheep, and the hog, were his favourites; their character may be truly repreſented by a few ſtrokes: but to do this, it is not neceſſary to give an accurate delineation of their forms. The horſe he has given

given too, with much effect, when old, ragged, and miſerable; but a beautiful horſe he never could draw as it would be drawn by Gilpin, Stubbs, or any artiſt of that ſchool. The women, in his early pictures, have much prettyneſs, becauſe they were painted from women who were pretty; but there is nothing in his works that induces us to believe that he felt what an elegant woman was, much leſs, that he had the leaſt knowledge of beauty combined with elegance and dignity of character. Having ſaid what he was, it is but juſtice to add, that if his mind had been cultivated, and his attention directed to any other department of the art, it is probable that, with the powers he poſſeſſed, he would have attained to as high a degree of excellence as he actually did in that which he followed.

I have ſaid thus much of Morland, not with a view to depreciate his talents, or to perpetuate the memory of his faults; but becauſe, though all have been loud in his praiſe, few have juſtly appreciated his talents; and though all have cenſured his irregularities, no one has truly ſhewn whence they proceeded: and I hope this ſketch will not have been made in vain, if it furniſhes an additional proof, that no ſuperiority of talent, and no degree of encouragement, can preſerve a man of genius from miſery, unleſs he has caution to guard himſelf from the ſnares which will be laid for his inexperience, and prudence to regulate his conduct in all the affairs of life.

The memoirs of this diſtinguiſhed artiſt afford another ſtriking inſtance of the impoſſibility of ſerving genius when debaſed by vice, or perverted by eccentricity. He would accept of no patronage, unleſs afforded in a mode agreeable to himſelf: and if aſſiſted by the hand of diſintereſted benevolence, againſt his own will, the ſervice beſtowed was always rendered ſubſervient to the vice which deſtroyed both his body and mind.

Account of William Edwards, the Cambrian Bridge Builder.

(From Malkin's Account of South Wales.)

William Edwards was the ſon of a farmer, who had two other ſons and a daughter. The family lived in the pariſh of Eglwyſilan, in the county of Glamorgan, very near the ſpot which was hereafter to be the foundation of its celebrity.—William Edwards was born in the year 1719. His father died when he was only two years old. He was the youngeſt ſon. He, with his other two brothers and ſiſter, lived with their mother on the farm till he was about ſixteen or eighteen years of age. When he had reached his fifteenth year, he frequently repaired the walls, or ſtone fences of the farm. Every traveller who is acquainted with Wales, muſt have remarked, that ſuch fences are common in the mountain diſtrict. He was obſerved to perform his work in a ſtile uncommonly neat and firm, and with an expedition ſurpaſſing that of moſt others. Some friends, obſerving this, adviſed the elder brother to encourage him in this employment, not only on their own farm, but in the ſervice of any neighbours who might

might wiſh to engage him. William readily aſſented to this propoſal, and worked almoſt continually at wall building, for which his talents were in eager requeſt. He added his earnings regularly to the common ſtock of his mother and brothers, who carried on the buſineſs of the farm. The fences in this part of the country are called in technical phraſeology dry walls, from the circumſtance of their being conſtructed without any mortar. Some time after he had exerciſed his ingenuity in this way, ſome maſons, regularly brought up to the trade, came to the neighbourhood for the purpoſe of erecting a ſhed for ſhoeing horſes, at a ſmith and farrier's ſhop. William Edwards admired the neatneſs with which they conſtructed the pillars and other parts of the ſhed, and felt an anxious wiſh for the ability to do the ſame. He often left his work, and came to a field oppoſite the ſmith's ſhop, where the maſons were employed. He obſerved, that with the common maſon's hammer of the country, one end of which is alſo an axe, they were able to dreſs their ſtones very neatly; and this led him to the diſcovery, that the principal reaſon why he could not do the ſame, aroſe from his hammer not being ſteeled. He made all poſſible haſte, therefore, to procure from a ſmith ſome hammers better ſuited to his purpoſe, ſuch as he obſerved theſe maſons to uſe; and found that with them he could execute his dry-walling much better, and with a neatneſs far beyond what he had before been able to accompliſh. Being thus furniſhed with proper tools, and having acquired a degree of dexterity in the uſe of them, he aſpired to a higher rank in his profeſſion; and from a dry-wall builder hoped to become a builder of houſes. Soon afterwards, he undertook to build a little work-ſhop for a neighbour; and gained great applauſe for the propriety with which he performed his contract. A very ſhort period had elapſed before he was employed to erect a mill in his own pariſh; and it was in the proſecution of this building that he firſt became acquainted with the principles of an arch.—When this mill was finiſhed, it did not merely meet with cold approbation, but was admired by all approved judges as an excellent piece of maſonry. He was now conſidered as the beſt workman in that part of the country. Employment was thruſt upon him on better grounds than Malvolio's greatneſs; and as ſkill and fidelity are indiſpenſably requiſite in a buſineſs which requires the evidence of time and experience to detect faults, not then to be remedied, application was generally made to William Edwards, by thoſe who wiſhed to avoid diſappointment and altercation. In 1746, he undertook to build a new bridge over the river Taff, at the ſpot, the ſingularities of which have introduced him to our attention. This he executed in a ſtile ſuperior to any thing of the kind in this, or indeed any other part of Wales, for neatneſs of workmanſhip and elegance of deſign. It conſiſted of three arches, elegantly light in their conſtruction. The hewn ſtones were excellently well dreſſed, and cloſely jointed. It was admired by all who ſaw it. But this river runs through a very deep vale, that is more than uſually woody, and crowded

crowded about mountains. It is alſo to be conſidered, that many other rivers of no mean capacity, as the Crue, the Bargoed Taff, and the Cunno, beſides almoſt numberleſs brooks that run through long, deep, and well-wooded vales or glens, fall into the Taff in its progreſs. The deſcents into theſe vales from the mountains being in general very ſteep, the water in long and heavy rains collects into theſe rivers with great rapidity and force; raiſing floods that in their deſcriptions would appear abſolutely incredible to the inhabitants of open and flat countries, where the rivers are neither ſo precipitate in their courſes and projections, nor have ſuch hills on each ſide to ſwell them with their torrents. Such a flood unfortunately occurred after the completion of this undertaking, which tore up the largeſt trees by the roots, and carried them down the river to the bridge, where the arches were not ſufficiently wide to admit of their paſſage. Here, therefore, they were detained.—Bruſhwood, weeds, hay, ſtraw, and whatever lay in the way of the flood, came down, and collected about the branches of the trees that ſtuck faſt in the arches, and choaked the free current of the water.—In conſequence of this obſtruction to the flood, a thick and ſtrong dam, as it were, was thus formed. The aggregate of ſo many collected ſtreams, being unable to get any further, roſe here to a prodigious height, and with the force of its preſſure carried the bridge entirely away before it. William Edwards had given the moſt ample ſecurity, both in his own perſon and the ſureties of reſpectable friends, for the ſtability of the bridge during the ſpace of ſeven years. Of courſe he was obliged to erect another; and he proceeded on his duty with all poſſible ſpeed. The bridge had only ſtood about two years and a half. The ſecond bridge was of one arch, for the purpoſe of admitting freely under it whatever incumbrances the floods might bring down. The ſpan or chord of this arch was one hundred and forty feet; its altitude thirty-five feet; the ſegment of a circle whoſe diameter was one hundred and ſeventy feet. The arch was finiſhed, but the parapets not yet erected, when ſuch was the preſſure of the unavoidable ponderous work over the haunches, that it ſprung up in the middle, and the key-ſtones were forced out. This was a ſevere blow to a man who had hitherto met with nothing but misfortune in an enterprize which was to eſtabliſh or ruin him in his profeſſion. William Edwards, however poſſeſſed a courage which did not eaſily forſake him, ſo that he was not greatly diſconcerted. He engaged in it the third time; and by means of three cylindrical holes through the work over the haunches, ſo reduced the weight over them, that there was no longer any danger from it. Theſe holes or cylinders riſe above each other, aſcending in the order of the arch, three at each end, or over each of the haunches. The diameter of the loweſt is nine feet; of the ſecond, ſix feet; and of the uppermoſt, three feet. They give the bridge an air of uncommon elegance. The ſecond bridge fell in 1751. The third, which has ſtood ever ſince, was completed in 1755. It is generally ſuppoſed that William Edwards experienced the liberality of ſome gentlemen in the

county, which was increaſed by the gratuities of others, who came from many parts of the kingdom to ſee the bridge and its builder: but of this we have no clear or certain accounts; nor do his family know that he was ever indebted for any emolument but to his own induſtry and abilities.

Hitherto the Rialto was eſteemed the largeſt arch in Europe, if not in the world. Its ſpan or chord was ninety-eight feet. But New Bridge is forty-two feet wider; and was till lately, if it is not ſtill ſo, and I am not aware that its claim to this diſtinction is invalidated, the largeſt arch in the world, of which we have any authentic account.—The fame of this bridge introduced William Edwards to public notice; and he was employed to build many other bridges in South Wales. One of the next bridges that he conſtructed was Uſk Bridge, over the river Uſk, at the town of Uſk in Monmouthſhire. It was a large and handſome work. He afterwards built the following bridges, in the order of ſucceſſion which is here aſſigned them. A bridge of three arches over the river Tawy: Pont ar Tawy, over the ſame river, about ten miles above the town of Swanſea. This was of one arch; its chord eighty feet, with one cylinder over the haunches. Bettws Bridge in Caermarthenſhire, conſiſting of one arch, forty-five feet in the ſpan. Llandovery Bridge in the ſame county, conſiſting of one arch, eighty-four feet in the ſpan, with one cylinder over the haunches.—Wychbree Bridge, over the river Tawy, about two miles above Morriſton: this has one arch, ninety-five feet in ſpan, twenty feet in altitude, with two cylinders over each of the haunches to relieve them. He built Aberavon Bridge in Glamorganſhire, conſiſting of one arch, ſeventy feet in ſpan, fifteen feet in altitude, but without cylinders. He likewiſe built Glaſbury Bridge, near Hay, in Brecknockſhire, over the river Wye: it conſiſts of five arches, and is a light, elegant bridge.—The arches are ſmall ſegments of large circles on high piers, as beſt adapted to facilitate the paſſage of floods under the bridge, and travellers over it.

William Edwards deviſed very important improvements in the art of bridge-building. His firſt bridges of one arch he found to be too high, ſo as to be difficult for carriages, and even horſes, to paſs over. The ſteeps at each end of New Bridge in particular are very inconvenient, from the largeneſs and altitude of the arch. This peculiarity, it is true, adds much to its perſpective effect as a part of the landſcape; but the ſober market-traveller is not recompenſed for the toil of aſcending and deſcending an artificial mountain, by the compariſon of a rainbow and the raptures of a draftſman. He avoided this defect in his ſubſequent works; but it was by a cautious gradation that he attempted to correct his early and erroneous principles, and to conſult the eaſe of the public, at the ſame time that he ſurmounted the greateſt difficulties of his occupation. At length he diſcovered, not by reading, converſation, or any other mode of extrinſic inſtruction, but by dint of his own genius matured in the ſchool of experience, that where the abutments are ſecure from the danger of giving

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ing way, arches of much leſs ſegments, and of far leſs altitude, than general opinion had hitherto required, are perfectly ſecure, and render the bridges much eaſier for carriages to paſs over, and in every reſpect adapt them better to the purpoſes of a ready and free communication. Impreſſed with the importance of thoſe rules by which he had aſſiduouſly perfected his own practice, he was in the habit of conſidering his own branch of architecture as reducible to three great requiſites; durability, the freedom of the water flowing under, and the eaſe of the traffic paſsing over. Theſe are certainly maxims of peculiar importance in bridges of one arch, which are not only the beſt adapted to ſituations where tremendous floods occur, but in many caſes are the only bridges ſecurely practicable in mountain vallies.

The literary knowledge of William Edwards was at firſt confined to the Welſh language, which he could read and write from early youth. He was ſuppoſed to be rather obſtinate when a boy; an imputation which generally reſts on genius, that ſees beyond the ſcope of thoſe by whom it is controlled. His own account of this alledged temper was, that he always conſidered whether any thing that was propoſed to him, or any principle that he was required to act upon, coincided with his own ideas of rectitude. If he found that it did, he firmly perſiſted in it. His general character was that of uncommon reſolution and inflexibility. He was very wild, as it is commonly reported of him, till about eighteen years of age. After that period, he became very ſteady and ſedate. A neighbour inſtructed him a little in arithmetic. About the age of twenty or twenty-one, he undertook the building of a large iron forge at Cardiff, and lodged with a perſon named Walter Roſſer, a baker, and blind. This man taught Engliſh reading. William Edwards was alive to every opportunity of improvement, and rapidly acquired what he eagerly purſued. He ſeems, indeed, to have poſſeſſed a mind that could not eaſily be ſtopped in its progreſs. To the two languages, however, his attainments in literature were confined; but their application to the various branches of ſtudy in which he was engaged, afforded conſtant exerciſe even to his induſtry and ſpirit of inquiry. After he had performed his engagement at Cardiff, he built many good houſes, with ſeveral forges and ſmelting-houſes, and was for many years employed at works of this nature by John Morris, of Claſemont, Eſq.

Caerphilly Caſtle is in his native pariſh. He has often been heard to ſay, that he would frequently viſit that celebrated ruin, and ſtudy the principles of its excellent maſonry, with all its various peculiarities, appearing in thoſe venerable remains. He conſidered himſelf to have derived more important knowledge from this than from any other circumſtance. Indeed, his principles were formed on thoſe of the Caerphilly Caſtle maſonry. He was, what may with ſufficient propriety be termed, a maſon of the ancient caſtle, or Gothic ſchool. His manner of hewing and dreſſing his ſtones was exactly that of the old caſtle maſons. He put them together in a ſtile of cloſe-

neſs, neatneſs, and firmneſs, that is never ſeen but in thoſe ancient, and, as far as we know, everlaſting edifices. His ſon is perhaps the only workman remaining, who on any occaſion practiſes the ancient maſonry; and in the modern he is equally a proficient.

The full compliment of buſineſs which uſually attends a high reputation in any line, might be ſuppoſed to have engroſſed all the time and thoughts of a ſelf-taught man. But William Edwards united with his trade the occupation of a farmer during the whole of his life. Nor was Sunday, though a ſabbath, a day of reſt to him; for then he had clerical functions to exerciſe. In his religious ſentiments he was a diſſenter, of the denomination ſtiled Independents. About 1750, he was regularly ordained according to the uſage of the ſect of which he was a member; and about the ſame time was choſen miniſter of the congregation meeting at a chapel in his native pariſh, where he officiated for forty years, and till he died. He was a Calviniſt, but of a very liberal deſcription: indeed, he carried his charity ſo far, that many perſons ſuſpected he had changed his opinions, and for that reaſon ſpoke very unhandſomely of him. For a length of time, during the laſt years of his miniſtry, he always avoided in his diſcourſes thoſe points of doctrine that were more peculiarly in diſpute between the Calviniſts and other parties. He frequently repeated and enforced a maxim, well worthy the adoption of the moſt enlightened and eminent divines, that the love of God and of our neighbour is the ultimate end of all religions, which having attained, their poſſeſſors had arrived at their object; and that it is againſt the ſpirit of Chriſtianity to ſuppoſe, that among all parties, be they what they may, there are not many who have indiſputably obtained this diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic. Few among his party were conſidered to be ſo edifying in their diſcourſes as he was; and this ſpecimen has a ſtrong tendency to accredit the opinion: but ſentiments of ſuch liberality and moderation muſt have been ſuſpected of trenching a little on the ſoundneſs of his Calviniſm. Another principle of his evinced that his judgment was equal to his candour. He always declared it to be the duty of a religious ſociety to ſupport their miniſter decently; and for this reaſon he took from his congregation the ſtipulated ſalary, though he never converted a ſingle farthing of it to his own uſe, but diſtributed the whole among the poor members of the church, and even added very conſiderably to this largeſs from his own perſonal property.—He very wiſely alledged, that though a lucrative buſineſs would have allowed him to officiate gratuitouſly, his ſucceſſor might be differently circumſtanced; and the people, relieved from a burden for a time, would look with an evil eye on an inſtructor, who had it not in his power to exhibit ſimilar diſintereſtedneſs. So judicious a mixture of prudence and generoſity might furniſh a leſſon to certain undiſcriminating enthuſiaſts, who brand with the opprobrious name of hire thoſe fair emoluments, from which reſpectable abilities, however or wherever employed, are entitled to derive eaſe and competence. From theſe authentic notices

tices it will ſufficiently appear, that thoſe who have termed him ſarcaſtically, or by way of ridicule, a methodiſt preacher, have egregiouſly miſrepreſented him. He never officiated at any of the methodiſt meetings. He frequently preached at the diſſenting meeting-houſe of the Rev. Lewis Rees, father of Dr. Abraham Rees, the editor of the New Encyclopædia. This meeting-houſe was ſituated near Morriſton, the building of which he ſuperintended. Many of his diſcourſes were taken down in ſhort hand by William Jones, clerk to Mr. Padley, of Swanſea. They were always delivered in Welſh. It may well be ſuppoſed that he deteſted an intolerant or perſecuting ſpirit, and always reprobated the rancour of too many diſſenters towards the eſtabliſhed church.—He was well reſpected by the moſt intelligent and liberal of all ſects and parties, and died, very much lamented by all who knew him, in the year 1789, and in the ſeventieth year of his age, in his native pariſh of Eglwyſilan, where he lies buried in the church-yard. He had ſix children; four ſons and two daughters. Thomas, David, and Edward were brought up to their father's trade; William was ſhot at Gibraltar in the American war.

His ſon David is likewiſe very ſkilful in bridge-building, the principles of which he learnt by working with his father. Among many others, he built in Caermarthenſhire, Llandilo Bridge, of three very light, elegant, and large arches, over the river Towy, ſix miles above the town of Caermarthen; Edwinsford Bridge over the river Cothy; Pontloyrig over the river Taw, that divides the counties of Caermarthen and Pembroke; Bedwas Bridge over the Remny, between the counties of Glamorgan and Monmouth; and, laſt of all, Newport Bridge, over the Uſk, in Monmouthſhire; and this, if we conſider the impediments with which he had to ſtruggle here, muſt be allowed to have been a very arduous undertaking. The difficulty of making good foundations, together with the hazards attending Welſh mountain floods from the land, and the furious Severn tides from the Briſtol Channel, might have deterred a leſs enterpriſing artiſt: but he ſurmounted every obſtacle, and completed it in 1801. It conſiſts of five arches, ſupported by high piers. The central arch is ſeventy feet in the ſpan, and twenty-two feet and a half high from the baſe or chord of the arch. The other arches are each ſixty-two feet in the ſpan, and twenty-two feet in altitude. The piers are fourteen feet wide at the ſpringing of the arches. The height from low water mark to the top of the parapet, is fifty-ſeven feet. It is a very ornamental, magnificent, ſcientific, and conveniently conſtructed bridge.

Mr. David Edwards lives at preſent in Glamorganſhire, in a good farm of about five hundred pounds per annum. He is very much reſpected in his neighbourhood, ſimple in his manners, hoſpitable in his houſe, and very intelligent in his profeſſion. His ſon William, brought up to the trade, is a very ſkilful maſon, and particularly ſo in all kinds of bridge and water-works. He now ſuperintends many of the locks and bridges of the Kennet and Avon

navigation from London to Briſtol; but his father is not informed whether he has yet entered into a contract for the rebuilding of Caerleon Bridge in Monmouthſhire. The preſent is an uncommon inſtance of the ſame taſte and talents pervading a family for three generations. Bridge-building and farming ſeem deſtined to be their hereditary employments.

Compariſon of Maximilian de Bethune Duke of Sully, and William Pitt, Earl of Chatham.

(From Scott's Diſſertations, Eſſays and Parallels.)

Two very conſpicuous ſtateſmen have adorned by their deeds the annals of France and England in the courſe of modern times, who equally admired and reſpected whilſt living, have united the ſuffrages of all poſterity in their favour by the force of their merit and the ſplendour of their virtues. Though diſtinguiſhing themſelves in their reſpective countries at nearly the diſtance of two centuries from each other, a compariſon of their talents, their endowments, and their excellencies, naturally occurs to the hiſtoric obſerver, concentrates his attention, and rouſes his faculties. Their virtues enforce reverence, their abilities excite admiration, and their exertions of them demand all applauſe. Unqualified prāiſe, perhaps, neither of them may deſerve; for what human being ever did juſtly deſerve it? But ſuch men as the Duke of Sully, and William Pitt, Earl of Chatham, are indeed, extraordinary productions, ſeldom lent in the courſe of ages to any nations, and when appearing invigorating by the energy of their genius the torpid and the liſtleſs of their own times, almoſt infuſing a new ſpirit into their countrymen, and leaving bright examples for imitation to poſterity. For though few, perhaps none, may poſſeſs their talents; yet all may emulate their integrity, their diſintereſtedneſs, their independent ſpirit, and their truth.

Even ſome ſimilarity in the ſituations of France and England, when they were engaged in the principal direction of the affairs of government, indicates the propriety of comparing them together. For the former haraſſed and exhauſted by the wars of the League and the other commotions excited by religious fanaticiſm, and by them deeply injured even with reſpect to its external relations, required all the prudence, ſagacity, and exertion, of the wiſeſt heads and honeſteſt hearts to remedy its diſorders, to heal its wounds, and to infuſe new ſtrength into the whole political body. Whilſt the latter bleeding at every vein from the miſconduct of a moſt incapable, if not corrupt, adminiſtration, diſgraced abroad, diſcontented at home, brooding in ſullen ſilence over paſt tranſactions, and hopeleſs of better while ſuch men as then preſided at the helm, directed the machine of government, exhibited the humiliating proſpect of a free people nearly deſponding, and ſending for foreign mercenaries, the vaſſals of deſpotic ſway, to guard their ſhores from threatened invaſion. To revive the latent ſpirit of the people at ſuch a period, to reanimate the due vigour of free-

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men conſcious of what they owed to themſelves and to poſterity, will, perhaps, be allowed little leſs arduous than to heal the wounds of inteſtine wars: for whatever evils ſuch wars are attended with, and they are too afflicting to be thought on without horror, they ever by their very exiſtence nouriſh the martial ſpirit in the country, and often by that means enable it, after their termination, to become more formidable to their foes and more uſeful to their friends.

Such miniſters then as the exigencies required, theſe nations found in Sully and Pitt; the French Duke, though of a different religion from that prevailing in the ſtate, acting with ſuch tempered prudence as to ſatisfy all parties, and even quiet the moſt turbulent; recovering the anticipations of the revenue and extending without oppreſſion its produce; cheriſhing commerce and manufactures; and, ſo managing the military force and the political connections of the ſtate as to enable it, in the ſpace of a few years, to exhibit an awful, even a menacing front to its moſt powerful antagoniſts. The Britiſh commoner, all the features of whoſe character were on a great ſcale, his genius vaſt and comprehenſive, his perception clear and defined, his deciſion prompt and reſolute, his ſpirit lofty and ſoaring, ſoon taught the nation to throw off its panic terror, firſt filled it with hope, then inſpired it with confidence: above fear himſelf, he gave courage to all around him, and to almoſt all employed by him; above the mean regards of perſonal profits, and with a ſoul ſcorning the peculation of public plunder, he forced the venal, if they could not be virtuous at leaſt to endeavour to conceal their vices; without bias and without partiality to any part of the empire, he ſought for and called forth into action to ſerve the community, naval and military talents of every ſpecies; and he embalmed the memory of the fallen hero with the incenſe of his well-earned praiſe. His country, raiſed from a ſtate of abject depreſſion by his animating ſpirit, for four triumphant years ſaw victory conſtantly attending his efforts for the public ſervice, and daily crowning him with freſh laurels; as "* during his adminiſtration Divine Providence exalted Great Britain to an height of proſperity and glory unknown to any former age."

It is true that he has often been charged with inconſiſtency and verſatility for having, during his adminiſtration, vigorouſly ſupported continental meaſures and connexions, which for years antecedent he had warmly and ably reprobated and condemned. But that is not inconſiſtency which ſupports its own meaſures when adopted by government, and ſuch a puerile phantom of reproach vaniſhes before the earlieſt dawn of truth and reaſon; nor is that verſatility which, from a change of circumſtances, acts agreeably to the ſpirit, though perhaps not the words, of its former declarations. For what were the continental meaſures and connexions which he condemned? Futile and nugatory

* Taken from the inſcription on the monument erected in Weſtminſter Abbey "to his virtues and ability by the King and Parliament."

treaties;

treaties; ſubſidiary contracts, alike expenſive and inefficient; the pomp and parade of military preparation without the effectual benefit of martial ſervice: together with the other deſpicable ſubterfuges of a weak, a temporiſing, and a coward policy. Whereas he by ably diſtracting the power of France on the continent of Europe, and ſo weakening her force as to prevent her from more powerfully contending with us on the ſpot for the dominion of North America, the real object of the war, enſured the ſucceſs of the Britiſh arms there, and ſo (to uſe his own phraſe) "*conquered America in Germany.*" By treaties, which he knew how to render operative, and by ſubſidies, large indeed but well applied, he enabled a German * Elector to withſtand and to humble the combined powers of Auſtria, Ruſſia, and France. And the plains of Minden teſtify with what energy the Britiſh army, when employed by him on the continent, maintained the national character and its own glory. So that by the brilliant exertions of his capacious mind, and by the powers of his comprehenſive genius, though the morn of George the Second's day had been cloudy, and its noon tempeſtuous, yet was its eve adorned with all the effulgent radiance of a ſetting ſun.

Their degrees of influence with their reſpective ſovereigns were indeed very different; for Sully, the private and intimate friend of Henry IVth, poſſeſſed uniformly with him a commanding ſuperiority of intereſt, with which nothing ever interfered ſave the predominant private pleaſures by which that great monarch was unfortunately enſlaved; and Sully's ſuggeſtions ever guiding his public conduct, that miniſter's councils had with him little leſs than the authority of commands, which no court intrigues could counteract, nor any mean arts diminiſh. Whereas Mr. Pitt, when firſt introduced into the Miniſtry, was ſo perſonally obnoxious to George II. (from the baſe miſrepreſentations of vile and intereſted men) that all public buſineſs was obliged to be tranſacted between them by the intervention of a third † perſon: a ſituation ſo awkard as ſoon deprived him of his miniſterial ſtation.

But in a few ſhort months the univerſal voice of the people calling him again to office was not to be reſiſted, and he returned, forming an adminiſtration, wherein he was truly firſt miniſter; and his ſpirit, his manly openneſs, and his uniform ſucceſs, in time won the confidence of the king, which he enjoyed, undiminiſhed, till that monarch's death. And well was it deſerved, for it was invariably directed to promote the proſperity of the nation; not to ſerve private intereſt or connexions, or to advance low party ſchemes.

In reſpect to their perſonal characters, their integrity, their diſintereſtedneſs, their contempt of all mean emoluments of office were, it may be, equal. The moderation of Sully, and his total want of ambition, were almoſt proverbially remarkable; inſomuch that all his high offices and titles were the gratuitous marks of his generous maſter's favour, not the fruits of

* The Elector of Brandenburgh, King of Pruſſia.
† The then Duke of Devonſhire.

ſolicitation or requeſt. Mr. Pitt has been, more than once, charged with ambition, and the charge has been made certainly not without foundation: but his ambition was of that noble and elevated ſpecies, that is directed to the exaltation of a country, not to the aggrandizement of an individual or a private family. And the conſequence was, that after having for ſome years directed the affairs of Great Britain with unexampled ſucceſs, he retired from office without any other title or emolument than what the ſpontaneous bounty of his gracious Sovereign forced on him as teſtimonies of his high approbation of his ſervices. Although of two different religious perſuaſions, and each ſincerely attached to his own, they were both equally and eminently diſtinguiſhed by their rational piety, and by their unfeigned reverence and veneration for the ſupreme firſt cauſe of all things, the great Author of the Univerſe. This is a merit "above all Greek and Roman fame," juſtly deſerving not only the humble eulogy of man, but what it will ſurely receive, the celebration of the higheſt order of arch-angels: and of their poſſeſſing it in an exalted degree, the moſt convincing teſtimonies are to be found in various parts of Sully's Memoirs, and in Lord Chatham's Letters to his Nephew Thomas Pitt, Eſq. afterwards Lord Camelford.

Certainly in one eminent quality, that whereby man is, it may be, more diſtinguiſhed from the brute creation than by any other, that is eloquence, the great commoner (an appellation by which Mr. Pitt was long and honourably known) was not only much ſuperior to the French duke, but, perhaps, to any man that has exiſted ſince the death of Cicero. His eloquence, indeed, forms an æra in the Britiſh art of ſpeaking; confeſſedly far tranſcending all that had appeared before his time, and holding forth a noble model of imitation to poſterity. That it was not faultleſs is true, for it was ſometimes deficient in purity of ſtyle; as he ſeldom heſitated to uſe a foreign term, if ſtrong and forcible, when one purely Engliſh did not immediately occur to him: and this is admitted to have been a defect; but it was his only defect. His voice was ſonorous, perfectly well toned, and commandingly powerful, and it was always managed with the juſteſt care not to injure its excellencies; whilſt the grace of his action captivated the eye, and the dignity of his character impreſſed his words with reſiſtleſs force on the hearts of his auditors. His ſpeeches were not a choice ſelection of ſtudied ſentences oſtentatiouſly produced on a gaudy day as a weapon of parade; but the efficient engine of a man of ſenſe, information, and genius, inſtructing, animating, and delighting his hearers. As the occaſion required diffuſe or cloſe, argumentative or didactic, ſimple or pathetic: but always manly, forcible, and impreſſive. Familiarly expreſſing gigantic ideas (as they have been called) he led on his hearers to the object he had in view with unaffected ſimplicity, neither diſtorting it by puerile exaggerations, nor diminiſhing its real magnitude by a falſe perſpective. Pure in his intentions he honeſtly ſaid what he thought, his candour winning the hearts, as his arguments convinced the heads

heads of his auditors. But his eyes flashed lightning on the slaves of corruption, whilst his tongue rolled the thunder of indignant liberty on its betrayers or its foes. Never were the "words that burn" of the poet more justly applicable to any person's language than to Mr. Pitt's, for they inflamed the mind to a degree not easy to be conceived by any but those who have heard them; and he united, in no small degree, in in his admirable harangues, the strength, the force, the impetuosity of Demosthenes, with the beauty, the splendour, the magnificence of Cicero: either captivating by elegance, or astonishing by sublimity, as best suited the emergency of the occasion. Sully, though by no means deficient in the powers of speech, can bear no comparison with such a competitor: for his were of the gentle, cool, unimpassioned species, more adapted to common business and to the usual details of life, than to appal the daring, to rouse the languid, to vivify the torpid. In this respect to compare them, without forming any invidious parallel, perhaps it might be allowable to borrow the ideas of Horace when comparing himself with Pindar. Sully is "as * the Matinean bee laboriously gathering from the neighbouring thyme-beds some little honey:" whilst Pitt, like "† a mountain torrent, swelled by abundant rains, rushes impetuously along, bearing down and hurrying with it all opposing obstacles;" or as (to use the allusion of another poet speaking of Pindar)

——— the Theban eagle ‡
Sailing with supreme dominion
Through the azure deep of air ||.

As to their popularity, a circumstance to which, under every form of government, each wise minister pays attentive regard, the Briton had indeed the pre-eminence; as his popularity was unbounded, and that with all descriptions of persons, save the envious, the corrupt, and the profligate; so that he might, in one sense of the words, be truly called the minister of the people. From Sully's being an Huguenot, and from the religious dissensions in his time prevailing in France, it is not to be expected that he should have been a general favourite; but, after his royal master was quietly seated on the throne of his ancestors, Sully

* ——— Ego apis Matinæ
more modoque
Grata carpentis thyma per laborem
Plurimum, circa nemus uvidique
Tiburis ripas, operosa parvus
Carmina fingo.
HORATII Carm. Lib. IV. Od. 2, l. 27.

† Monte decurrens velut amnis, imbres
Quem super notas aluere ripas,
Fervet, immensusque ruit profundo
Pindarus ore.
HORATII Carm. Lib. IV. Od. 2, l. 5.

‡ Διὸς πρὸς ὄρνιθα θεῖον. Olymp. 2.

|| Gray's Ode on the Progress of Poesy.

conducted

conducted himself with a temper so becoming his sagacity, and with a moderation so consonant to his wisdom, as to attain a very unusual degree of popular regard; in truth that of all but the bigoted enthusiasts of an intolerant religion.

The patronage of literature, and of those individuals who have deserved well of the public by their learned labours, is a matter not only of ornament, but of real utility, to any administration: it proving, in various instances, a shield of tempered strength to ward off the arrows of obloquy from supposed misconduct, and often varnishing with no fading gloss merits of a very doubtful nature. In this respect, and it is one of some consideration, neither the French nor the British minister is entitled to praise, but both equally merit censure; though the evils resulting from their conduct were of far less magnitude in France than in England. For Henry IV. himself a master of genius and knowledge, counteracted much by his countenance and attention, the neglects of his minister; whereas George II. although in many respects a worthy sovereign, from his ignorance of our language, of which he never made himself master, was an inadequate judge of the merits of our best authors, and indeed never seems to have considered the protection of literature or the arts as worthy of his notice; so that the disregard of the minister was under him irreparable. Perhaps these two great ministers, and two great ministers they surely were, deemed it sufficient to entrust their fame to the faithful records of history; without regarding present statements or immediate celebration. But future historians must take their accounts from the writers of the time, however dull or incapable; whilst but too often the observations of such beings are too carelessly adopted as well as their facts; and we all know how often even these latter have been distorted by prejudice, and perverted by misrepresentation. So that even for the sake of that honest reputation, of which we must suppose them both to have been desirous, they should have adopted a different conduct from that which they pursued. And it is in this point chiefly that they will be generally judged to have been most and equally culpable; as neither of them brought forward into life a single person of conspicuous literary talents merely on that account; for the British minister's patronage of Warburton was notoriously owing to that gentleman's intimate connexion with the late Mr. Allen of Bath.

The termination of the lives of these two eminent statesmen was as different as many circumstances in their characters, while engaged in this mortal scene, were alike. For Sully, after the atrocious murder of his royal master, speedily withdrew from his official situation and all public business to the retirement and calm enjoyments of private life; solacing the evening of his days with the endearments of his family and the social converse of his friends, and at length calmly sinking into the grave unnoticed and unlamented out of the circle of his immediate connexions. But the Earl of Chatham, whose ardour in his country's cause, and whose zeal for her welfare, neither age nor infir-

infirmities could depreſs, after having, for a ſeries of years, when out of office, ſupported in parliament, with his wonted energy and ſpirit, her trueſt intereſts, after having predicted, with almoſt prophetic foreſight, the ſpeedy conſequences of ſeveral unfortunate meaſures, whoſe execution he could not prevent, after having exerted himſelf with unwearied diligence to quiet the diſputes between Great Britain and her American colonies, he died glorioufly ſtraining his abilities to the utmoſt in the ſame cauſe for which they had ever been diſplayed, the proſperity, the honour, the glory of his country: being ſtruck with the deadly diſeaſe, which terminated his invaluable life, whilſt exerting his beſt talents againſt the aſſaults of the open enemies and the inſidious machinations of the pretended friends of Britain. Surely as truly expiring in the field of honour as his own victorious hero, General Wolfe, on the heights of Abraham before Quebec.

Thus having compared the characters of theſe two illuſtrious men, there ſeems little doubt to which the preponderance of weight is due; although neither can be conſidered without eſteem, reſpect, and admiration. It is not impoſſible but that we may be thought to have exalted too highly ſome of Lord Chatham's real merits, and ſo have unduly depreciated the Duke of Sully. But we muſt ſay that we have been ſolely influenced by the cogency of conviction and the evidence of facts, that we have endeavoured to hold the balance of appreciation with a ſteady and unbiaſſed hand; and that the more carefully from well knowing, and even feeling, how difficult it is for a Britiſh ſubject ſo to act when the character of Lord Chatham is placed in one of the ſcales. Yet certainly we have knowingly extenuated nothing of Sully's great deſerts, and truly great they were, nor moſt aſſuredly "ſet down aught in malice:" for had we not ſincerely thought him one of the worthieſt men, as well as one of the beſt and honeſteſt miniſters whom the modern world has ſeen, we ſhould not, even for one moment, have entertained the idea of comparing him with William Pitt, Earl of Chatham.

An Account of the Extraordinary Eſcape of James Stewart, Eſq. commonly called Athenian Stewart, from being put to Death by ſome Turks, in whoſe Company he happened to be travelling. Communicated by Dr. Thomas Percy, Biſhop of Dromore, as related to his Lordſhip by Stewart himſelf.

[*From the European Magazine.*]

Mr. Stewart had reſided nearly three years at Athens, making drawings of the ruins there, and carrying on his reſearches into the antiquities of Greece; a conſiderable change about this time (1753), had been effected in the miniſtry of the Porte, the grand Vizir having been diſgraced.

The Baſhaw of Athens having judged it prudent to haſten to Conſtantinople, with a view to obtain the favour of the new miniſter, Stewart, whoſe long retirement at Athens, at a diſtance from the ſeat of government, made him apprehend that he might be forgotten by

by his friends, thought it adviſeable to ſhow himſelf in the capital of the Empire, and ſolicit a renewal of his former protections. The opportunity of travelling under ſafeguard of a perſon of ſuch power, and with ſo large a train, ſeemed fortunate, and on application to the Baſhaw, permiſſion was granted him to join the party.

They had not proceeded far, before he plainly ſaw that the great Baſhaw had conceived a diſlike to him. The inſecurity of all deſcriptions of perſons under the Turkiſh deſpotiſm rendering them univerſally timorous and ſuſpicious, the Baſhaw, conſcious that his conduct would not bear the ſtricteſt ſcrutiny, began to be fearful that Stewart might intend to prefer ſome complaint againſt him, or from inadvertency might divulge ſome of his miſdemeanors; he therefore exerted all his cunning to get rid of his fellow-traveller. It being known that Stewart had ſet out on the journey with him, he did not chooſe to attempt direct violence, fearing he might afterwards be called to account. Stewart obſerved, that at every ſtage it was contrived to put him on a dangerous horſe, in order to break his neck; the miſchievous deſigns againſt him, at length became ſo apparent, that when they happened at laſt to ſtop at a little village, he reſolved to make a ſhort ſtay there, and truſt himſelf no farther in ſuch company. The Baſhaw ſhewed great confuſion when his determination became known, and uſed the moſt earneſt entreaties to prevail on him to go forwards, but to no purpoſe. He continued firm in his intention to remain behind. The Baſhaw, after much delay, was obliged to ſet out for the next ſtage. Stewart remained in a large public room of a caravanſary, where different travellers of all kinds are accommodated together, and the Turks of the neighbourhood come in to drink coffee; and as he knew more of the language than the people were appriſed of, it was not long before he found out from their converſation amongſt themſelves, that he had avoided one danger only to fall into another as imminent. The family of the inn, probably from hints of the Baſhaw, repreſented him as a dangerous perſon, a magician that made uſe of drawings and pictures, to which the ſuperſtitious averſion of the Turks is exceſſive and inſurmountable.

The day being now on the decline, Stewart placed his luggage about him in a corner of the room, and began to diſpoſe himſelf to ſleep; all the other people, except one ſervant belonging to the inn, having retired. A little boy coming in ſoon afterwards, and jumping about, approached Stewart; ſeeing his eyes apparently ſhut, and ſuppoſing him aſleep, the boy made ſignificant geſtures with his finger acroſs his throat, which plainly denoted what was paſſing in his thoughts, and that Stewart's head would be cut off. The boy going out of the room, Stewart in great conſternation began to think how he might contrive to eſcape; he pretended to the ſervant, who was watching the travellers' baggage, that he had a neceſſary occaſion, and muſt retire a little while. The guard having accompanied him into a field, Stewart endeavoured to perſuade him to go off, and be his guide through

through the country, but in vain: finding he could not prevail upon him to accompany him, he drew out his piſtols, which were concealed in his clothes, and threatened, if any noiſe were made, to ſhoot the fellow, who being intimidated, went back ſlowly and quietly, and Stewart moved directly towards a ſmall river, whoſe banks were thickly covered with reeds, among which he concealed himſelf; reflecting, however, that the fellow might have obſerved him, and that it was the moſt likely ſpot for the people to ſearch, he ſoon left the reeds, and lay down among ſome buſhes and brambles that were ſpread about to a conſiderable extent, and beyond which was an open plain, covered with corn. Here he had not lain long, when he perceived numerous lights in the village. A great number of perſons in a ſhort time came out with torches in their hands, and immediately went to ſearch among the reeds: that not ſucceding, they tried among the brambles. Being foiled here alſo, they lighted fires at ſeveral intervals with bundled ſticks, on the boundary of the thickets near the corn, ſo that it was impoſſible for him to paſs between them without being ſeen. He now began to think there was no chance of eſcape, and reſolved, with his piſtols in hand, to ſell his life as dear as he could. A very heavy rain during this ſuſpenſe coming on, extinguiſhed the lights and fires, and obliged all the Turks to return to their village. When he perceived them gone, and that every thing was quiet, he got up, and after ſearching about, ſoon gained the principal road, on which he walked for ſeveral miles, and at laſt, about day-break, found himſelf on a riſing ground, with a conſiderable town in view, juſt below. Not chooſing to venture into the ſtreet, he took a road to the back of the houſes, which he ſaw led to the main road at the further end of the town: he continued to march on without obſtruction, and reaching ſome ploughed ground, obſerved before him a man ploughing, with a muſket on his ſhoulder: ſuch was the ſtate of the country, that even that neceſſary and peaceable employment could not be purſued without the labourer going armed. Being ſenſible that when the plough turned about, he muſt be ſeen by the ploughman, he bethought himſelf of counterfeiting folly, well knowing the veneration with which the Turks regard idiots *. He impoſed on the peaſant ſo effectually, that he was ſuffered to paſs on with every token of compaſſion and reſpect, and continued his walk forwards, till he ſaw at ſome diſtance two men on horſeback croſſing the plain. He knew them, from their appearance, to be men of Epirus; and theſe people being a ſort of Chriſtians, he thought he might with ſafety advance and meet them: he told them his ſtory, and implored their protection; and they readily took him under their care. They were riding to a fair, and each of them had twelve loaded piſtols, in a box, placed on the horſe before him;

* It is ſaid that this proceeds not from humanity, the Turks having a notion that ſuch perſons are favoured with celeſtial viſions and divine communications, and are therefore totally inſenſible to ſublunary cares and attentions.

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they gave him convoy to a little ſea-port, not far diſtant, where a French Conſul being ſtationed, he there found refuge, and his perils at an end. The Conſul diſpatched meſſengers with proper authority to the Caravanſary for his luggage; who, when they came back with it, expreſſed great aſtoniſhment, and declared that Stewart muſt be a Saint, for it was impoſſible for him to have eſcaped death, but by miraculous interpoſition.

The above narrative I wrote down immediately after hearing it from the Biſhop of Dromore; and his Lordſhip, on peruſal, was pleaſed to ſay it was perfectly accurate and correct. Some friends wiſhing to have copies of it, to avoid the trouble of tranſcription, a few ſheets have been printed off, and given away.

ANDREW CALDWELL.

London, Auguſt 24, 1804.

Deſcription of the Dreſs and Feet of the Chineſe Women.

(From Barrow's Travels in China.)

Never were poor women fitted out in a ſtyle ſo diſadvantageous for ſetting off their charms, as thoſe who made their appearance on the banks of the *Pei-ho*; and we afterwards found that the dreſs of theſe, with ſome ſlight variations, was the common mode of the country. Bunches of large artificial flowers, generally reſembling *aſters*, whoſe colours were red, blue, and yellow, were ſtuck in their jet black hair, which without any pretenſions to taſte or freedom, was ſcrewed up cloſe behind, and folded into a ridge or knot acroſs the crown of the head, not very unlike (except in the want of taſte) to the preſent mode in which the young ladies of England braid their locks. Two bodkins of ſilver, braſs, or iron, were conſpicuouſly placed behind the head, in the form of an oblique croſs, which is the common mode of Malay women.—Their faces and necks were daubed with white paint, the eyebrows blackened, and on the center of the lower lip, and at the point of the chin, were two ſpots, about the ſize of a ſmall wafer, of a deep vermillion colour. A blue cotton frock, like that of the men, reaching in ſome to the middle of the thigh, in others to the knee, was almoſt univerſal. A pair of wide trowſers, of different colours, but commonly either red, green, or yellow, extended a little below the calf of the leg, where they were drawn cloſe, in order the better to diſplay an ancle and a foot, which, for ſingularity at leaſt, may challenge the whole world. This diſtorted and diſproportionate member conſiſts of a foot that has been cramped in its growth, to the length of four or five inches, and an ancle that is generally ſwollen in the ſame proportion that the foot is diminiſhed. The little ſhoe is as fine as tinſel and tawdry can make it, and the ancle is bandaged round with party-coloured clothes, ornamented with fringe and taſſels; and ſuch a leg and foot, thus dreſſed out, are conſidered in China as ſuperlatively beautiful.

The conſtant pain and uneaſineſs that female children muſt neceſſarily ſuffer, in the act of compreſſing, by means of bandages, the

toes under the ſoles of the foot, and retaining them in that poſition until they literally grow into, and become a part of it; and by forcing the heel forward until it is entirely obliterated, make it the more wonderful how a cuſtom, ſo unnatural and inhuman, ſhould have continued for ſo many ages, at leaſt ſuch is the opinion, that its origin is entirely unknown, or explained by ſuch fabulous abſurdities as are too ridiculous to aſſign for its adoption.

Few ſavage tribes are without the unnatural cuſtom of maiming or lopping off ſome part of the human body, as boring the lips and the cartilage of the noſe, drawing or colouring the teeth, cutting off a joint from the fingers or toes, and otherwiſe practiſing, as they muſt ſuppoſe, improvements on nature. But on this conſideration it would ſcarcely be fair to conclude, that maiming the feet of the Chineſe ladies derived its origin from a period of time when they were yet in a ſavage ſtate, ſince we are in the daily habit of obſerving the moſt civilized and enlightened ſocieties ſtudying to find out beauties in defects, and creating them where nature had intended perfection. The Chineſe would no doubt be equally ſurpriſed at, and conſider as egregiouſly abſurd, the cuſtom of circumciſion, as practiſed by a great portion of Aſiatic nations; nor have we any reaſon to think they would not condemn the refinement of docks and crops among our horſes as an abſurd cuſtom, not leſs ridiculous in their eyes, than the little feet of their ladies are in ours. If they could not refrain from burſting into fits of laughter on examining the greaſe and powder with which our hair was disfigured; and if they ſometimes lamented that ſo much oil and flour had unneceſſarily been waſted, we might, perhaps, in the vanity of ſelf-importance, affect to pity their taſte; but ſetting cuſtom and prejudice apart, we have certainly no great reaſon to deſpiſe and ridicule the Chineſe, or indeed any other nation, merely becauſe they differ from us in the little points of dreſs and manners, ſeeing how very nearly we can match them with ſimilar follies and abſurdities of our own.

The ſilence of the earlieſt travellers into China on ſo extraordinary a cuſtom, would almoſt warrant a conjecture that, notwithſtanding the pretended ignorance of the Chineſe with regard to its origin, both the faſhion and the ſentiment of its being vulgar for ladies to be ſeen abroad, were only adopted within the period of a few centuries. The Venetian traveller, although he makes frequent mention of the beauty and dreſs of the women, takes no notice of this ſingular faſhion; and he obſerves that on the lake of *Hangtchoo-foo*, the ladies are accuſtomed to take their pleaſure with their huſbands and their families. The Ambaſſadors alſo of Shah Rokh, the ſon of Tamerlane, who, in the year 1419, were ſent to congratulate the Emperor of China, ſtate in the narrative of their expedition that, at their public reception, there ſtood two young virgins, one on each ſide of the throne, with their faces and boſoms uncovered; that they were furniſhed with paper and pencils, and took down, with great attention, every word that the Emperor ſpoke. Theſe Ambaſſadors

ſaw

ſaw alſo numbers of women in open baths near the Yellow River; and, in one city, they remark that, "there were many taverns, at the doors of which ſat a number of young girls of extraordinary beauty." Nor do the travels of two Mahomedans into China in the ninth century, publiſhed by Mr. Renaudot, make any mention of the unnatural ſmallneſs of the women's feet; and they are not by any means deficient in their obſervations of the manners and cuſtoms of this nation, at that time ſo very little known to the reſt of the world. Almoſt every thing they have related concerning China at this early period is found to be true at the preſent day, and as they particularly notice the dreſs and ornaments worn by the women, one would think they would not have omitted a cuſtom ſo ſingular in its kind as that of maiming the feet, if it had then been as common as it is now.

This monſtrous faſhion has generally been attributed to the jealouſy of the men. Admitting this to have been the caſe, the Chineſe muſt be allowed to be well verſed in the management of the ſex, to have ſo far gained the aſcendancy over them, as to prevail upon them to adopt a faſhion, which required a voluntary relinquiſhment of one of the greateſt pleaſures and bleſſings of life, the faculty of locomotion; and to contrive to render this faſhion ſo univerſal that any deviation from it ſhould be conſidered as diſgraceful. The deſire of being thought ſuperior to the reſt of his fellows ſometimes, indeed, leads a man into ſtrange extravagancies. Upon this principle the men of learning, as they are pleaſed to ſtyle themſelves, ſuffer the nails of their little fingers to grow ſometimes to the enormous length of three inches, for the ſole purpoſe of giving ocular demonſtration of the impoſſibility of their being employed in any ſort of manual labour; and upon the ſame principle, perhaps, the ladies of China may be induced to continue the cuſtom of maiming their female infants, in order that their children may be diſtinguiſhed from thoſe of the peaſantry, who, in moſt of the provinces, are condemned to ſubmit to the drudgery of the field.

Condition of Women in China.

(From the ſame.)

It may, perhaps, be laid down as an invariable maxim, that the condition of the female part of ſociety in any nation will furniſh a tolerable juſt criterion of the degree of civilization to which that nation has arrived. The manners, habits, and prevailing ſentiments of women, have great influence on thoſe of the ſociety to which they belong, and generally give a turn to its character. Thus we ſhall find that thoſe nations, where the moral and intellectual powers of the mind in the female ſex are held in moſt eſtimation, will be governed by ſuch laws as are beſt calculated to promote the general happineſs of the people; and, on the contrary, where the perſonal qualifications of the ſex are the only objects of conſideration, as is the caſe in all the deſpotic governments of Aſiatic nations, tyranny, oppreſſion, and

ſlavery are ſure to prevail; and theſe perſonal accompliſhments, ſo far from being of uſe to the owner, ſerve only to deprive her of liberty, and the ſociety of her friends; to render her a degraded victim, ſubſervient to the ſenſual gratification, the caprice and the jealouſy of tyrant man. Among ſavage tribes the labour and drudgery invariably fall heavieſt on the weaker ſex.

The talents of women, in our own happy iſland, began only in the reign of Queen Elizabeth to be held in a proper degree of conſideration. As women, they were admired and courted, but they ſcarcely could be ſaid to participate in the ſociety of men. In fact, the manners of our forefathers, before that reign, were too rough for them. In Wales, wives were ſold to their huſbands. In Scotland, women could not appear as evidences in a Court of Juſtice. In the time of Henry the Eighth, an act was paſſed, prohibiting women and apprentices from reading the New Teſtament in the Engliſh language. Among the poliſhed Greeks, they were held in little eſtimation. Homer degrades all his females: he makes the Grecian princeſſes weave the web, ſpin and do all the drudgery of a modern waſher-woman; and rarely allows them any ſhare of ſocial intercourſe with the other ſex. Yet the very foundations on which he has conſtructed his two matchleſs poems are women. It appears alſo from all the dramatic writers of ancient Greece, whoſe aim was "to hold as it were the mirror up to nature, to ſhew the very age and body of the time its form and preſſure," that notwithſtanding their extreme delicacy of taſte, and rapid progreſs in the fine arts, their manners were low and coarſe, and that they were entire ſtrangers to any other gratification ariſing from the ſociety of women, than the indulgence of the ſenſual appetite. Even the grave Herodotus mentions, in the higheſt terms of approbation, the cuſtom of Babylon of ſelling by auction, on a certain fixed day, all the young women who had any pretenſions to beauty, in order to raiſe a ſum of money for portioning off the reſt of the females, to whom nature had been leſs liberal in beſtowing her gifts, and who were knocked down to thoſe who were ſatisfied to take them with the leaſt money. This degradation of women would ſeem to be as impolitic as it is extraordinary, ſince, under their guidance, the earlieſt, and ſometimes the moſt indelible (I believe I may ſafely add, the beſt and moſt amiable) impreſſions are ſtamped on the youthful mind.) In infancy their protection is indiſpenſably neceſſary, and in ſickneſs or in old age, they unqueſtionably afford the beſt and kindeſt relief; or, as a French author has neatly obſerved, "*Sans les femmes, les deux extremites de la vie ſeraient ſans ſecours, et le milieu ſans plaiſirs.*" "Without women the two extremities of life would be helpleſs, and the middle of it joyleſs."

The Chineſe, if poſſible, have impoſed on their women a greater degree of humility and reſtraint than the Greeks of old, or the Europeans in the dark ages. Not ſatisfied with the phyſical deprivation of the uſe of their limbs, they have contrived, in order to keep them the more confined, to make it a moral crime for a woman to be ſeen abroad. If they ſhould have occaſion

occaſion to viſit a friend or relation, they muſt be carried in a cloſe ſedan chair, to walk would be the height of vulgarity. Even the country ladies, who may not poſſeſs the luxury of a chair, rather than walk, ſuffer themſelves to be ſometimes rolled about in a ſort of covered wheelbarrow. The wives and daughters, however, of the lower claſs are neither confined to the houſe, nor exempt from hard and flaviſh labour, many being obliged to work with an infant upon the back, while the huſband, in all probability, is gaming, or otherwiſe idling away his time. I have frequently ſeen women aſſiſting to drag a ſort of light plough, and the harrow. Nieuwhoff, in one of his prints, taken from drawings ſuppoſed to be made in China, yokes, if I miſtake not, a woman to the ſame plough with an aſs. Should this be the fact, the Chineſe are not ſingular, if we may credit the natural hiſtorian of antiquity*, who obſerves that, to open the fertile fields of *Byzacium*, in Africa, it was neceſſary to wait until the rains had ſoaked into the ground; "after which a little weakly aſs, and an old woman, attached to the ſame yoke, were ſufficient to drag the plough through the ſoil," *poſt imbres vili aſello, et a parte altera jugi anu vomerem trahente vidimus ſcindi.*

In the province of *Kiang-ſee* nothing is more common than to ſee a woman drawing a kind of light plough, with a ſingle handle, through ground that has previouſly been prepared. The eaſier taſk of directing the machine is left to the huſband, who, holding the plough with one hand, at the ſame time with the other caſts the ſeeds into the drills.

The advantages which thoſe women poſſeſs in a higher ſphere of life, if any, are not much to be envied. Even at home, in her own family, a woman muſt neither eat at the ſame table, nor ſit in the ſame room with her huſband. And the male children, at the age of nine or ten, are entirely ſeparated from their ſiſters. Thus the feelings of affection, not the inſtinctive products of nature, but the offſpring of frequent intercourſe and of a mutual communication of their little wants and pleaſures, are nipped in the very bud of dawning ſentiment. A cold and ceremonious conduct muſt be obſerved on all occaſions between the members of the ſame family. There is no common focus to attract and concentrate the love and reſpect of children for their parents. Each lives retired and apart from the other. The little incidents and adventures of the day, which furniſh the converſation among children of many a long winter's evening, by a comfortable fire-ſide, in our own country, are in China buried in ſilence. Boys, it is true, ſometimes mix together in ſchools, but the ſtiff and ceremonious behaviour, which conſtitutes no inconſiderable part of their education, throws a reſtraint on all the little playful actions incident to their time of life, and completely ſubdues all ſpirit of activity and enterprize. A Chineſe youth of the higher claſs is inanimate, formal, and inactive, conſtantly endeavouring to aſſume the gravity of years.

* Plin. lib. xvi. cap. 21

To beguile the many tedious and heavy hours that muſt unavoidably occur to the ſecluded females totally unqualified for mental purſuits, the tobacco-pipe is the uſual expedient. Every female from the age of eight or nine years, wears as an appendage to her dreſs, a ſmall ſilken purſe or pocket to hold tobacco and a pipe, with the uſe of which many of them are not unacquainted at this tender age. Some, indeed, are conſtantly employed in working embroidery on ſilks, or in painting birds, inſects, and flowers on thin gauze. In the ladies' apartments of the great houſe in which we lived at Pekin, we obſerved ſome very beautiful ſpecimens of both kinds in the pannels of the partitions, and I brought home a few articles, which I underſtand have been much admired; but the women who employ their time in this manner are generally the wives and daughters of tradeſmen and artificers, who are uſually the weavers both of cottons and ſilks. I remember aſking one of the great officers of the court, who wore a ſilken veſt beautifully embroidered, if it was the work of his lady, but the ſuppoſition that his wife ſhould condeſcend to uſe her needle, ſeemed to give him offence.

Their manners in domeſtic life are little calculated to produce that extraordinary degree of filial piety, or affection and reverence towards parents, for which they have been eminently celebrated, and to the ſalutary effects of which the jeſuits have attributed the ſtability of the government. Filial duty is, in fact, in China, leſs a moral ſentiment, than a precept, which by length of time has acquired the efficacy of a poſitive law; and it may truly be ſaid to exiſt more in the maxims of the government, than in the minds of the people. Had they, indeed, conſidered filial piety to be ſufficiently ſtrong when left to its own natural influence, a precept or law to enforce it would have been ſuperfluous. The firſt maxim inculcated in early life is the entire ſubmiſſion of children to the will of their parents. The tenour of this precept is not only "to honour thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long in the land;" but to labour for thy father and thy mother as long as they both ſhall live, to ſell thyſelf into perpetual ſervitude for their ſupport, if neceſſary, and to conſider thy life at their diſpoſal. So much has this ſentiment of parental authority gained ground by precept and habit, that to all intents and purpoſes it is as binding as the ſtrongeſt law. It gives to the parent the exerciſe of the ſame unlimited and arbitrary power over his children, that the Emperor, the common father, poſſeſſes by law over his people. Hence, as among the Romans, the father has the power to ſell his ſon for a ſlave; and this power, either from caprice, or from poverty, or other cauſes, is not unfrequently put in force.

A law that is founded in reaſon or equity ſeldom requires to be explained or juſtified. The government of China, in ſanctioning an act of parental authority that militates ſo ſtrongly againſt every principle of nature, or moral right and wrong, ſeems to have felt the force of this remark. Their learned men have been employed in writing volumes on the ſubject, the principal

principal aim of which appears to be that of impreſſing on the minds of the people the comparative authority of the Emperor over his ſubjects, and of a parent over his children. The reaſonableneſs and juſtice of the latter being once eſtabliſhed, that of the former, in a patriarchal government, followed of courſe; and the extent of the power delegated to the one could not in juſtice be withheld from the other. And for the better allaying of any ſcruples that might be ſuppoſed to ariſe in men's conſciences, it was eaſy to invent any piece of ſophiſtry to ſerve by way of juſtification for thoſe unnatural parents who might feel themſelves diſpoſed, or who from want might be induced, to part with their children into perpetual ſlavery. A ſon, ſays one of their moſt celebrated lawgivers, after the death of his father, has the power of ſelling his ſervices for a day, or a year, or for life; but a father, while living, has unlimited authority over his ſon; a father has, therefore, the ſame right of ſelling the ſervices of his ſon to another for any length of time, or even for life.

Daughters may be ſaid to be invariably ſold. The bridegroom muſt always make his bargain with the parents of his intended bride. The latter has no choice. She is a lot in the market to be diſpoſed of to the higheſt bidder. The man, indeed, in this reſpect, has no great advantage on his ſide, as he is not allowed to ſee his intended wife until ſhe arrives in formal proceſſion at his gate. If, however, on opening the door of the chair, in which the lady is ſhut up, and of which the key has been ſent before, he ſhould diſlike his bargain, he can return her to her parents; in which caſe the articles are forfeited that conſtituted her price; and a ſum of money, in addition to them, may be demanded, not exceeding, however, the value of theſe articles. Theſe matrimonial proceſſions, attended with pomp and muſic, are not unlike thoſe uſed by the Greeks when the bride was conducted to the huſband's houſe in a ſplendid car; only, in the former inſtance, the lady is completely inviſible to every one.

To what a degraded condition is a female reduced to by this abſurd cuſtom! How little inducement, it would be ſuppoſed, ſhe could have to appear amiable or elegant, or to ſtudy her dreſs, or cramp her feet, or paint her face, knowing ſhe will be conſigned into the hands of the firſt man who will give the price that her parents have fixed upon her charms. No previous converſation is allowed to take place, no exchange of opinions or compariſon of ſentiments with regard to inclinations or diſlikes; all the little ſilent acts of attention and kindneſs, which ſo eloquently ſpeak to the heart, and demonſtrate the ſincerity of the attachment, are utterly unfelt. In a word, that ſtate of the human heart, occaſioned by the mutual affection between the ſexes, and from whence proceed the happieſt, the moſt intereſting, and ſometimes alſo the moſt diſtreſſing moments of life, has no exiſtence in China. The man takes a wife becauſe the laws of the country direct him to do ſo, and cuſtom has made it indiſpenſable; and the woman, after marriage, continues to be the ſame piece of inanimate furniture ſhe always was

in her father's houſe. She ſuffers no indignity, nor does ſhe feel any jealouſy or diſturbance (at leaſt it is prudent not to ſhew it) when her huſband brings into the ſame houſe a ſecond, or a third woman. The firſt is contented with the honour of preſiding over, and directing the concerns of, the family within doors, and in hearing the children of the others calling her mother.

It might be urged, perhaps, on the part of the huſband, that it would be highly unreaſonable for the woman to complain. The man who purchaſed her ought to have an equal right in the ſame manner to purchaſe others. The caſe is materially different where parties are united by ſentiments of love and eſteem, or bound by promiſes or engagements; under ſuch circumſtances the introduction of a ſecond wife, under the ſame roof, could not fail to diſturb the harmony of the family, and occaſion the moſt poignant feelings of diſtreſs to the firſt. But a Chineſe wife has no ſuch feelings, nor does the huſband make any ſuch engagements.

Although polygamy be allowed by the government, as indeed it could not well happen otherwiſe where women are articles of purchaſe, yet it is an evil that in a great degree corrects itſelf. Nine tenths of the community find it difficult to rear the offspring of one woman by the labour of their hands; ſuch, therefore, are neither in circumſtances, nor probably feel much inclination, to purchaſe a ſecond. The general practice would, beſides, be morally impoſſible. In a country where ſo many female infants are expoſed, and where the laws or cuſtom oblige every man to marry, any perſon taking to himſelf two wives muſt leave ſome other without one, unleſs indeed it be ſuppoſed with the author of *L'Eſprit des Loix*, what there ſeems to be no grounds for ſuppoſing, that a much greater number of females are born than of males. But all the obſervations of this lively and ingenious author with regard to China, and particularly the inferences he draws with reſpect to climate, fall to the ground. It is not the vigour of natural propenſities, as he has ſuppoſed, that deſtroys the moral ones; it is not the effect of climate that makes it to be conſidered among theſe people "as a prodigy of virtue for a man to meet a fine woman in a retired chamber without offering violence to her:" it is the effect of ſtudiouſly pampering the appetite, nurturing vicious notions, conſidering women as entirely ſubſervient to the pleaſures of man; and in ſhort, by fancying thoſe pleaſures in the head rather than feeling them in the heart, that have led them to adopt a ſentiment which does the nation ſo little credit. The climate being every where temperate, and the diet of the majority of the people moderate, I might ſay ſcanty, theſe have little influence in promoting a vehement deſire for ſexual intercourſe. It is indeed among the upper ranks only and a few wealthy merchants (whom the ſumptuary laws, prohibiting fine houſes, gardens, carriages, and every kind of external ſhew and grandeur, have encouraged ſecretly to indulge and pamper their appetite in every ſpecies of luxury and voluptuouſneſs) where a plurality of wives are to be found. Every great officer of ſtate

ſtate has his haram, conſiſting of ſix, eight, or ten women, according to his circumſtances and his inclination for the ſex. Every merchant alſo of Canton has his ſeraglio; but a poor man finds one wife quite ſufficient for all his wants, and the children of one woman as many, and ſometimes more, than he is able to ſupport.

The unſociable diſtance which the law (or cuſtom ſtronger than law) preſcribes to be obſerved between the ſexes, and the cool and indifferent manner of bargaining for a wife, are not calculated to produce numerous inſtances of criminal intercourſe. Theſe, however, ſometimes happen, and the weight of puniſhment always falls heavieſt on the woman. The huſband finds no difficulty in obtaining a ſentence of divorce, after which he may ſell her for a ſlave, and thus redeem a part at leaſt of his purchaſe money. The ſame thing happens in caſe a wife ſhould elope, inſtances of which I fancy are ſtill more rare; as, if ſhe be of any faſhion, her feet are ill calculated to carry her off with ſpeed; and if a young girl ſhould chance to loſe what is uſually held to be the moſt valuable part of female reputation, ſhe is ſent to market by her parents, and publicly ſold for a ſlave. In caſes of mutual diſlike, or incompatibility of temper, the woman is generally ſent back to her parents. A woman can inherit no property, but it may be left to her by will. If a widow has no children, or females only, the property deſcends to the neareſt male relation on the deceaſed huſband's ſide, but he muſt maintain the daughters until he can provide them with huſbands.

The prohibition againſt the frequent intercourſe with modeſt females, for there are public women in every great city, is not attended here with the effect of rendering the purſuit more eager; nor does it increaſe the ardour, as among the ancient Spartans, who were obliged to ſteal, as it were, the embraces of their lawful wives. In China it ſeems to have the contrary effect of promoting that ſort of connexion which, being one of the greateſt violations of the laws of nature, ought to be conſidered among the firſt of moral crimes—a counexion that ſinks the man many degrees below the brute. The commiſſion of this deteſtable and unnatural act is attended with ſo little ſenſe of ſhame, or feelings of delicacy, that many of the firſt officers of ſtate ſeemed to make no heſitation in publicly avowing it. Each of theſe officers is conſtantly attended by his pipe-bearer, who is generally a handſome boy from fourteen to eighteen years of age, and is always well dreſſed. In pointing out to our notice the boys of each other, they made uſe of ſigns and motions, the meaning of which was too obvious to be miſinterpreted. The two Mahomedans, I obſerve, who were in China in the ninth century, have alſo taken notice of this circumſtance: and I find in the journal of Mr. Hittner, a gentleman who was in that part of the ſuite, who accompanied the Britiſh ambaſſador into Tartary, in ſpeaking of the palaces of Gehol, the following remark: "Dans l'un de ces palais, parmi d'autres chefs-d'œuvres de l'art, on voyait deux ſtatues de garçons, en marbre, d'un excellent travail; ils avaient les pieds et

les

les mains liés, et leur poſition ne laiſſait point de doubte que le vice des Grecs n'eût perdu ſon horreur pour les Chinois. Un vieil eunuque nous les fit remarquer avec un ſourire impudent."

It has been remarked that this unnatural crime prevails moſt in thoſe countries where polygamy is allowed; that is to ſay, in thoſe countries where the affections of women are not conſulted, but their perſons purchaſed for gold—a remark which may lead to this concluſion, that it is rather a moral turpitude than a propenſity ariſing from phyſical or local cauſes. The appetite for female intercourſe ſoon becomes glutted, by the facility of enjoyment; and where women, ſo circumſtanced, can only receive the embraces of their proprietors from a ſenſe of duty, their coldneſs and indifference, the neceſſary conſequence of ſuch connexions, muſt alſo increaſe in the men the tendency to produce fatiety. I think it has been obſerved, that even in Europe, where females in general have the ſuperior advantage of fixing their own value upon themſelves, it is the greateſt rakes and debauchees, who,

"——bred at home in idleneſs and riot,
Ranſack for miſtreſſes the unwholeſome ſtews,
And never know the worth of virtuous love."

fly ſometimes in ſearch of freſh enjoyment in the deteſtable way here alluded to *.

Remarks on the Inhumanity of the Chineſe; and on Infanticide.

(From the ſame.)

Several inſtances however occurred in the courſe of our journey through the country, which ſeemed to mark the ſame unfeeling and hard-hearted diſpoſition to exiſt between perſons of equal condition of life, as in men in office over their inferiors. One of theſe afforded an extraordinary trait of inhumanity. A poor fellow at Macao, in the employ of the Britiſh factory there, fell by accident from a wall, and pitched upon his ſkull. His companions took him up with very little appearance of life, and in this ſtate were carrying him away towards the ſkirts of the town, where they were met by one of the medical gentlemen belonging to the embaſſy. He interrogated them what they meant to do with the unfortunate man, and was very coolly anſwered, they were going to bury him. Having expreſſed his aſtoniſhment that they ſhould think of putting a man into the grave before the breath was out of his body, they replied, that they were of opinion he never could recover, and that if they carried him home he would only be a trouble and expenſe to his friends ſo long as he remained in a ſituation which rendered him unable to aſſiſt himſelf. The man, however, by the humanity and attention of Dr. Scott, was reſtored again to his family, and to thoſe friends who

* I would not have taken notice of this odious vice, had not the truth of its exiſtence in China been doubted by ſome, and attributed by others, to a wrong cauſe. Profeſſing to deſcribe the people as I found them, I muſt endeavour to draw a faithful picture, neither attempting to palliate their vices, nor to exaggerate their virtues.

knew

knew ſo well to appreciate the value of his life.

The doctor, however, was not aware of the riſk he ran in thus exerciſing his humanity, as by a law of the country, which appears to us extraordinary, if a wounded man be taken into the protection and charge of any perſon with a view to effect his recovery, and he ſhould happen to die under his hands, the perſon into whoſe care he was laſt taken, is liable to be puniſhed with death, unleſs he can produce undeniable evidence to prove how the wound was made, or that he ſurvived it forty days. The conſequence of ſuch a law is, that if a perſon ſhould happen to be mortally wounded in an affray, he is ſuffered to die in the ſtreets, from the fear (ſhould any one take charge of him) of being made reſponſible for his life.

A ſtriking inſtance of the fatal effects of ſuch a law happened at Canton lately. A fire broke out in the ſuburbs, and three Chineſe, in aſſiſting to extinguiſh it, had their limbs fractured, and were otherwiſe dreadfully wounded by the falling of a wall. The ſurgeon of the Engliſh factory, with all the alacrity to adminiſter relief to ſuffering humanity, which characteriſes the profeſſion in Britain, directed them to be carried to the factory, and was preparing to perform amputation, as the only poſſible means of ſaving their lives, when one of the Hong merchants having heard what was going on, ran with great haſte to the place, and entreated the ſurgeon by no means to think of performing any operation upon them, but rather ſuffer them to be taken away from the factory as ſpeedily as poſſible; adding that, however good his intention might be, if any one of the patients ſhould die under his hands, he would inevitably be tried for murder, and the moſt mitigated puniſhment would be that of baniſhment for life into the wilds of Tartary. The wounded Chineſe were accordingly removed privately, and, no doubt, abandoned to their fate.

The operation of ſuch a barbarous law, (for ſo it appears to us) will ſerve to explain the conduct of the Chineſe in the following inſtance. In the courſe of our journey down the grand canal, we had occaſion to witneſs a ſcene which was conſidered as a remarkable example of a want of fellow-feeling. Of the number of perſons who had crowded down to the banks of the canal, ſeveral had poſted themſelves upon the high projecting ſtern of an old veſſel, which, unfortunately, breaking down with the weight, the whole groupe tumbled with the wreck into the canal, juſt at the moment when the yachts of the embaſſy were paſſing. Although numbers of boats were ſailing about the place, none were perceived to go to the aſſiſtance of thoſe that were ſtruggling in the water. They even ſeemed not to know that ſuch an accident had happened, nor could the ſhrieks of the boys, floating on pieces of the wreck, attract their attention. One fellow was obſerved very buſily employed in picking up, with his boat-hook, the hat of a drowning man. It was in vain we endeavoured to prevail on the people of our veſſel to heave to, and ſend the boat to their aſſiſtance. It is true, we were then going

going at the rate of ſeven miles an hour, which was the plea they made for not ſtopping. I have no doubt that ſeveral of theſe unfortunate people muſt inevitably have periſhed.

Being thus inſenſible to the ſufferings of their companions and countrymen, little compaſſion is to be expected from them towards ſtrangers. From a manuſcript journal, kept by a gentleman in the ſuite of the Dutch Ambaſſador, it appears that, on their route to the capital, the writer felt an inclination to try his ſkaits on a ſheet of ice that they paſſed by the road ſide; he was alſo urged to it by the conducting officers. Having proceeded to ſome diſtance from the ſhore, the ice gave way, and he fell in up to his neck. The Chineſe, inſtead of rendering him any aſſiſtance, in the abſence of his own countrymen who had gone forwards, run away laughing at this accident, and left him to ſcramble out as well as he could, which was not effected without very great difficulty.

But, if further proofs were wanting to eſtabliſh the inſenſible and incompaſſionate character of the Chineſe, the horrid practice of infanticide, tolerated by cuſtom and encouraged by the government, can leave little doubt on this ſubject.—I venture to ſay encouraged, becauſe where the legiſlature does not interfere to prevent crimes, it certainly may be ſaid to lend them its countenance. No law, however, allows, as it has been aſſerted in the writings of the miſſionaries, noticed by a modern author of high reputation, a father to expoſe all the daughters and a third ſon. I believe the laws of China do not ſuppoſe ſuch an unnatural crime to exiſt, and have therefore provided no puniſhment for it. It is true, they have left a child to the entire diſpoſal of the father, concluding, perhaps, that if his feelings will not prevent him from doing it an injury, no other conſideration will. Thus, though the commiſſion of infanticide be frequent in China, it is conſidered as more prudent to wink at it as an inevitable evil which natural affection will better correct than penal ſtatutes; an evil that, on the other hand, if publicly tolerated, would directly contradict the grand principle of filial piety, upon which their ſyſtem of obedience reſts, and their patriarchal form of government is founded.

It is, however, tacitly conſidered as a part of the duty of the police of Pekin to employ certain perſons to go their rounds, at an early hour in the morning, with carts, in order to pick up ſuch bodies of infants as may have been thrown out into the ſtreets in the courſe of the night. No inquiries are made, but the bodies are carried to a common pit without the city walls, into which all thoſe that may be living, as well as thoſe that are dead, are ſaid to be thrown promiſcuouſly. At this horrible pit of deſtruction the Roman Catholic miſſionaries, eſtabliſhed in Pekin, attend by turns as a part of the duties of their office, in order, as one of them expreſſed himſelf to me on this ſubject, to chuſe among them thoſe that are moſt *lively*, to make future proſelytes, and by the adminiſtration of baptiſm to ſuch of the reſt as might be ſtill alive, *pour leur ſauver l'ame*. The Mahomedans who a

at the time that their ſervices were uſeful in aſſiſting to prepare the national calendar, had a powerful influence at court, did much better: theſe zealous bigots to a religion, whoſe leaſt diſtinguiſhing feature is that of humanity, were, however, on theſe occaſions, the means of ſaving the *lives* of all the little innocents they poſſibly could ſave from this maw of death, which muſt be admitted as an humane act, although it might be for the purpoſe of bringing them up in the principles of their own faith. I was aſſured by one of the Chriſtian miſſionaries with whom I had daily converſation during a reſidence of five weeks within the walls of the Emperor's palace at *Yuen-min-yuen*, and who took his turn in attending, *pour leur ſauver l'ame*, that ſuch ſcenes were ſometimes exhibited on theſe occaſions as to make the feeling mind ſhudder with horror. When I mention that dogs and ſwine are let looſe in all the narrow ſtreets of the capital, the reader may conceive what will ſometimes neceſſarily happen to the expoſed infants before the police carts can pick them up.

The number of children thus unnaturally and inhumanly ſlaughtered, or interred alive, in the courſe of a year, is differently ſtated by different authors, ſome making it about ten, and others thirty thouſand in the whole empire. The truth, as generally happens, may probably lie about the middle. The miſſionaries, who alone poſſeſs the means of aſcertaining nearly the number that is thus ſacrificed in the capital, differ very materially in their ſtatements: taking the mean, as given by thoſe with whom we converſed on the ſubject, I ſhould conclude that about twenty-four infants were, on an average, in Pekin, daily carried to the pit of death, where the little innocents that have not yet breathed their laſt, are condemned without remorſe,

"——— to be ſtifled in the vault,
To whoſe foul mouth no healthſome air breathes in,
And there die."

This calculation gives nine thouſand nearly for the capital alone, where it is ſuppoſed about an equal number are expoſed to that of all the other parts of the empire. Thoſe, whoſe conſtant reſidence is upon the water, and whoſe poverty, or ſuperſtition, or total inſenſibility, or whatever the cauſe may be that leads them to the perpetration of an act againſt which nature revolts, ſometimes, it is ſaid, expoſe their infants by throwing them into the canal or river with a gourd tied round their necks, to keep their head above water, and preſerve them alive until ſome humane perſon may be induced to pick them up. This hazardous experiment, in a country where humanity appears to be reduced to ſo low an ebb, can only be conſidered as an aggravation of cruelty. I have ſeen the dead body of an infant, but without any gourd, floating down the river of Canton among the boats, and the people ſeemed to take no more notice of it than if it had been the carcaſe of a dog: this, indeed, would, in all probability, have attracted their attention, dogs being an article of food commonly uſed by them; the miſerable, half-famiſhed Chineſe, living upon the water, are glad to get any thing

of

of the ſhape of animal food, which they will even eat in a ſtate of putrefaction. Yet, little ſcrupulous as they are with regard to diet, I am not credulous enough to believe the information of a Swediſh author * to be correct in his ſtatement of a cure for a certain diſeaſe, though "he has no reaſon to doubt of the fact," *per τεχνοφαγιαν alternis diebus, alternis jejunis,—by eating children every other day!*

A picture ſo horrid in its nature as the expoſing of infants preſents to the imagination, is not to be ſurpaſſed among the moſt ſavage nations. The celebrated legiſlator of Athens made no law to puniſh parricide, becauſe he conſidered it as a crime againſt nature, too heinous ever to be committed, and that the bare ſuppoſition of ſuch a crime would have diſgraced the country. The Chineſe, in like manner, have no poſitive law againſt infanticide. The laws of the rude and warlike Spartans allowed infanticide, of which, however, the parents were not the perpetrators, nor the abettors. Nor, among theſe people, were the weak and ſickly children, deemed by the magiſtrates unlikely ever to become of uſe to themſelves, or to the public, thrown into the *αποθηκη*, or common repoſitory of the dead bodies of children, until life had been previouſly extinguiſhed, we will charitably ſuppoſe, by gentle and the leaſt painful means.

The expoſing of children, however, it muſt be allowed, was very common among the ancients. The ſtern and rigid virtues of the Romans allowed this among many other cuſtoms, that were more unnatural than amiable, and ſuch as in civilized ſocieties of the preſent day would have been conſidered among the moſt atrocious of moral crimes. A Roman father, if his infant was meant to be preſerved, lifted it from the ground in his arms; if he neglected that ceremony, the child, it would ſeem, was conſidered as doomed to expoſure in the highway. Thus, in the Andrian of Terence, where, though the ſcene is not laid in Rome, Roman cuſtoms are deſcribed, "quidquid peperiſſet, decreverunt tollere." "Let it be boy or girl they have reſolved to lift it from the ground." Nor indeed is ſecret infanticide unknown in modern Europe, although it may be owing to a different principle. In ſuch caſes, the ſenſe of ſhame and the fear of encountering the ſcorn and obloquy of the world have determined the conduct of the unhappy mother, before the feelings of nature could have time to operate. For I am willing to hope, that none who had ever experienced a mother's feelings and a mother's joy, would conſent by any means, direct or indirect, or under any impreſſion of fear of ſhame, of ſcorn, or biting penury, to the deſtruction of a newborn babe, and I may venture to ſay with confidence, that a Britiſh cottager, however indigent, would divide his ſcanty pittance among a dozen children, rather than conſent to let ſome of them periſh, that he and the reſt might fare the better, were even our laws as tacit on this ſubject as thoſe of China.

Some of the Chriſtian miſſionaries, in their accounts of this

* Mr. Torreen.

country,

country, have attempted to palliate the unnatural act of expoſing infants, by attributing it to the midwife, who, they pretend to ſay, from knowing the circumſtances of the parents, ſtrangle the child without the knowledge of the mother, telling her that the infant was ſtill-born. Others have aſcribed the practice to a belief in the metempſycoſis, or tranſmigration of ſouls into other bodies; that the parents, ſeeing their children muſt be doomed to poverty, think it is better at once to let the ſoul eſcape in ſearch of a more happy aſylum, than to linger in one condemned to want and wretchedneſs. No degree of ſuperſtition, one would imagine, could prevail upon a parent to reaſon thus, in that moſt anxious and critical moment when the combined efforts of hope and fear, of exquiſite joy and ſevere pain, agitate by turns the mother's breaſt. Beſides, the Chineſe trouble themſelves very little with ſuperſtitious notions, unleſs where they apprehend ſome perſonal danger. Nor is it more probable that the midwife ſhould take upon herſelf the commiſſion of a concealed and voluntary murder of an innocent and helpleſs infant, for the ſake of ſparing thoſe feelings in another, of which the ſuppoſition implies ſhe could not poſſibly partake; and if ſhe ſhould be encouraged by the father, whoſe affections for an infant child may be more gradually unfolded than the mother's, to perpetrate ſo horrid an act, we muſt ſtill allow that to the exiſtence of unnatural and murtherous parents muſt be added that of hired ruffians; ſo that Chineſe virtue would gain little by ſuch a ſuppoſition.

It is much more probable that extreme poverty and hopeleſs indigence, the frequent experience of direful famines, and the ſcenes of miſery and calamity, occaſioned by them, acting on minds whoſe affections are not very powerful, induce this unnatural crime, which common cuſtom has encouraged, and which is not prohibited by poſitive law. That this is the caſe, and that future advantages are not overlooked, will appear from the circumſtance of almoſt all the infants that are expoſed being females, who are the leaſt able to provide for themſelves, and the leaſt profitable to their parents; and the practice is moſt frequent in crowded cities, where not only poverty more commonly prevails, but ſo many examples daily occur of inhumanity, of ſummary puniſhments, acts of violence and cruelty, that the mind becomes callous and habituated to ſcenes that once would have ſhocked, and is at length ſcarcely ſuſceptible of the enormity of crimes.

I am afraid, however, it is but too common a practice even in the remoteſt corners of the provinces. A reſpectable French miſſionary, now in London, who was many years in *Fo-Kien*, told me that he once happened to call at one of his converts juſt at the moment his wife was brought to bed. The devoted infant was delivered to the father in order to be plunged into a jar of water that was prepared for the purpoſe. The miſſionary expoſtulated with the man on the heinouſneſs of an act that was a crime againſt God and nature. The man perſiſted that, having already more than he could ſupport,

port, it would be a greater crime to preſerve a life condemned to want and miſery, than to take it away without pain. The miſſionary, finding that no argument of his was likely to divert him from his purpoſe, obſerved "that, as a Chriſtian, he could not refuſe him the ſatisfaction of ſaving the infant's ſoul by baptiſm." During the ceremony, as the father held the infant in his arms, he happened to fix his eyes on its face, when the miſſionary thought he perceived the feelings of nature begin to work; and he protracted the ceremony to give time for the latent ſpark of parental affection to kindle into flame. When the ceremony was ended; "Now," ſays the miſſionary, "I have done my duty in ſaving a ſoul from periſhing." "And I," rejoined the man, "will do mine, by ſaving its life," and hurried away with the infant to depoſit it in the boſom of its mother.

How very weak then, in reality, muſt be the boaſted filial affection of the Chineſe for their parents, when they ſcruple not to become the murderers of their own children, towards whom, according to the immutable laws of nature, the force of affection will ever be ſtronger than for thoſe whom the laws of China, in preference, have commanded to be protected and ſupported when rendered incapable of aſſiſting themſelves. The truth of this obſervation, which I believe few will call in queſtion, is a ſtrong proof that, as I have already remarked, filial piety among the Chineſe may rather be conſidered in the light of an ancient precept, carrying with it the weight of a poſitive law, than the effect of ſentiment.

It is right to mention here (what however is no palliation of the crime, though a diminution of the extent of it) a circumſtance which I do not recollect to have ſeen noticed by any author, and the truth of which I have too good authority to call in queſtion. As every corpſe great and ſmall muſt be carried to a place of burial at a conſiderable diſtance without the city, and as cuſtom requires that all funerals ſhould be conducted with very heavy expences, people in Pekin, even thoſe in comfortable circumſtances, make no heſitation in laying in baſkets ſtill born children, or infants who may die the firſt month, knowing that they will be taken up by the police. This being the caſe, we may eaſily conceive, that in a city ſaid to contain three millions of people, a great proportion of the nine thouſand, which we have ſuppoſed to be annually expoſed, may be of the above deſcription. According to the rules of political arithmetic, and ſuppoſing half of thoſe who died to be expoſed, the number would be diminiſhed to about 4000. The expenſe attending a Chineſe funeral is more extravagant than an European can well conceive. A rich Hong merchant at Canton is known to have kept his mother near twelve months above ground, becauſe it was not convenient for him to bury her in a manner ſuitable to his ſuppoſed wealth and ſtation.

Propenſity of the Chineſe to Gaming.

(From the ſame.)

Whatever may be the occaſion of bringing together a few idlers, they ſeldom part without trying their

their luck at ſome game of chance, for which a Chineſe is never unprepared. He rarely goes abroad without a pack of cards in his pocket, or a pair of dice. Both of theſe, like almoſt every thing elſe in the country, are different from familiar articles elſewhere. Their cards are much more numerous than ours, and their games much more complicated. Nor are they at any loſs, even if none of the party ſhould happen to be furniſhed with cards or dice; on ſuch an emergency their fingers are employed to anſwer the purpoſe, which are all that is required to play the game of *Tſoimoi*, a game of which the lower claſs of people are particularly fond. Two perſons, ſitting directly oppoſite to each other, raiſe their hands at the ſame moment, when each calls out the number he gueſſes to be the ſum of the fingers expanded by himſelf, and his adverſary. The cloſed fiſt is none, the thumb one, the thumb and fore-finger two, &c. ſo that the chances lie between 0 and 5, as each muſt know the number held out by himſelf. The middling claſs of people likewiſe play at this game when they give entertainments where wine is ſerved, and the loſer is always obliged to drink off a cup of wine. At this childiſh game two perſons will ſometimes play to a very late hour, till he who has had the worſt of the game has been obliged to drink ſo much wine that he can no longer ſee either to count his own or his adverſary's fingers. I have thus particularly noticed the Chineſe *Tſoimoi*, on account of the extraordinary coincidence between it and a game in uſe among the Romans, to which frequent alluſion is made by Cicero. In a note by Melancthon on Cicero's offices, it is thus deſcribed; "*Micare digitis*, ludi genus eſt. Sic ludentes, ſimul digitos alterius manus quot volunt citiſſime erigunt et ſimul amo divinant quot ſimul erecti ſint; quod qui definivit, lucratus eſt: unde acri viſu opus, et multa fide, ut cum aliquo in tenebris mices." "*Micare digitis* is a kind of game. Thoſe who play at it ſtretch out, with great quickneſs, as many fingers of one hand each as they pleaſe, and at the ſame inſtant both gueſs how many are held up by the two together; and he who gueſſes right wins the game; hence a ſharp ſight is neceſſary, and alſo great confidence, when it is played in the dark."

The Chineſe have certainly the *acer viſus*, but I doubt much whether they have faith enough in each other's integrity to play at the game of fingers in the dark, which, in the opinion of Cicero, was a ſtrong teſt of a truly honeſt man. The ſame game is ſaid to be ſtill played in Italy under the name of *Morra* *.

The officers about Yuen-min-yuen uſed to play a kind of cheſs, which appeared to me to be eſſentially different from that game as played by the Perſians, the Indians, and other Oriental nations, both with regard to the lines drawn on the board, the form of the cheſs men, and the moves, from which I ſhould rather conclude it to be a game of their own invention, than an introduction either from India

* Adam's Roman Antiquities.

or by the army of *Gengis-Khan*, as ſome authors have conjectured.

The ſpirit of gaming is ſo univerſal in moſt of the towns and cities, that in almoſt every bye corner, groupes are to be found playing at cards or throwing dice. They are accuſed even of frequently ſtaking their wives and children on the hazard of a die. It may eaſily be conceived, that where a man can ſell his children into ſlavery, there can be little remorſe, in the breaſt of a gameſter reduced to his laſt ſtake, to riſk the loſs of what the law has ſanctioned him to diſpoſe of. Yet we are gravely aſſured by ſome of the reverend miſſionaries, that, "the Chineſe are intirely ignorant of all games of chance;" that "they can enjoy no amuſements but ſuch as are authorized by the laws." Theſe gentlemen ſurely could not be ignorant that one of their moſt favourite ſports is cock-fighting, and that this cruel and unmanly *amuſement*, as they are pleaſed to conſider it, is full as eagerly purſued by the upper claſſes in China, as, to their ſhame and diſgrace be it ſpoken, it continues to be by thoſe in a ſimilar ſituation in ſome parts of Europe. The training of quails for the ſame cruel purpoſe of butchering each other, furniſhes abundance of employment for the idle and diſſipated. They have even extended their enquiries after fighting animals into the inſect tribe, in which they have diſcovered a ſpecies of *gryllus*, or locuſt, that will attack each other with ſuch ferocity as ſeldom to quit their hold without bringing away at the ſame time a limb of their antagoniſt. Theſe little creatures are fed and kept apart in bamboo cages; and the cuſtom of making them devour each other is ſo common, that during the ſummer months, ſcarcely a boy is ſeen without his cage and his graſshoppers.

I have already had occaſion to obſerve, that the natural diſpoſition of the Chineſe ſhould ſeem to have ſuffered almoſt a total change by the influence of the laws and maxims of government, an influence which, in this country more than elſewhere, has given a bias to the manners, ſentiments, and moral character of the people; for here every ancient proverb carries with it the force of a law. While they are by nature quiet, paſſive, and timid, the ſtate of ſociety and the abuſe of the laws by which they are governed, have rendered them indifferent, unfeeling, and even cruel, as a few examples, which among many others that occurred, will but too clearly bear evidence; and as the particular inſtances, from which I have ſometimes drawn an inference, accorded with the common actions and occurrences of life, I have not heſitated to conſider them as ſo many general features in their moral character; at the ſame time I am aware that allowances ought to be made for particular ways of thinking, and for cuſtoms entirely diſſimilar from our own, which are, therefore, not exactly to be appreciated by the ſame rule as if they had occurred in our own country. The public feaſts of Sparta, in which the girls danced naked in preſence of young men, had not the ſame effect on the Lacedemonian youth, as they might be ſuppoſed to produce in Europe; nor is the delicacy of the Hindoo women offended by looking on the

Lingam.

Lingam. Thus the Chineſe are intitled to our indulgence by the peculiar circumſtances under which they are placed, but I leave it in the breaſt of the reader to make what allowance he may think they deſerve.

Account of the Manners, Diſpoſitions and Amuſements of the Hottentots.

(From Percival's Account of the Cape of Good Hope.)

At the upper end of the encampment, and a little way detached, was a Krael of Hottentots, conſiſting of nearly five hundred men with their families. Moſt of thoſe had voluntarily entered into the Engliſh ſervice; many had been before in that of the Dutch, and were a part of their troops who attacked our army at Muſenberg. General Craig formed them into a corps commanded by an officer of the 78th regiment, they were clothed in red jackets, canvas waiſtcoats and trowſers, leathern caps and ſhoes; and armed with muſkets and bayonets. Several of them underſtood the uſe of fire arms, and were excellent markſmen. Thoſe who had lately come from the interior to enter into our ſervice, and had not as yet been clothed or diſciplined, were in a perfect ſtate of nature. A deſcription of thoſe people, with their manners and cuſtoms, ſuch as I learnt them to be from the inquiries which I was induced by my curioſity to make, will, I truſt, not prove unentertaining to my readers.

The Hottentots are the original natives of the ſouthern angle of Africa, and were the only race of people found there by the Dutch on their firſt arrival. They are naturally of a mild, peaceable, and timid diſpoſition; the Dutch, therefore, without difficulty, prevailed on them to conſent to their forming a colony here. The Hottentots previous to this period were always at peace among themſelves; they knew no wants, and their riches comprehended only a few cattle, and ſome iron to make inſtruments for killing fiſh and game. Since the Dutch have become maſters of their country, the ſtate of this wretched people has been very much reverſed: the conſtant policy of the European coloniſts having been to keep the natives in a ſtate of ignorance, poverty, and the moſt abject and degraded ſlavery. In proportion to the gradual encroachments of the Dutch, and the extenſion of their ſettlements, the poor Hottentots, not capable of withſtanding them, retired farther into the country. Still, indeed, there are ſome kraels or tribes of theſe people living quietly under the government of the coloniſts, acknowledging their authority, rearing cattle for them, aſſiſting in their huſbandry, and in the culture of their farms and plantations. From policy, which they have been willing to paſs for a ſenſe of juſtice, the Dutch have paid ſome marks of attention and reſpect to the chiefs or heads of thoſe tribes; and have publicly nominated them captains over the reſt; adding, at the ſame time, as a badge of office, a chain and ſtaff, or pole, headed with ſilver or braſs, with the arms of their republic engraved on it. Theſe chiefs, in return for thoſe

marks of diſtinction, are obliged to appear at certain periods at Cape Town, before the governor and council, and there give an account of the people under them, and receive orders from the Dutch. After performing this duty, they are generally ſent back with preſents of gin, brandy, tobacco, iron and toys. While at the Cape, I have ſeen ſeveral of thoſe captains, as they are called, bearing their ſtaffs of office, which they ſeem to hold in high eſtimation.

If we conſider the immenſe tract of country over which the Hottentots are ſcattered, their population is extremely ſmall. Of late they have alſo conſiderably diminiſhed from various cauſes; of which the ſeverities exerciſed towards them by the Dutch form the principal. Although by an ancient law at the cape, the Hottentots were not to be accounted ſlaves, but were to be entertained as hired ſervants in the ſervice of the Dutch, yet the latter have always behaved to them in ſuch a manner, as if they were reſolved to eradicate every feeling of humanity out of the breaſts of theſe unfortunate people. In this indeed, they have ſucceeded ſo well, that a Hottentot ſeems now to conſider himſelf as deſigned by nature merely to ſerve and to ſuffer; and there is ſcarcely one krael to be found within the reach of the Dutch government, which retains any idea of its original independence. The original Hottentots are, it is true, conſidered by the law as freemen; but ſo many pretexts are found to entrench on this freedom, that it proves to be merely nominal.

A Dutch farmer claims all children born of a Hottentot woman by another father than one of their own tribe, as ſlaves; even thoſe ariſing from their own connexion with a Hottentot woman; and alſo all the children which ſpring from the connexion of a Hottentot man with a ſlave woman of any denomination. But the Dutch maſters went ſtill farther; for the children of Hottentots living with them as hired ſervants, although both father and mother belonged to that race, were yet retained as ſlaves till they arrived at the age of twenty-five years: and although the laws in favour of the Hottentots obliged the Dutch to regiſter ſuch children at the Cape, and to give them their freedom at this age; yet the period of their liberty was in reality little nearer than before, unleſs they deſerted into the wild and uncultivated parts of the interior, far beyond the reach of their maſters. Many arts were employed to retain them beyond the age of twenty-five years; it was uſual to keep them in ignorance of the date of their birth, and thus make them continue to work till their ſtrength begun to fail them. When become old, feeble, and exhauſted with labour, they were at laſt diſcharged, and turned out to miſery, without being allowed to carry with them any thing which they had obtained during their ſervitude.

Thoſe unhappy natives who engage by the year in the ſervice of a Dutch farmer, when they wiſh to depart, often find their children detained from them. Hence ariſes that indifference to marriage and the propagation of children, for which this race of people is diſtinguiſhed. It is not uncommon

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with many Hottentots to deprive themſelves before marriage of the power of procreation, which many of the women in particular do, in deſpite of their maſters, to diſappoint their oppreſſors, and prevent themſelves from having the mortification of beholding their unfortunate offspring born to ſlavery and wretchedneſs.

The very thin population of the Hottentots muſt alſo, in ſome meaſure, be aſcribed to their mode of life. The reſources of ſuſtenance are always very ſcanty in ſuch a rude ſtate of ſociety: the peculiar indolence and want of vigour in the Hottentot character renders this ſtill more the caſe; and ſomething of their degeneracy and decreaſe of numbers has alſo been aſcribed to their never marrying out of their own particular krael. Theſe cauſes, with the oppreſſion of the Dutch, ſeem ſufficient to account for the ſcanty population of the Hottentots, without ſuppoſing, as ſome have done, that nature has aſſigned to this race any peculiar ſterility. The Hottentots differ materially from all other races of Africans, being neither ferocious, avaricious, nor ſtubborn. Pliable and tractable in the extreme, they readily become the dupes of the deſigning, and might probably be with little more trouble turned towards the arts of civilization. Their honeſty, fidelity, mildneſs, and ſtrong artachment to each other, indicate diſpoſitions the moſt favourable to culture and virtue. The narrow and barbarous policy of the Dutch, however, made them imagine that the encouragement of ſuch diſpoſitions would interfere with their own proſpects of wealth and dominion; and that the Hottentots, if once in any degree civilized, would no longer continue the obedient ſlaves of their oppreſſors. On this account the coloniſts have been aſſiduous in extinguiſhing thoſe ſparks of humanity which were the original gifts of nature; and the mild, yielding, and tractable Hottentot, is now become a creature ſunk in the moſt abject ſlavery, and the moſt hopeleſs deſpair. Their original bad qualities are comparatively but few, and ſuch as might be removed by the advancement of civilization. They are indeed lazy to a great degree; even hunger cannot provoke them to be at any trouble in procuring food; yet when it is procured, they are moſt diſguſtingly voracious, and will ſwallow down at one time an enormous quantity of half broiled meat, or even raw inteſtines; any preparation of their food ſeems indeed to be accounted by them altogether ſuperfluous. Their only luxury conſiſts in eating; and ſleeping ſeems to be the only recreation from which they derive any enjoyment. The ſavages of America hunt the deer, and the other wild beaſts of the foreſt, as much for the ſake of the ſport as for obtaining food; but it is not ſo with the Hottentot: his only motive for the chace is to prevent himſelf from ſtarving; nor does he ever undertake it except when impelled by the imperious calls of hunger. Inſtead of ſalt to correct the putrid qualities of their meat, for it is in that ſtate they prefer it, the Hottentots uſe the juice of limes, or of certain acrid plants, and alſo aſhes of green wood. In general they ſeem to have an averſion to ſalt, and hardly ever uſe it in their

food. In digeſtion they reſemble the canine ſpecies; for they eat an enormous quantity, and then digeſt it by ſleeping many hours after. In appearance they are remarkably ugly; in height perhaps rather above the middling ſize. They are both more ordinary in their faces, and not ſo well made in their perſons as the Malays. Their faces are flat and disfigured, as they have the griſtle of their noſes broken immediately after their birth. This, which is counted among them a mark of beauty, gives them a reſemblance to the Chineſe and Malays, who obſerve the ſame practice. I ſhould imagine the original colour of the Hottentot to be inclining to a yellowiſh caſt, but from their infancy they anoint their bodies with ſheep's fat and greaſe mixed with ſoot, aſhes, buckee powder, or ſuch materials, which gives them a browner and more diſmal tinge. The uſe of this ointment is however found neceſſary, as it keeps off the muſkettoes and other vermin, with which this country abounds. Their foreheads are very large, and remarkably round. Their eyes are brown, or of a dull black, and have not that ſparkling vivacity which uſually diſtinguiſhes thoſe of the Aſiatics; and though large, they appear ſunk in their heads from the great protuberance of their foreheads. The cheekbones are uncommonly high; their mouth and chin narrow; ſo that the face appears pointed at the lower end. Their teeth are as white as ivory, their hair is compoſed merely of ſhort curly tufts of wool ſcattered very thinly: and not nearly ſo black or ſo thick as that of the negroes; and they have no beards. Their limbs are rather ſmall, and do not ſeem formed for ſtrength. The men are reckoned remarkably ſwift and active in their perſons, although their diſpoſitions are lazy and liſtleſs. The Boſchermen Hottentots, who now are well known to be the aborigines of this country, are particularly diſtinguiſhed for their activity, and will keep up with a horſe at full ſpeed for a conſiderable time. This has been found true on experience by ſeveral of our countrymen. General Vandeleur, though very well mounted, in making away from a party of them, whom he accidentally encountered, narrowly eſcaped being haſagayed or killed with their ſpears. Some of them have one of their teſticles cut out, whilſt they are young, to increaſe their ſpeed; and all have a method of puſhing them up into the abdomen, where from habit they remain, and exhibit the ſame appearance as if they were totally deprived of them. It is indeed truly aſtoniſhing to ſee them run, without once ſtopping, for ſeveral miles, at the ſame time carrying their arms, which are generally haſagayes or ſpears, headed with iron, which they throw with ſuch dexterity as to hit an object of the ſize of a card at forty, fifty, or ſixty yards diſtance. Beſides theſe, they carry huge clubs, bows and arrows always poiſoned, and ſmall lances and darts. Their weapons are poiſoned with juice extracted from certain herbs and plants, or from the heads of ſnakes, particularly the puff adder and ſpeckled ſnake, peculiar to the Cape. Gin, brandy, and tobacco, conſtitute their chief luxuries. The dreſs of the Hottentot men, in an uncivilized ſtate,

is a kind of cloak, called a kroeſs, made of ſheep ſkin, thrown over their ſhoulders, and faſtened at their breaſts with a leather thong or wooden ſkewer. In the cold ſeaſon they wear this kroeſs with the wool inſide, and it then alſo ſerves them for a covering when they lie down to ſleep, as they have a peculiar manner of contracting themſelves, and drawing up their limbs under it. For covering to their lower extremities, they wear ſome pieces of ſheep ſkin wrapped about them, and looſely ſewed together. On their heads they have a cap or piece of ſkin of a conic ſhape, tied under the chin. Pieces of tanned leather or ſheep ſkin, wrapped round their feet, and tied on with dried guts or ſlips of leather, bound round their ankles, ſerve them for ſhoes. Several ſtrings of dried guts and ſinews of beaſts are ſuſpended round their necks and bodies, which, as well as their covering, they occaſionally eat when preſſed for food, and too lazy to go in ſearch for it. They conſtantly wear a pouch and belt of ſheep ſkin to hold a knife and a pipe with tobacco, as they are fond to an exceſs of ſmoking. A piece of wood, burned at both ends, hangs from their arms, as an amulet or charm againſt witchcraft, of which they are much afraid. Some have ſtrings of braſs, copper, beads, or fiſh bones poliſhed by way of ornament. Dutch money, ſuch as gilders and ſkillings, they alſo wear as pieces of finery.

The women are much lower in ſtature than the men, and very ill made. The chief difference between the dreſs of the male and the female Hottentot is, that the latter wears an apron of ſheep ſkin before and behind. The back, neck, ſhoulders, and legs of the females, are bare; their hair is covered by a little cap of ſheep ſkin. Some of the higher order among them are very groteſque in their appearance. I have obſerved their heads ornamented with ſhort plumes of Oſtrich, Turkey, and other feathers, mixed with ſtrings of braſs beads, hollow inſide, which made a ſtrange jingling noiſe. Round their arms and legs were ſeveral ſtrings of the ſame, or of fiſh bones. The rattling of theſe ornaments, with the crackling of the ſun-dried ſheep ſkins, produces an uncommon noiſe as they walk along; and it is by the loudneſs of this noiſe that the rank of the wearer is denoted. Several of the children and young girls, that I ſaw, were tolerably well made, and had ſome appearance of ſymmetry in their ſhape and make; for whilſt young, the Hottentots are far from being ſo deformed as one might imagine from ſeeing them when full grown. The women ſoon loſe every appearance of ſymmetry, the belly protrudes, and the poſteriors alſo become remarkably large and prominent. The great hollow in the lower part of the back towards the ſpine, and the wonderful prominency of the parts beneath, form indeed a marked characteriſtic of the females of this race. But few of the men are ſhaped in this remarkable manner; ſome indeed are ſo in a ſlight degree, yet I have ſeen many as ſtraight and well built men among the Hottentots, as among any other black race. The protuberances of the women's bodies, before and behind, give

their ſhapes the appearanee of an S; and to attain this form completely is accounted a great beauty. The pro uberances ſeem compoſed of one large looſe maſs of fat, and when they walk, theſe ſhake and quiver like a pyramid of jelly. It is a current opinion here, that this part of the body of a Hottentot woman will not diſſolve or putrify after death, along with the other parts of their fleſh, but will remain in a maſs, not unlike ſpermaceti. The print which is given by M. Vaillant of another peculiarity in the female ſtructure, I can affirm, from the coinciding teſtimony of many good judges at the Cape, to be extremely incorrect; but the diſcuſſion of this ſubject I leave to ſcientific reſearchers.

The huts of the Hottentots are miſerably poor and ſmall, ſhaped like a bee-hive, with a ſmall hole or door-way, through which they are obliged to creep on all fours. The fire-place is always in the centre of the hut, to allow the whole family to ſleep round it, which they always do with their feet towards the fire; and as their fires are generally made of green wood, the ſmoke is intolerable to others, although from habit endurable to themſelves. To this cauſe is to be attributed the dull appearance of their eyes, and the ſoreneſs with which moſt of them ſeem affected. The conſtant ſmoke, however, has the effect of keeping off flies and other vermin, engendered in the filth and corrupted pieces of fleſh and guts, which are every where ſcattered about their huts. The houſes of every diſtinct tribe are ranged in a form nearly circular, or like a creſcent; and during the day they lie without, in the open ſpace before their huts, baſking in the ſun.

A number of ugly-looking, half-ſtarved dogs conſtantly attend them, of which they are very fond, as they are uſeful to them in hunting, and are alſo trained to take care of their cattle, and frighten off wolves and hyenas. The Dutch keep a number of theſe animals for the ſame purpoſe; they are large and ſtrong, and much reſemble that ſpecies called the wolf dog.

I was highly entertained by ſeeing a number of Hottentots dance to an inſtrument played on by a young woman. It was a piece of a deal board, three feet long and one broad; four or five ſtrings of braſs wire were ſtretched along it, and ſupported at each end by bridges, or bits of upright wood, like thoſe of our fiddles. In this rude ſort of guitar, which they called a gabowie, was inſerted a piece of looking-glaſs, of which they are immoderately fond. It was fixed in the centre of the board; and the young woman who played, kept ſtedfaſtly looking at herſelf in it, and grinning with great complacency at the beauty of her round hunched figure. She kept touching the wires with a quill, whilſt a dozen of the men formed a ring round her, dancing, and violently beating the ground with their feet and ſticks; they continued alſo inceſſantly to place themſelves in the moſt groteſque attitudes, yet ſtill with ſome reference to the player. Another woman, for the females it would ſeem are the muſicians, and the men the dancers, accompanied the former on a goura. This inſtrument is formed by ſtrings

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of dried gut, or ſinews of deer, twiſted into a cord, and faſtened to a hollow ſtick, about three feet in length, by a peg, which, on being turned round, brings the cord to a proper degree of tenſion. At the other end, the cord is placed on quills, and the inſtrument is played on by applying the mouth to the quills, which by the ſucceſſive proceſſes of reſpiration and inſpiration, produce a faint voice like an Eolian harp. I was very nearly the innocent cauſe of turning their mirth into a bloody quarrel; for on throwing amongſt them a few pieces of ſmall coin, they began to ſcramble for them with the utmoſt violence; the men had even recourſe to their clubs, and ſeveral ſevere blows had paſſed between them, before the effects of my inadvertent liberality could be done away. However, I did not leave them till harmony was reſtored, and they had reſumed their amuſements. They firſt, however, endeavoured to procure ſomething more from me, and begged hard for brandy, which is their favourite liquor.

The Dutch have ever held the Hottentots in the greateſt contempt, and never thought them worth an attempt to introduce civilization among them. A very unjuſt opinion has ever been held out, that in underſtanding, and the powers of the mind, they ſcarcely deſerve to be ranked with human creatures, and are but little above the brute creation. Whenever I aſked a Dutchman any queſtion concerning them, he looked as if he thought the ſubject too contemptible to deſerve an anſwer. When I firſt arrived at the Cape, and ſaw the miſerable kraels I have juſt mentioned, and the wretched inhabitants abſolutely in that ſtate of nature deſcribed by travellers, I own my opinion of them was little different from that of the Dutch. But when a few years afterwards I ſaw the corps of Hottentots in our ſervice, and converſed with the Engliſh officers who had an opportunity of knowing them, and the qualities they naturally poſſeſſed, as well as the ſtate they were capable of being brought to, I had reaſon to conceive a more favourable opinion of the diſpoſitions, as well as the talents, of a Hottentot. This corps formed a regiment, upwards of ſeven hundred ſtrong, many of them fine, active, and ſoldier-like fellows; they ſeemed well diſciplined, and many exhibited a pride in their gait, that would do credit to an European ſoldier. They ſeemed much attached to the Engliſh; and when ſent at different periods into the interior, againſt the Caffrees and Boſchies, with other detachments, they proved equally faithful and obedient, and ſhewed a degree of courage and diſcipline, evidently the effect of the attention paid them by their Britiſh officers. Much praiſe is due to Major Fielder King of the 91ſt regiment, for the good diſcipline and management of that corps.

Manners and Cuſtoms of the Natchez.

(From Heriot's Hiſtory of Canada.)

This nation of the Natchez inhabited one of the fineſt climates, and one of the moſt fertile countries in the univerſe: they were the

the only people on that part of the continent who appeared to have a regular form of religion. Their mode of worſhip reſembled in certain points that of the ancient Romans. They had a temple filled with idols, conſiſting of different figures of men and animals, for which they ſhewed the moſt profound veneration. The form of their temple reſembled a large oven of earth, being a hundred feet in circumference: the entrance was by a ſmall door of four feet in heighth and three in breadth: the edifice had not any window. The vault was covered with three rows of mats placed one upon the other to prevent the rain from ſpoiling the maſonry. Above, and on the outſide, were three wooden figures of eagles, painted red, yellow, and white. Before the door there was a kind of ſhed, with a ſecond door, where the guardian of the temple was lodged: the whole was ſurrounded by a fence of palliſades, on which were expoſed the ſcalps of all the heads, which their warriors had brought from the various combats in which they had been engaged with the enemies of their nation.

In the interior of the temple there were ſmall ſhelves placed at a certain diſtance from each other, on which were ſet baſkets of cane of an oval figure, containing the bones of their ancient chiefs; and beſide theſe, thoſe of the victims who cauſed themſelves to be ſtrangled, that they might follow their maſters into the other world. Another ſeparate ſhelf contained ſeveral baſkets well painted, in which their idols were kept: theſe conſiſted of figures of men and women, made of ſtone and burnt clay; the heads and tails of uncommon ſerpents, ſtuffed owls, pieces of cryſtals, and jaws and teeth of large fiſh. They had, in 1699, a bottle and the foot of a wine glaſs, which they preſerved as articles of great value.

They took care to maintain in this temple a perpetual fire, and great attention was beſtowed to prevent its riſing to a flame: for this purpoſe they uſed only dry and hard woods. The ancients were obliged to carry each in his turn a large junk of wood to the entrance, or to the palliſade. The number of guardians of the temple was fixed, and they ſerved each three months. He who was on duty remained like a centinel in the ſhed, from whence he watched the fire; this was nouriſhed by three large pieces of wood, whoſe inner extremities only were allowed to burn at the ſame time, and which, to avoid flaming, were never placed one upon the other.

Of all the females of the nation, the ſiſters of the great chief only were permitted to enter the temple: this privilege was withheld from all the others, as well as from the lower ranks of people, even when they brought food for the manes of their relations, whoſe bones repoſed in the temple. The viands were given to the guardian, who carried them to the ſide of the baſket where the bones of the dead were depoſited: this ceremony endured but for a moon. The viands were afterwards placed on the palliſades of the court, and were abandoned to the wild animals and birds.

The ſun was the principal object of veneration among that people, as they conceived that nothing

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can be ſuperior to this luminary: nothing, likewiſe, appeared more worthy of their homage; and it was for this reaſon that the grand chief of the nation, who knew of no perſon upon earth ſuperior to himſelf, aſſumed the quality of brother to the ſun. The credulity of the people maintained him in the deſpotic authority with which he was inveſted. And in order to preſerve it, a mound of earth was raiſed, on which they built his cabin, of the ſame conſtruction with the temple. The door was expoſed to the eaſt. Every morning the great chief honoured with his preſence the riſing of his elder brother, and as ſoon as he appeared above the horizon, ſaluted him by a repetition of howlings; he then gave orders that his pipe ſhould be lighted, made him an offering of the three firſt mouthfuls of ſmoke which he drew, and raiſing his hands above his head, and turning at the ſame time from eaſt to weſt, pointed out to him the route he was to purſue in his diurnal courſe.

There were in his cabin ſeveral beds on the left of the entrance, but on the right was the bed of the grand chief adorned with different painted figures. This bed conſiſted only of a palliaſs compoſed of canes and reeds, with a ſquare piece of wood which ſerved him as a pillow. In the centre of the cabin there was a ſmall boundary: no perſon was allowed to approach the bed without making the circuit of that incloſure. They who entered ſaluted with a howl, and advanced to the extremity of the cabin, without caſting their eyes towards the ſide where the grand chief was; they afterwards gave a freſh ſalute, by lifting the arms above the head, and howling three times. If they were perſons whom the chief regarded, he anſwered by a faint ſigh, and made them a ſign to be ſeated: he was thanked for his attention by a new howl. At every queſtion which the chief made, they howled once, before they returned an anſwer, and when they took leave of him, they drew out one continued howl until they retired from his preſence.

When the grand chief died, his cabin was demoliſhed, a new mound of earth was raiſed, and another cabin was erected for him who was to fill his dignity, who never lodged in that of his predeceſſor. The ancients were the legiſlators and judges for the reſt of the people: one of the principal laws was to have a ſovereign reſpect for the grand chief, as brother of the ſun, and maſter of the temple. They believed in the immortality of the ſoul: when they qnitted the preſent ſtate of being, they went, they ſaid, to inhabit another, there to receive recompenſe or puniſhment. The rewards which they promiſed themſelves conſiſted principally in good living, and the chaſtiſement, in the privation of every ſpecies of enjoyment. They thus believed, that ſuch as were faithful obſervers of the laws, would be conducted to a region of delight, where all ſorts of the moſt exquiſite viands would be ſupplied them in abundance; that their days would paſs in pleaſure and tranquillity, in the midſt of feaſts, of dances, and of women, and that they ſhould taſte of every pleaſure imaginable. That on the contrary, the tranſgreſſors of the laws would be caſt upon lands unfertile

fertile and covered with water, which would produce no kind of grain, and that they ſhould be expoſed naked to the torturing bites of muſquitoes: that all the nations ſhould make war againſt them, and that they ſhould never eat but of the fleſh of crocodiles and of the worſt ſpecies of fiſh.

Theſe people implicitly obeyed the will of their chief: they regarded him as the abſolute maſter, not only of their property but of their life, and not one among them dared to refuſe his head, when he choſe to demand it. For whatever labour he impoſed upon them, it was forbidden them to require any recompenſe. The French, who often had occaſion for hunters or rowers for their long voyages, addreſſed themſelves to the grand chief alone. It was he who ſupplied all the men they wanted, and received payment without giving any part to thoſe unhappy people, who had not even the privilege of complaining. One of the principal articles of their religion, particularly for the attendants of the grand chief, was to honour his obſequies by dying with him, that they might ſerve him in the next world. They blindly ſubmitted with cheerfulneſs to this law, in the vain perſuaſion, that in the company of their chief they ſhould enjoy the greateſt happineſs.

To convey an idea of this ſanguinary ceremony, it muſt be announced, that ſo ſoon as a preſumptive heir to the grand chief was born, every family where there was an infant at the breaſt gave him the homage of that child. Out of theſe children, a certain number was choſen, deſtined to the ſervice of the young prince, and when they became of a competent age, an employment was given them conformable to their capacities: ſome ſpent their lives in the chace, or in fiſhing, or for the ſervice of his table; others were occupied in agriculture, others only as followers or attendants: when he died, all theſe ſervants ſacrificed themſelves with joy to follow their dear maſter. They on this occaſion aſſumed their fineſt dreſs, and went together to the ground oppoſite the temple, where all the people of the village alſo aſſembled. After having danced and ſung for a conſiderable time, they paſſed around their neck a cord with a running knot, and ſoon after the miniſters deſtined for this kind of execution came to ſtrangle them, recommending to them to rejoin their maſter, and to reſume in the other world employments yet more honourable than thoſe they exerciſed in the preſent.

The principal domeſtics of the grand chief having been ſtrangled in this manner, their bones were ſtripped, and left to dry for two months in a kind of tomb; after which they were taken out, to be ſhut up in the baſkets, and placed in the temple beſide thoſe of their maſter. The other ſervants who had been ſtrangled were carried home by their relations, and interred with their arms and cloaths.

The ſame ceremony was likewiſe obſerved, on the death of the brothers and ſiſters of the grand chief. Women were always ſtrangled to follow them, provided they had not a child at the breaſt. There were however inſtances of their delivering their children to nurſes, or of putting them to death themſelves, that they might not forego

forego the privilege of being ſacrificed, according to the uſual ceremonies ordained by the law.

The government was hereditary; but the ſons of the reigning chief did not ſucceed their father; the ſons of his ſiſter, the firſt princeſs of the blood, were his declared ſucceſſors. This policy was founded on the knowledge which they had of the libertiniſm of their wives. They were not certain, ſaid they, that the children of their wives were of the blood royal; whereas the ſons of the ſiſter of the grand chief were at leaſt ſo by the ſide of their mother.

The princeſſes of the blood never eſpouſed men of an obſcure family; they had only one huſband, but they were at liberty to repudiate him whenever they pleaſed, and to make choice of another among thoſe of the nation, provided there was no alliance between them. If the huſband was guilty of infidelity, the princeſs immediately cauſed him to be put to death: ſhe was not ſubject to the ſame law, for ſhe could enjoy as many lovers as ſhe pleaſed, without the huſband being ſuffered to complain. He conducted himſelf in the preſence of his wife with the greateſt reſpect; he did not eat with her: he ſaluted her by howling, as was practiſed by her domeſtics. The only ſatisfaction he enjoyed was that of being exempt from labour, and of having authority over thoſe who ſerved the princeſs.

Formerly the nation of the Natchez was conſiderable; ſixty villages were reckoned, and eight hundred ſuns or princes: in 1730 it was reduced to ſix ſmall villages and eleven ſuns. In each of theſe villages there was a temple, where fire was continually kept up, as in that of the grand chief, whom all the other ſuns obeyed.

It was the grand chief who had the patronage of all the employments in his ſtate, the principal of which were, the two chiefs of war, the two maſters of ceremony for worſhip which was rendered in the temple, the two officers who preſided at the other ceremonies which were obſerved when ſtrangers came to treat for peace; four others, whoſe charge it was to direct the feaſts with which they publicly regaled the nation, and ſtrangers who came to viſit them; the officers who inſpected public works. All theſe miniſters who executed the will of the grand chief, were reſpected and obeyed, in the ſame manner as if their orders had been given by himſelf in perſon.

Every year the people aſſembled to ſow an immenſe field with Indian corn, beans, pumkins, and melons. They came together in the ſame manner for the harveſt. A large cabin ſituated in a beautiful meadow, was deſtined to contain the produce of the fields. Towards the end of July the people every year collected, by order of the grand chief, to aſſiſt at a great feſtival which he gave. This feſtival laſted three days and three nights; each contributed towards it whatever he could furniſh; ſome brought game, others brought fiſh. The entertainment conſiſted of almoſt continual dancing; the grand chief and his ſiſter were ſeated in a lodge, elevated and covered with foliage, from whence they contemplated the joy of their ſubjects, the princes, the princeſſes, and

and they who by their office were of diſtinguiſhed rank, ranged themſelves near the chief, to whom they marked their ſubmiſſion and reſpect by an infinity of ceremonies. The grand chief and his ſiſter made their entry into the place of the aſſembly on a litter carried by eight of the talleſt men: the chief held in his hand a ſceptre adorned with feathers; all the people danced and ſung around him, in token of the public joy. On the laſt day of the feſtival he commanded all his ſubjects to approach him, and delivered to them a long harangue, in which he exhorted them to fulfil the duties of religion: he recommended them above all things to preſerve a great veneration for the ſpirits who reſided in the temple, and to give good inſtructions to their children. If any one had ſignalized himſelf by ſome zealous action, he gave him public praiſe. A circumſtance of that nature took place in the year 1702. The thunder having fallen on the temple, and having reduced it to aſhes, ſeven or eight women threw their infants into the flames to appeaſe the wrath of heaven. The grand chief ſtiled theſe women heroines, and beſtowed ſtrong encomiums on them for the courage which had prompted them to make a ſacrifice of that which was moſt dear to them: he concluded his panegyric by exhorting the other women to imitate, in any ſimilar conjuncture, ſo brilliant an example.

The fathers of families failed not to carry to the temple the firſt of the fruits, conſiſting of grain and vegetables; there were alſo preſents made to the nation; they were offered at the entrance of the temple, where the guardian, after having expoſed them to view, and preſented them to the ſpirits, carried them to the grand chief, who made a diſtribution of them as he thought fit, without the ſmalleſt diſſatisfaction being ſhewn by any one.

No land was planted or ſown, until the ſeed had been preſented at the temple with the accuſtomed ceremonies. When theſe people approached the temple, they raiſed their arms out of reſpect, and ſent forth three howlings, after which they rubbed their hands on the ground, raiſing themſelves three times, with as many reiterated howlings. When they only paſſed the temple, they merely ſtopped to ſalute it with downcaſt eyes, and lifted up arms. If a father or a mother perceived that their children neglected the obſervance of this ceremony, they puniſhed them immediately with ſome blows with a cudgel.

Such were the ceremonies of the Natchez with reſpect to religion. Thoſe of their marriages were very ſimple. When a young man had reſolved to marry, he addreſſed himſelf to the father of the girl; or ſhould he no longer have exiſted, to her elder brother: the terms were agreed on, and paid in furs, or merchandiſe. Although a girl may have led a life far from virtuous, no objection was made to her on that account, as it was the cuſtom for females of that deſcription to change their conduct on being married. The choice is made indifferently from any family, provided the girl is agreeable to her intended huſband. The only attention on the part of her relations, is to inquire whether the

the man who demanded her in marriage was ſucceſsful in the chace, a good warrior, or a ſkilful huſbandman. Either of theſe qualities diminiſhed the ſum which was exacted from him previous to his marriage.

When the parties were agreed, the future huſband went to the chace with his friends, and when he procured, either in game or in fiſh, a ſufficient quantity to regale the two families who contracted the alliance, they aſſembled in the cabin of the relations of the bride: the newly married couple were ſerved ſeparately from the reſt, and they eat out of the ſame diſh. The repaſt being finiſhed, the bridegroom preſented tobacco to the relations of his wife, and then to his own, and after the company had ſmoked, they retired. The new-married couple remained together until the morning, when the huſband conducted his wife to her father-in-law, in whoſe cabin ſhe lodged until the family had built them a new cabin. During the time of its conſtruction he paſſed the whole day in the chace, to ſupply food to thoſe employed on it.

The laws of the Natchez permitted them to have as many wives as they choſe: thoſe, however, of the lower orders ſeldom had more than one or two. The chiefs had a plurality of wives, becauſe having the privilege of getting their lands cultivated by the people, without any payment, the number of their wives was not burdenſome.

The marriage of theſe chiefs was performed with leſs ceremony than that of the lower claſs; they were ſatisfied with ſending for the father of the girl of whom they had made choice, and declaring to him that they placed her in the rank of their wives. The marriage was then concluded, and they made a preſent to the father and mother. Although they had ſeveral wives, they kept only one or two at a time in their cabin; the others remained with their parents, where they had acceſs to them when they thought proper.

There are certain ſeaſons of the moon, when the ſavages do not viſit their wives. Jealouſy enters ſo faintly into their breaſts, that many find no difficulty in lending their wives to their friends. This indifference in the conjugal union ariſes from the liberty which they have of changing when they pleaſe, provided their wives have had no children by them; for if there are any born in the marriage, nothing but death can ſeparate them.

When this nation formed a detachment for war, the chief of the party planted two poles painted red, adorned with red feathers from top to bottom, and with arrows and clubs. They who wiſhed to engage in the party, after having decked and painted themſelves with various colours, came to harangue the chief of war. This harangue, which they delivered one after the other, and which laſted nearly half an hour, conſiſted in a thouſand proteſtations of ſervice, by which they aſſured him that they wiſhed for no greater happineſs than to die with him. That they were ſatisfied to learn, under ſo expert a warrior, the art of ſcalping, and that they feared neither the hunger nor fatigues to which they ſhould be expoſed.

On a ſufficient number of warriors

riors having preſented themſelves to the war chief, he cauſed to be prepared in his cabin a drink which was called the medicine of war. This was a vomitive, compoſed of a root boiled in kettles full of water. The warriors, ſometimes to the number of three hundred men, having ſeated themſelves around the kettle, to each was ſerved about a gallon; the ceremony was to ſwallow it at one draught, and to render it again by the mouth with efforts ſo violent, that they might have been heard at a great diſtance. After this ceremony the chief of war fixed the day for their departure, that each might make a proviſion neceſſary for the campaign. During this time, the warriors appeared every morning and evening in the place of arms, where after having danced, and recounted in detail the brilliant actions in which their bravery had been diſplayed, they ſung their ſongs of death.

To have beheld the exceſſive joy which they ſhewed on their departure, it might have been conceived that they had already ſignalized their valour by ſome great victory; but very little is neceſſary to diſconcert the projects of ſavages. They are ſo ſuperſtitious with regard to dreams, that nothing more is wanted than one of unfavourable omen to ſtop the execution of their enterpriſe, and oblige them to return when they are on a march.

It often happens that parties who have gone through all the ceremonies which have been mentioned, break off ſuddenly from their voyage, becauſe they have heard a dog bark in an extraordinary manner: their ardour for glory is then converted into fear.

In their war expeditions, they march always in files; four or five of their beſt walkers take the lead, and advance about a quarter of a league before the army, to obſerve, and give notice of any thing they ſee. They encamp every evening an hour before ſunſet, and laying themſelves around a great fire, each places his arms near him. Before encamping, they take care to ſend twenty or more warriors half a league round the environs of the camp to avoid all ſurpriſe. They never place a centinel during the night; but as ſoon as they have ſupped, they extinguiſh the fire. The chiefs of war recommend to them on the evening not to deliver themſelves up to a profound ſleep, and always to have their arms in readineſs. A rendezvous is always previouſly ſettled, in caſe they ſhould be attacked in the night, and diſperſed.

As the chiefs of the Natchez always carried with them their idols, or what they termed their ſpirits, well wrapped up in a hide; they ſuſpended them on the evening to a ſmall rod painted red, and planted in a ſloping direction, ſo that it might incline towards the ſide of the enemy. The warriors, before they laid themſelves down to reſt, paſſed with the war club in their hand, one after the other, dancing before theſe pretended ſpirits, and denouncing great vengeance towards the quarter where they ſuppoſed their enemies to be encamped.

When the war party was numerous, and when it entered upon the territory of the enemy, the ſavages marched

marched in five or six columns, and sent out several spies to reconnoitre. If they perceived that their march was discovered, they usually adopted the resolution of returning, and detached a small body of ten or twelve men, who separated, with the hope of surprising some detached hunters of the enemy. On their return they sung and recounted the number of scalps which they had taken off. If they made any prisoners, they obliged them to sing and dance for several successive days before the temple, after which they were presented to the relations of those who had been slain in the war. During this ceremony the relations melted into tears, and dried them with the scalps which had been brought home: they then settled the recompence for the warriors who had brought these slaves, whose lot it was to be burnt.

The Natchez, as well as all the other nations of Louisiana, distinguished by particular names those who had killed more or less of the enemy. These names were conferred by the ancient chiefs, according to the merits of the warriors. To deserve the title of Great Slayer of Men, it was required that the person should have made ten prisoners, or have carried off twenty scalps. In their language, the name of the warrior announced all his exploits. They who for the first time carried off a scalp, or made a slave, did not, on their return, cohabit with their wives, or eat any meat; they only lived on fish and corn. This abstinence lasted for six months. If they failed in its observance, they imagined that the ghost of him whom they had slain would cause them to die by sorcery; that they should never gain any advantage over an enemy, and that the slightest wound which they should receive would prove mortal.

They took great care that the grand chief should not be in danger of losing his life when he went to war. If his courage led him to expose himself, and if he fell in battle, the chiefs of the party, and the other principal warriors were put to death on their return: but these executions were almost without example, by the precautions which they took to preserve him from this misfortune.

The Natchez had, like the other savages, their doctors, or jugglers; these were generally old men, who, without study, and without any science, undertook to cure every species of malady: for this end they made use neither of simples nor drugs; their art consisted wholly in various ceremonies and deceptions: they danced and sung by night or by day around the sick person, and they smoked incessantly, swallowing the fumes of the tobacco. These jugglers did not eat during the whole time they were engaged in the cure of their patients. Their songs and dances were accompanied by such violent contorsions, that although they were naked, and ought to have suffered from cold, their mouth was always foaming. They had a small basket, in which they kept what they called their spirits or *manitous*; these consisted of small roots of different kinds, of heads of owls, of small packets of deer's hair, some teeth of animals, small pebbles, and other similar trifles.

It appeared, that to restore health to their sick they incessantly

invoked the contents of their baſket. Some had a certain root, which by its odour renders ſnakes torpid and harmleſs. After having rubbed the hands and body with this root, they held theſe animals without being afraid of their bite, which is mortal. Others cut with a flint the afflicted part of the patient, and then ſucked out all the blood they could draw from the wound, which they immediately put into a diſh, ſpitting out at the ſame time a ſmall piece of wood, of ſtraw, or of leather, which they had concealed under their tongue; and, calling the attention of the relations of the ſick, they ſaid, behold the cauſe of the diſeaſe. Theſe doctors always inſiſted on being paid in advance. If the diſeaſed was recovered, their gains were conſiderable: but if he died, they were certain of being put to death by the friends or relations of the deceaſed. A ceremony in the obſervance of which they never failed, and the parents or relations of the quacks made no oppoſition to it, nor teſtified any mortification or concern.

There were ſome jugglers who even undertook to procure rain or fine weather: theſe were uſually old or indolent perſons, who unwilling to ſubmit to the fatigues of the chace, of fiſhing, or of cultivating land, exerciſed this dangerous profeſſion in order to maintain their family. Towards the ſpring, the people bought of theſe jugglers favourable weather for the productions of the earth. If the harveſt was abundant, they reaped conſiderable gain; but if it was bad, vengeance was taken, and their heads were broken. Thoſe who engaged in this profeſſion thus riſked all for all. Their mode of life was extremely inactive; they had no other trouble but to faſt, and to dance with a reed in their mouth, full of water, and pierced like a watering-pan: with this they ſpouted water into the air, in the direction of the thickeſt clouds: they held in one hand the chichicoua, and in the other their ſpirits, which they preſented to the clouds, ſending forth the moſt frightful cries, to cauſe them to burſt upon their fields. If fine weather was demanded, they made no uſe of their reeds, but they aſcended the tops of their cabins, and with the arm made a ſignal to the clouds, blowing with all their force, not to ſtop upon their lands, but to paſs beyond them. When the cloud diſperſed as they wiſhed, they danced and ſung around their ſpirits, which they depoſited on a kind of pillow; they redoubled their faſt, and when the cloud was paſt they ſwallowed fumes of tobacco, and preſented their pipes to heaven.

Although little favour or reſpect was ſhewn to theſe jugglers when they obtained not what was wiſhed, the profit however was ſo great, when by chance they ſeemed to ſucceed, that a conſiderable number of ſavages feared not to incur the riſk. They who undertook to procure rain, never engaged to bring fine weather. Another ſpecies of jugglers had this privilege; and when the reaſon was aſked of them, they confidently replied that their ſpirits could not beſtow both.

When one of the ſavages died, his relations aſſembled to deplore his

his death for a whole day; they afterwards covered the body with the beſt cloaths of the deceaſed; they painted his face and hair, which they adorned with the fineſt plumage, and afterwards conveyed him to the grave which was prepared for him, and in which they placed at his ſide his arms, or kettle and proviſions. During the ſpace of a month his relations came, at the dawn of day, and at ſun-ſet to his grave, where they poured forth lamentations for the ſpace of half an hour: every one named his degree of kindred. If it was the father of a family, the wife exclaimed, "My dear huſband, how much do I regret your loſs:" the children cried, "My dear father:" the others, "My uncle, my couſin," &c. They who were related in the neareſt degree, continued this ceremony during three months: they cut off their hair in token of mourning; they ceaſed to paint their bodies, and attended no aſſembly of rejoicing.

When ſome foreign nation came to treat of peace with the Natchez, they ſent couriers to give advice of the day and hour of the arrival of their ambaſſadors. The grand chief then gave orders to the maſters of the ceremonies to make the neceſſary preparations for this great occaſion. They began by naming thoſe who were to entertain each day the ſtrangers, for the chief never incurred this expence. They cleaned the roads; the cabins were ſwept; benches were arranged in a large hall which was on the riſing ground, and beſide the cabin of the grand chief. His ſeat, which was elevated above the reſt, was adorned with feathers, and painted; the ground was covered with large mats.

On the day on which the ambaſſadors were to make their entry, all the nation aſſembled. The maſters of the ceremony arranged the princes, the chiefs of the villages, and the ancient chiefs of family, near the grand chief, upon benches allotted for them. When the ambaſſadors arrived within the diſtance of five hundred yards from the grand chief, they ſtopped, and ſung the ſong of peace. The embaſſy conſiſted uſually of thirty men and ſix women. Six of the beſt proportioned, and having the ſtrongeſt voices, marched in front; they were followed by the reſt, who likewiſe ſung, regulating the cadence by the chichicoua.

When the chief deſired them to approach, they immediately advanced; they who had calumets ſung and danced with much agility, turning around each other, and ſometimes preſenting themſelves in front, but always with violent movements, and extraordinary contorſions. When they entered into the circle, they danced around the ſeat on which the chief was placed; they rubbed him with their calumets from the feet to the head, afterwards moving backwards until they rejoined thoſe of their ſuite. They then filled one of their calumets with tobacco, and holding fire in one hand and the pipe in the other, they advanced together towards the grand chief, and gave him the pipe to ſmoke: they puſhed the firſt mouthful to the ſky, the ſecond to the earth, and the others towards the horizon; after which they preſented, without ceremony, the pipe to the princes and the other chiefs.

The ambaſſadors, in token of alliance, came to rub their hands on the ſtomach of the chief, rubbing at the ſame time the whole of their own bodies, and placed their calumets before him on ſmall forks ſtuck in the ground. The ambaſſador who was particularly charged with the inſtructions of his nation, delivered an harangue of an hour in length. When he had finiſhed, a ſignal was made for the ſtrangers to be ſeated on benches, arranged near the chief, who anſwered them by a ſpeech of equal length. The maſter of the ceremony then lighted the great pipe of peace, and gave the ſtrangers to ſmoke, who ſwallowed the fumes of the tobacco; they were afterwards conducted to the cabin ſet apart for them, where they were regaled.

In the evening at ſun-ſet, the ambaſſadors with the pipe in their hand came ſinging, in ſearch of the grand chief, and taking him upon their ſhoulders tranſported him to the place where their cabin ſtood. They ſpread upon the ground a large ſkin, on which they invited him to ſit. One of them poſted himſelf behind, and placing his hands on the ſhoulders of the chief, agitated his whole body, whilſt the reſt, ſitting around on the earth, ſung their warlike exploits. After this part of the ceremony, which was performed morning and evening during four days, the grand chief returned to his cabin. When he paid the laſt viſit to the ambaſſadors, they planted a poſt, at the foot of which they ſat. The warriors of the nation, arrayed in their beſt dreſs, danced around the poſt, ſtriking it at intervals, and recounting one after another their deeds of valour. They then made to the ambaſſadors preſents, conſiſting of kettles, hatchets, fuſils, powder and lead ſhot.

The day following this laſt exhibition, it was permitted to the ambaſſadors to walk through the village, an indulgence which was not before granted: they were every night entertained with dancing: the men and women in their beſt attire aſſembled in the ſquare, and danced until late in the night. When they were ready to return, the maſters of ceremony ſupplied them with the neceſſary proviſions for the journey.

NATURAL HISTORY.

Account of the Clock Makers' Salt-Works in the Iſland of Goza.

(From Boisgelin's Ancient and Modern Malta.)

PORT Miggiaro Salt Works, called the Clock Makers'. Theſe ſalt works are ſituated to the weſt of the mountain Zebuccio or Zebug, at the fartheſt part of a valley leading to the ſea. The entrance is through a long range of rocks gently declining towards the ſhore, and within forty feet of the level of the water, when they become on a ſudden entirely perpendicular. The making theſe ſalt works was the cauſe of a phenomenon too remarkable to be paſſed over in ſilence.

Forty years ſince, a Malteſe clock-maker, who owned the above-mentioned rocks, formed a plan of making ſalt-works by digging a reſervoir, and letting in the ſea-water. He flattered himſelf that the heat of the ſun would cauſe the water to evaporate, leaving behind it a ſufficient quantity of ſalt not only to indemnify him for the expence he had been at, but to enrich him conſiderably. The difficulty was to facilitate the entrance of the water, it being forty or fifty feet below the reſervoir made in the rock. After a variety of attempts, he at laſt diſcovered that there was a grotto under the rock, which communicated with the ſea; he therefore immediately pierced the rock in a perpendicular direction, and made an aperture like the mouth of a well. This plan ſucceeded extremely well; and he was delighted to find that the water in the reſervoir diminiſhed every day, which he attributed to the natural effect of the ſun: and he continued letting in as much water as poſſible, in hopes of increaſing the quantity of ſalt. But his ſurprize was beyond deſcription on perceiving that the water was not evaporated, but abſorbed by the ſpongy rock, from which, owing to filtration, it in time returned to the place from which it originally came. It was ſome time before he made this diſcovery, which at laſt was owing to his wiſhing to collect the ſalt he imagined to be contained in the reſervoir, at the bottom of which

the rock was entirely diſſolved by the acid of the ſalt, and nothing remained but a thick kind of mud. The grief he ſuffered from this diſappointment, threw him into a long and dangerous illneſs. On the approach of winter, the weather became windy and the ſea rough. One day in particular a terrible ſtorm aroſe, and the violence of the wind drove the raging waves into the grotto; where the body of water increaſing conſiderably, and being confined in this almoſt circular ſpot, acted with a rotatory motion, and formed a ſyphon or water ſpout. There being no paſſage but the well newly opened, it forced its way through with violence, and appeared like a beautiful wheatſheaf of water of ſo large a circumference as to fill up the whole mouth of the well; and riſing perfectly entire to the height of ſixty feet, formed a magnificent agrette. Its projectile force was ſo great, that the wind could not act upon it till it had reached the above-mentioned height; when it ſuddenly ſeparated, and the aqueous particles compoſing this immenſe body of water were diffuſed over the country on all ſides, to the extent of more than a mile. This violent rain of ſalt water deſtroyed all vegetation, and the cultivated fields, which before had been amply productive, appeared as if they had ſuffered from fire.

Before the opening of the upper part of the rock, ſuch an effect could not have been produced. The reſiſtance of the confined air, which then had no paſſage, would have prevented the waters from accumulating, and the wind from being ſhut up; conſequently, the air and the waves would have preſerved a juſt equilibrium; but the cavity in the rock letting out the air, deſtroyed this equilibrium, and the water collected in the grotto cauſed the above fatal event.

The inhabitants of the neighbourhood brought an action againſt the clock maker, and claimed damages to a great amount, but he died before the affair was decided. To prevent another misfortune of the ſame nature, they ſtopped up the mouth of the well with large ſtones. This operation occaſioned another phenomenon, as extraordinary as the former. A great quantity of air was confined by the waves in the bottom of the grotto, which being rarified, repulſed the water with ſuch violence as to cauſe the moſt terrible exploſions, which not only ſhook the rock, but the whole of the neighbourhood. The tremendous noiſe of theſe different exploſions reſounded through all the grottoes, and reſembled a diſcharge of artillery of all ſizes, quickly ſucceeding each other. Theſe ſounds being conſtantly echoed, had the effect of the moſt violent peals of thunder, particularly when different ſtorms met together. The terror was general; and conſtant apprehenſions were entertained that the rocks would be thrown down, under which this ſubterranean thunder never ceaſed to roar when the wind was high. This horrible noiſe ſtill continues whenever the well is filled up; but when the impetuous waves confined in the cavern have in ſome degree removed the ſtones at the bottom of the well, the water acts with the greateſt violence upon them, breaking them, reducing them to powder,

der, and driving them back into the ſea. The firſt ſtones being carried away, the others fall of courſe; and the well once cleared, the wheatſheaf of water forms again, and ſpreads deſolation through the adjacent parts. In the ſpace of twenty years, the well has been filled up three times, and the inhabitants are in conſtant dread of a freſh exploſion.

Account of the Fig Tree.

(From the ſame.)

I ſhall here add ſome particulars relative to one of the moſt valuable trees with which nature has enriched the warmer climates, and the propagation of which cannot be too much encouraged: I mean the fig-tree, which produces one of the mildeſt, moſt ſalutary, and agreeable fruits. Figs, when dried in the oven, furniſh, with a little barley bread, the principal ſuſtenance of the numerous and finely formed inhabitants of the iſlands of the Archipelago.

Though it is uſual to diſtinguiſh different ſpecies of fig-trees, the greateſt part of them can, in fact, only be conſidered as varieties. I ſhall here confine myſelf to treat only of the domeſtic fig-tree, and the wild fig-tree.

The former of theſe *(ficus ſativa)* is a tree of a middling height, branching and buſhy, but never very large, becauſe it throws out from the root a great number of ſhoots. The wood of it is of a whitiſh colour, ſoft and pithy. It is ſeldom uſed except by lockſmiths and armourers, becauſe, being ſpongy, it eaſily imbibes a great qnantity of oil and powder of emery, which they uſe to poliſh their work. The leaves of this tree are larger than thoſe of any other fruit tree; they are rough, and of a deep green colour. It is eſſential to prune the tree before the ſap is in motion; for when the branches are cut, a milky juice, with which they abound, exudes, and the loſs of this nutritious liquor neceſſarily enfeebles the tree. This milky juice is bitter, acrid, and ſo corroſive, that it will coagulate milk like rennet, diſſolve its curd-like vinegar, and when applied to the ſkin, penetrate it, and make indelible marks. By this quality, it frequently cures warts and other diſagreeable excreſcences.

The fig-tree, differing in this from other fruit trees, bears its fruit on the large branches. The figs grow at the origin of the leaves, without having been preceded by any apparent flower, which has occaſioned doubts whether the tree produces any. But the flowers are concealed within the fruit, on opening which, at a proper time, we may perceive in the inſide, round the crown of the fruit, the male flowers, which are ſtamina ſupported by ſmall ſtylets; and the female, which are ſituate near the pedicle. Theſe flowers are ſucceeded by ſmall hard ſeeds.

The fruit of the fig-tree is larger or ſmaller, more or leſs round, and varies in its colour, according to the different ſpecies of the tree on which it is produced; but it always approaches to the figure of a pear. When perfectly ripe, it is extremely ſoft and ſucculent. Naturaliſts have enumerated thirty varieties of the fig-tree; of which the two that ſuc-

ceed beſt in cultivation, are thoſe that bear the figs univerſally known by the name of the *round fig*, and the *long fig*. The latter bears more fruit; the former is the earlieſt; and both are excellent.

The fig-tree thrives beſt, in general, in light ſoils; but it alſo ſucceeds extremely well in ſtony grounds; and a good aſpect renders its fruit more ſweet and delicious. This tree is of a very delicate temperament, and cannot withſtand the froſt, except when covered with ſtraw, or ſheltered in a green-houſe.

The wild fig-tree (*caprificus*) reſembles, in all its parts, the domeſtic fig-tree, of which it appears to be, in ſome meaſure, only a variety; but it bears fruits that ſerve for *caprification*, of which the ancients have ſaid ſo much, but which many learned men have treated as fabulous, at leaſt uſeleſs operation.

This operation conſiſts in ſuſpending, in different parts of a domeſtic fig-tree, ſeveral wild figs ſtrung on a thread. The flies or gnats which iſſue from theſe, introduce themſelves into the umbilicus of the domeſtic figs, and by their punctures cauſe in them a fermentation which contributes to their ripening. A careful examination of the hiſtory of the wild fig has diveſted this operation of what is apparently wonderful in it, and demonſtrated its utility.

The wild fig-tree, or *caprificus*, known at Malta by the name of *tokar*, is the *ornos* of the iſles of the Archipelago. The three kinds of fruit which it bears in the courſe of the year, have names in the Malteſe language correſponding to thoſe given them by the Greeks. Thus the *tokarleonel* in Malteſe anſwers to the *fornites* of the Greeks, the *tokarlanos* to the *cratirites*, and the *tokartayept* to the *orni*. *Tokarleonel*, or *fornites*, are the figs of autumn, which appear in the month of Auguſt, and continue till November without ripening. In them are engendered ſmall worms, produced from eggs depoſited by a kind of gnats, which are only found in the neighbourhood of the wild fig-trees. Theſe worms are a ſpecies of very ſmall ichneumons, of a ſhining black colour. In the months of October, and November having become gnats, they puncture the ſecond fruits or *tokarlanos*, the *cratirites* of the Greeks, which do not appear till the end of September, and which may be called winter figs. The autumnal figs fall ſoon after the gnats have been produced, but the winter figs remain on the tree till the month of May following, and contain the eggs which have been depoſited by the gnats of the autumnal figs. In the month of May, the *tokartayept*, or *orni*, which may be called the ſpring figs, begin to appear. When they have attained a certain ſize, and their eye begins to open, they are pierced in that part by the gnats produced in the winter figs; though this is ſometimes not neceſſary for the gnats to introduce themſelves into the fig, as they are able to make a paſſage through the leaves that cloſe the umbilicus. This opening, made by the two teeth with which the heads of theſe little ichneumons are armed, afterwards cloſes, and the eye of the fig does not again open till three or four days before the gnats iſſue from the fruit. The ſkin of the wild fig is ſleek, ſmooth, and of a deep

deep green: no puncture of the inſects is diſcernible on the external ſurface. When near maturity they grow ſoft, and become yellowiſh. On opening them, we find their interior conſtruction ſimilar to that of the domeſtic fig, that is to ſay, the leaves are in the upper part, neareſt to the umbilicus, the ſtamina next, and then follow the ſeeds, which are a kind of kernels filled with ſmall grains, and which occupy the greateſt ſpace.

The wild figs, whatever may be their degree of maturity, have no ſweet and luſcious liquor; their inſide is always dry and farinaceous. When they are become nearly as large as nuts, the gnats make their entrance by the umbilicus, and depoſit in them their eggs; roving at firſt about the inſide. All thoſe which theſe inſects neglect to enter in this manner languiſh, their kernels will not grow, and at length they become dry and ſhrivelled, and fall off without ripening. Thoſe, on the contrary, that are fecundated by the puncture of the gnats, viſibly increaſe in ſize, and the ſeeds, which are larger than in the domeſtic fig, ſoon fill the whole inſide of the fruit.

Every kernel of the fig is the habitation of a gnat; and if the integument of the ſeed in which theſe inſects are incloſed be opened at a proper time, they will come out, and after having dried their wings in the ſun for a few minutes fly away. On examining theſe kernels before the fig is perfectly ripe, we diſcover on their ſurface, with the aid of a ſtrong magnifier, ſome ſmall brown ſpots, imperceptible to the naked eye; and after having detached the upper part with very fine ſciſſars, we perceive ſome *living particles*, that is to ſay, well formed *nymphs*. As ſoon as the ſmall worms are diſcloſed, they pierce the yet tender membrane of the ſeed, feed on the kernel it contains, and remain there as in a habitation very convenient for their metamorphoſis. Theſe worms are never found roving in the inſide of the figs, but after having thus lived a certain time under this form, they are metamorphoſed into gnats, having a longer auger in the hinder part of their bodies.

Theſe inſects, from their retired ſituation, and their extreme minuteneſs, it would ſeem muſt be exempt from enemies; they have, however, two which are very formidable to them. One is a ſmall ichneumon, of a cinnamon colour, with a very long auger; and the other an inſect with a ſcaly head and corſlet: its hinder part is formed like a tail annexed to the corſlet; and its head, which only adheres to the body by a very ſmall ligature, is armed with two teeth. Theſe likewiſe have their lodgment in the kernels of the fig, like the other gnats. The latter ſpecies does not appear to be intended to fly; it leaves the eye of the fig, without becoming a winged inſect.

This account of the wild fig-tree and the gnats which take up their abode in it, appears to be ſufficient. I ſhall now proceed to point out the ſpecies of domeſtic fig-trees, to the fructification of which the wild fig-tree is advantageous by caprification.

There are ſeven or eight different ſpecies of fig-trees at Malta, but caprification is only uſed for two of them.

The

The firſt gives two gatherings in the year, one in June, when the figs which do not ripen till the latter end of the month are ſucculent and larger than in France; the other in Auguſt, when the figs gathered during the whole courſe of the month are leſs delicate and ſmaller. The earlier ones do not require, like the latter, to be caprificated.

The ſecond ſpecies, the ſame with that which is ſo fruitful in the iſles of the Archipelago, bears only once a year: the figs are ſmall, of a whitiſh colour, and ſweet, without much taſte.

But whence ariſes the neceſſity of caprificating theſe two ſpecies of fig-trees more particularly than the others? It is certain that the tree of the firſt ſpecies which has produced a great quantity of large and ſucculent figs, is, ſo to ſpeak, exhauſted, and has not ſtrength to furniſh ſufficient nouriſhment to the ſecond figs, which begin to appear at the time when the firſt are ripe; conſequently theſe ſecond figs, not receiving the nutritious juice neceſſary to them, will fall before they are ripe; and this inconvenience can only be remedied by caprification. The introduction of the gnats cauſes a fermentation in them which accelerates their ripening, in the ſame manner as worm-eaten fruits always ripen before thoſe that are ſound. Hence the figs which would be two months before they would be ripe, will be fit to eat three weeks earlier; and when the time of their fall is arrived, the quantity will be much greater. Many individuals do not caprificate their ſecond figs, to avoid fatiguing their trees; for experience has ſhewn, that the crop of firſt figs is uſually bad in the year following caprification, becauſe the fig-tree has been forced to nouriſh too great a quantity of fruit in the ſame year.

Let us now examine what are the reaſons for the caprification of the ſecond ſpecies of figs. They are the ſame as in the former caſe, though the object of the operation is different. I have already mentioned the quantity of fruit which this tree bears: it is ſuch that frequently the branches cannot be ſeen on account of the figs with which they are loaded. When the caprification of this kind of fig-tree is neglected, a great quantity of the fruit falls before it ripens, becauſe the tree is overloaded with it. The difference of the produce of a caprificated tree from that of another which has not undergone this operation, is immenſe; ſince a fig-tree which would ſcarcely yield twenty-five pounds of figs that ſhould be ripe and proper for drying, will, in conſequence of this mode of treatment, produce more than two hundred and eighty pounds.

It is to be obſerved that the figs which are not caprificated artificially, but only by the accidental removal of the gnats from one fig-tree to another, are much preferable to the others; whence it is that the figs of Provence, where the practice of caprification is unknown, notwithſtanding the ſame ſpecies of fig-tree is cultivated there as at Malta and in the Levant, are much ſuperior to the dried figs of the Archipelago. It is alſo to be remarked that the heat of the ſun which is ſufficient to dry the figs that have not been caprificated, is not ſo for thoſe that have undergone

gone this operation. They muſt be dried in the oven, which gives them a diſagreeable taſte, but is neceſſary to deſtroy the inſects they contain.

Caprification by the ſuſpenſion of wild figs, though moſt in uſe, is not, however, the only method employed to haſten the maturity of figs. If by chance the peaſants of the Levant, who know with wonderful exactneſs the precious moment for caprification, ſuffer it to elapſe, they have recourſe to an expedient which frequently ſucceeds. It conſiſts in ſpreading over the domeſtic figs the flowers of a plant which they call *aſcolimbos* or *ſkolimos*, and in which are ſometimes found gnats that will pierce the figs; or perhaps the gnats of the wild figs ſeek their food in theſe flowers. This caprification, when it ſucceeds, completely ſupplies the place, in the effect it produces, of that which had been neglected.

Some perſons have alſo employed with ſucceſs another method for haſtening the maturity of figs without depriving them of any part of their good qualities, by putting with a pencil a little olive oil on the eye of the fig, or pricking it with an oiled feather or ſtraw.

This fruit, ſo ſalutary and uſeful, becauſe it makes a part of the food of the people among whom it is produced in abundance, becomes dangerous when it has not acquired a perfect maturity; which is known by its ſtill containing a milky liquor in its pedicle and ſkin. It then cauſes dyſenteries and fevers. Water is the liquor moſt proper to dilute the pulp of figs in the ſtomach, and to remedy a certain inconvenient viſcoſity of the ſaliva. As to dried figs, they are eſteemed pectoral and emollient.

It now only remains for me to refute an error too commonly received, *viz.* that the wild fig-tree is the male of the domeſtic fig-tree. Pontedera, who conceived this idea, ſuppoſes that the former furniſhes the farina, or duſt of the ſtamina, neceſſary to fecundate the fruits of the latter; and that the gnats are the bearers of this duſt, which they depoſit in the figs into which they introduce themſelves. But had he attentively conſidered the gnats when they firſt come out of the wild fig, he would have ſeen that they are, indeed, then covered with a white duſt, derived in part from the ſtamina through which they have made their way, and from the inſide of the fig, which is farinaceous; by continuing his obſervations, he would alſo have perceived that immediately on their leaving the fig they employ ſix or ſeven minutes in drying their wings in the ſun, and in diſengaging them from the duſt with which they are incumbered; and that when they take their flight, not the ſlighteſt veſtige of this duſt remains, but that they are of a ſhining black colour when they make their way into the domeſtic figs. This fact entirely ſubverts the principle on which this obſerver and his partiſans appear to have founded their ſyſtem of fecundation.

Account of Inſects that prey upon Timber. By the Rev. Wm. Kirby.

(From Hunter's Georgical Eſſays)

No part of the economy of this terreſtrial globe is more worthy of admiration, or furniſhes a wider field

field for inquiry, than the methods by which all that vaſt variety of ſubſtances, animal and vegetable, which are produced from the earth, are kept within their proper bounds, and when life is departed from them are reduced to duſt; ſo that a due harmony of parts is preſerved, the relative proportion of individuals accurately adjuſted to the wants and general good of the ſyſtem; and thoſe ſubſtances which have a tendency to deform or injure it, are in due time removed out of the way, and made to contribute under another form to its ſupport.

Not to mention man, and the various ſpecies of quadrupeds, birds, fiſhes, reptiles, and worms, which prey on animal and vegetable life; inſects, although very diminutive, are very powerful inſtruments in the hands of the great Diſpoſer of events, to promote, ſometimes indeed by partial evil, the good of the whole. To them it is given in charge not only to prey on living ſubſtances, but alſo to haſten the diſſolution and decompoſition of thoſe that are dying or dead. Of theſe none ſeem to have a more arduous taſk aſſigned them than thoſe whoſe office it is to bring on, or accelerate the decay of the giant inhabitants of the foreſt. Numerous ſpecies of inſects, and in various ways, labour in this department. Some attack living trees, others thoſe that are dead. Some depoſit their eggs in them, that when hatched, their larva may feed upon the wood; while others ſeek only a place well ſheltered from wet, cold, birds, or other inſects, for the habitation of their young. Again, ſome prey upon the ſoundeſt timber, while others make no attempt upon it till it begins to decay: but all contribute, in one way or other, to the ſame end; one taking up the office, where another reſigns: till that which from its bulk and ſolidity appeared calculated to laſt as long as the earth that gave it birth, by the ſucceſſive efforts of various kinds of inſects, is reduced in no very long time to its original duſt. So powerful are the effects produced by inſtruments which we too often overlook or deſpiſe.

To particularize ſome of the ſpecies employed in this work, and to point out what trees they attack either for food or to ſecure a ſheltered ſituation for their offspring, may not be unentertaining, or altogether uſeleſs. I ſhall therefore mention a few of the individuals of each of the Linnean claſſes, omitting Hemiptera and Neuroptera, of which I recollect no ſpecies that feed or nidificate in wood; reſerving the Coleoptera, which claſs ſends forth the moſt numerous bands of theſe minute pioneers of nature, to the laſt; and concluding the whole with a ſhort hiſtory of the Cerambyx violaceus of Linnæus.

Among the Lepidopterous inſects, the larva of the Phalæna Bombyx Coſſus is known to attain its great ſize by feeding upon the willow, and other kinds of wood when in a decaying ſtate. The ſame tree affords nouriſhment, as we learn from Mr. Lewin, to the ſphinx crabroniformis; as does the poplar to the ſphinx apiformis, and veſpiformis. The inſects of the hymenoptera claſs bring on the decay of ligneous ſubſtances in various ways. The neſts and cells of many of the genuine veſpæ are made

made of a kind of paper formed of the filaments of wood. I have often been highly amuſed by ſeeing the common waſp, which, though a miſchievous, is at the ſame time a very ingenious animal, employed in ſcraping gate-poſts with her ſtrong maxillæ, to collect materials for this purpoſe; a ſight which Réaumur informs us it was long before he could enjoy. The hornet frequently perforates hollow trunks to build her paper metropolis in a ſheltered ſituation. The leaf-cutter bees, of which there are ſeveral ſpecies, all confounded under the common name of A. centuncularis, in order to place their centunculi of curious conſtruction, in perfect ſecurity, make their way into the body of various trees. One ſpecies ſelects the willow for this purpoſe, another the oak or elm indifferently. Apis maxilloſa nidificates in poſts and rails. Apis violacea, as we learn from Réaumur, conſtructs curious cells for its young, of ſeveral ſtories, in the ſupports of eſpalier trees. Apis furcata makes ſimilar cells in decaying wood. Many other inſects of this claſs, particularly ſpheges, and illegitimate veſpæ, emerge from cylindrical holes in trees and poſts, in which they were nouriſhed in their larva ſtate.

Of dipterous inſects, the tipula pectinicornis, ſingular for the branching antennæ of the male, and many other ſpecies of that genus, in their larva ſtate, inhabit putreſcent wood: and a numerous army of the oniſcus aſellus, to name no other inſect in the aptera claſs, is generally to be met with in thoſe parts of decaying trees, under the bark, which are deſerted by other inſects; upon which, from its ſawduſt-like excrement, it appears to feed.

Having gone over the other claſſes, it remains that we mention the devourers of wood amongſt the coleoptera. Foremoſt in the ranks comes the gigantic lucanus cervus, whoſe larva feeds upon the decaying wood of the oak and the elm. In the latter is alſo found the lucanus inermis. The aſh affords nouriſhment both to lucanus parellelipipedus and L. cylindricus. (Scarabæus cylindricus of Linnæus, but ſurely a true lucanus.) The ſeveral ſpecies of the genus ips (boſtrichus fab.) feed upon timber between the bark and the wood, upon the ſurface of which they uſually trace in feeding, what Linnæus calls pinnated labryinths, in which a number of lateral lines, nearly parallel with each other, form right angles on each ſide, with a central one; and thus the bark is finally ſeparated from the wood. Moſt trees, I imagine, have a particular ſpecies of this genus aſſigned to them. Thus ips piniperdus attacks the fir; ips ſcolytus, the elm. Ips niger, ips gryſeus, ips rufeſcens, and, I believe, ips nebuloſus, undertake the barking of the aſh. Ips fuſcus, and probably more ſpecies, feed upon the oak. Even ſhrubs do not eſcape, for whyn or furze (ulex Europæus) is preyed upon by the minute ips rhododactylus, which I have frequently taken coming out of the larger ſticks of a dead whin fence in my own garden. Next to theſe come the ptini; ſeveral ſpecies of which are found in wood. I meet with ptinus teſſellatus in the willow, and I believe it will attack deal, or any ſoft wood. It is one of thoſe inſects that

that is called the death watch, from a certain ſound which it makes at regular intervals reſembling the clicking of a watch, which the vulgar ſuperſtitiouſly imagine forebodes the death of ſome perſon in the houſe in which it is heard. The ptinus pectinicornis alſo, and ptinus cylindricus, feed in the ſame tree. But of all the ſpecies of this genus, ptinus pertinax is the moſt miſchievous; any kind of wood that begins to have a tendency to decay it attacks without mercy. I ſpeak this from experience, having a chamber in my houſe, the floor of which is quite filled and perforated in every direction by this deſtructive little inſect; and my walnut-tree chairs it has nearly reduced to the ſame ſtate that Linnæus obſerves it has done his.

Amongſt the curculiones, the late ingenious Mr Curtis has informed us, that curculiones lapathi feeds upon the willow; curculiones lignarius preys upon the trunk of putrid elms; and curculiones atramentarius I have found, in all its ſtates, in old rails under bark. There is one inſect, which although not yet diſcovered in England, ought not to be paſſed over, as its hiſtory furniſhes a ſtriking proof how uſeful the ſtudy of natural hiſtory may be made, when applied to economics; the inſect I allude to is the cantharis navalis of Linnæus. Dr. Smith, the liberal poſſeſſor of the Linnæan treaſures, informs me, from the Iter Weſtrogothicum, that the oak timber in the royal dock-yards in Sweden being obſerved to have ſuffered conſiderable injury from ſome unknown animal, Linnæus was deſired by his Swediſh Majeſty to trace out the cauſe, and point out ſome remedy which might prevent the farther progreſs of ſo alarming an evil. Upon inquiry, he diſcovered that the miſchief was occaſioned by this cantharis, and he recommended that the timber ſhould be immerſed in water during the uſual time of this inſect's appearance. This advice was purſued, and the dock-yard timber received no farther injury.

We have ſo few ſpecies of the genus bupreſtis in England, and thoſe that we have are ſo ſeldom met with, that it is no wonder if the habitation of their larvæ is not commonly known; both De Geer and Geoffroy, however, are of opinion that they are inhabitants of wood. But the timber-merchant and the builder have no greater enemies than the genuine cerambyces, under which genus I would, with De Geer, include thoſe only which have reniform or lunar eyes, excluding curculiones curſor, lamed, meridianus, inquiſitor, &c. and taking in leptura alni, arcuati, arietis, myſtica, præuſta, &c. of Linnæus. Theſe inſects, as far at leaſt as we are acquainted with them, not only devour the ſurface of the wood that lies under the bark, but penetrate deep and in all directions into the ſolid timber. What havock muſt the larvæ of ſo large an inſect as cerambyx coryarius make in an oak tree! I have taken the pupa of cerambyx arcuatus out of the heart of a ſolid piece of the ſame timber, which had been perforated by that inſect in all directions. Once in the height of ſummer, when the mid-day ſun ſhone out warm, I was very much entertained with ſeeing ſeveral of theſe fine inſects fly down upon a pollard oak that had been

been felled, and the bark left upon it, and run all over it with great velocity, ſeeking, it is probable, a place proper for depoſiting their eggs.

Amongſt the cerambyces of this country, the ingenious Mr. Donovan, in his elegant work upon Britiſh inſects, has figured cerambycus violaceus, and informs us that it probably feeds upon the fir, but at the ſame time expreſſes a ſtrong ſuſpicion that this beautiful inſect is not originally Engliſh. How far this may be true it is not my intention to inquire; I ſhall only obſerve, that it is now become but too common, at leaſt in one ſpot, in the neighbourhood of London, as will appear from thoſe circumſtances of its hiſtory which I am going to relate.

My friend and relation, Mr. James Trimmer, of Old Brentford, an attentive obſerver of nature, more particularly of the economy and habits of inſects, and to whom I am indebted for much curious and intereſting information in this branch of ſcience, ſome time ago wrote to inform me that he had found this inſect in its three ſtates in fir-timber, and accompanied this intelligence with many ingenious remarks. Expecting him ſoon to viſit me at Barham, in my anſwer I requeſted him to bring with him ſome of its larvæ and pupæ, and alſo ſome pieces of the wood upon which they had been feeding; at the ſame time I deſired him to continue obſerving their motions. What follows relative to the hiſtory of this cerambyx is chiefly compiled from his communications, which I thought too intereſting to be loſt. The fir in which Mr. Trimmer firſt found this inſect was of Engliſh growth, of the ſpruce kind, which had not been felled many years, and had originally grown near the ſpot on which the building was erected, in which it was employed: it did not appear to have been attacked more than two years when Mr. Trimmer made his obſervation; and it ſuffered moſt in 1798, when the larvæ had multiplied ſo much, and been ſo extremely voracious, as to have left very little food for another year. Some Scotch fir, in an adjacent building, had alſo been attacked by them. Nor does this inſect ſo entirely confine itſelf to fir as never to attack any other kind of wood; for when the imago firſt came forth in conſiderable quantities, Mr. Trimmer took ſeveral, and placed them upon ſome pieces of fir which were under cover: but what ſeems remarkable, the inſects quitted theſe, and went and depoſited their eggs in ſome pieces of apple, pear, cherry, and plum, which had been ſelected for turning, and were piled up in the open air.

It is worthy of obſervation, that this deſtructive little animal attacks only ſuch timber as has not been ſtripped of its bark; a circumſtance which ought to be known and attended to by all perſons who have any concern with this article; for the bark is a temptation, not only to the inſect in queſtion, but alſo to a numerous tribe both of this and other genera; and a great deal of the injury which is done to timber would be prevented, if other trees, beſides the oak, were barked as ſoon as they were felled. The principal danger, however, ariſes from neglecting this precaution with reſpect to ſuch timber as is uſed

uſed in buildings, eſpecially in thoſe places that are acceſſible to inſects, for in this caſe it will not laſt out half its time.

But to proceed with our hiſtory: the female of this inſect is furniſhed with a flat, retractible tube, or rather aculeus, which ſhe inſerts, it ſhould ſeem, (for Mr. Trimmer was never ſo fortunate as to ſee this operation performed,) between the bark and the wood to the depth of about a quarter of an inch, and there ſhe depoſits her egg, ſince not more than one appears to be laid in one place. By ſtripping off the bark it is eaſy to trace the whole progreſs of the larva from the ſpot where it was newly hatched, to that where it attained its full ſize. At firſt it proceeds onwards, but in a ſerpentine direction, filling the ſpace which it leaves behind with its excrement, reſembling ſaw-duſt, and ſo ſtopping all ingreſs to enemies without; but when it has arrived at its utmoſt dimenſions, it does not confine itſelf to one direction, but works in a kind of labyrinth, eating backwards and forwards, which gives the wood under the bark a very irregular ſurface; by this means its paths are of conſiderable width. Its attacks are not confined to the ſolid timber, but in its progreſs it eats away an equal portion of the bark. The bed of thoſe paths where it has been at work, exhibits, when cloſely examined, a curious appearance, occaſioned by the eroſions of its maxillæ, which excavate an infinity of little ramified channels. When the inſect is about to aſſume the pupa, it bores down obliquely into the ſolid wood, to the depth ſometimes of three inches, ſeldom if ever leſs than two. Theſe holes are nearly ſemi-cylindrical, expreſſing exactly the form of the grub. One would wonder how ſo ſmall, and ſeemingly ſo weak an animal, could have ſtrength to excavate ſo deep a mine: but when we ſee its maxillæ, our wonder ceaſes; theſe are large, thick, and ſolid ſections of a cone divided longitudinally, which, in the act of maſtication, apply to each other the whole of the interior plane ſurface, ſo that they grind the food of the inſect like a pair of mill-ſtones. Early in March all the larvæ, except ſome ſickly ones, were obſerved to have entered the wood in this manner; ſome began ſo ſoon as October. At the place in the bark oppoſite to this hole the imago gnaws its way out of its priſon, when it makes its appearance, which took place firſt on the 20th of May, and continued till about the 20th of June; it returns by the ſame paſſage which the larva had excavated previous to aſſuming the pupa. Mr. Trimmer thinks that theſe inſects fly only during the night, as in the day-time he always found them ſtanding upon the piece of wood from which they had been diſcloſed. The caſe is different with cerambyx arcuatus, which, as I obſerved before, flies at mid-day: but perhaps this circumſtance may depend much upon the ſtate of the atmoſphere, or the hour of the day: for many inſects have their certain hours for flying; a ſingular inſtance of which I had once an opportunity of witneſſing. In the beginning of July, 1793, about ten o'clock in the morning, as I was paſſing through a meadow, I was ſurpriſed with the appearance of

of what at firſt ſeemed to me to be myriads of flees flying about the hedges and trees; but upon taking ſome of them, they proved to be Scarabæus argenteus (melolontha argenthea fab.); upon my return through the ſame field, a little after noon, I was aſtoniſhed to find that of this infinite hoſt of inſects not a ſingle one was to be ſeen.

I have now communicated all the obſervations which Mr. Trimmer made with reſpect to the hiſtory of this inſect; theſe I hope will not be thought unworthy of the attention of the public, ſince they furniſh an uſeful leſſon in economics, and ſupply an additional proof of the utility of the ſtudy of Natural Hiſtory, and to what good purpoſes it may be directed.

Natural Hiſtory of the Land Salamander.

(By the Count de la Cepede.)

It would appear that the more remote the objects of human curioſity are, the more man delights in attributing to them wonderful qualities, or at leaſt in exaggerating thoſe, which beings ſeldom thoroughly known, in reality poſſeſs. The imagination, as one may ſay, from time to time, requires to be ſtimulated with wonders; man wiſhes to give full ſcope to his belief, and he thinks he does not enjoy it with ſufficient freedom when he ſubjects it to the laws of reaſon; he imagines that to uſe it he muſt carry it to the greateſt exceſs, and does not conſider himſelf as really maſter of it, unleſs when he capriciouſly refuſes it to truth, or grants it to accounts of the moſt chimerical beings. Man cannot exerciſe this empire of fantaſy but when the light of truth ſhines from a diſtance upon the objects of this arbitrary belief; but when ſpace, time, or their nature ſeparate them from us; and for this reaſon, among all claſſes of animals, there is perhaps none which has given riſe to more fables than that of lizards. We have ſeen properties as abſurd as imaginary aſcribed to ſeveral ſpecies of oviparous quadrupeds; but human imagination ſeems to have ſurpaſſed itſelf in the ſalamander, which has been thought to be endowed with the moſt marvellous qualities. Whilſt the hardeſt bodies cannot reſiſt the violence of fire, the world have endeavoured to make us believe that a ſmall lizard can not only withſtand the flames, but even extinguiſh them. As agreeable fables readily gain belief, every one has been eager to adopt that of a ſmall animal, ſo highly privileged, ſo ſuperior to the moſt powerful agent in nature, and which could furniſh ſo many objects of compariſon to poetry, ſo many pretty emblems to love, and ſo many brilliant devices to valour. The ancients believed this property of the ſalamander, wiſhing that its origin might be as ſurpriſing as its power; and being deſirous of realiſing the ingenious fictions of the poets, they have pretended that it owes its exiſtence to the pureſt of elements, which cannot conſume it, and they have called it the daughter of fire *, giving it however a body of ice.

* Conrad Geſner de quadrupedibus oviparis, de ſalamandra, p. 79.

The moderns have followed the ridiculous tales of the ancients, and as it is difficult to ſtop when one has paſſed the bounds of probability, ſome have gone ſo far as to think that the moſt violent fire could be extinguiſhed by the land ſalamander. Quacks ſold this ſmall lizard, affirming, that when thrown into the greateſt conflagration, it would check its progreſs. It was very neceſſary that philoſophers and naturaliſts ſhould take the trouble to prove, by facts, what reaſon alone might have demonſtrated; and it was not till after the light of ſcience was diffuſed abroad, that the world gave over believing in this wonderful property of the ſalamander.

This lizard, which is found in ſo many countries of the ancient world, and even in very high latitudes, has been, however, very little noticed, becauſe it is ſeldom ſeen out of its hole, and becauſe for a long time it has inſpired much terror. Even Ariſtotle ſpeaks of it as of an animal with which he was ſcarcely acquainted.

It is eaſy to diſtinguiſh this lizard from all others, by the particular conformation of its fore feet, which have only four toes, while thoſe behind have five. One of the largeſt of this ſpecies, preſerved in the king's cabinet, is ſeven inches five lines in length, from the end of the muzzle to the root of the tail, which is three inches eight lines. The ſkin does not appear to be covered with ſcales, but it is furniſhed with a number of excreſcences, like teats, containing a great many holes, ſeveral of which may be very plainly diſtinguiſhed by the naked eye, and through which a kind of milk oozes, that generally ſpreads itſelf in ſuch a manner as to form a tranſparent coat of varniſh above the ſkin of this oviparous quadruped, naturally dry.

The eyes of the ſalamander are placed in the upper part of the head, which is a little flatted; their orbit projects into the interior part of the palate, and is there almoſt ſurrounded by a row of very ſmall teeth, like thoſe in the jaw bones: theſe teeth eſtabliſh a near relation between lizards and fiſhes; many ſpecies of which have alſo ſeveral teeth placed in the bottom of the mouth.

The colour of this lizard is very dark; upon the belly it has a bluiſh caſt, intermixed with pretty large irregular yellow ſpots, which extend over the whole body, and even to the feet and eye-lids; ſome of theſe ſpots are beſprinkled with ſmall black ſpecks; and thoſe which are upon the back often touch, without interruption, and form two long yellow bands. From the figure of theſe ſpots, the ſalamander has got the name of *ſtellio*, as well as the green lizard, or real ſtellio; and the geckotte, or *lacerta mauritanica*. The colour of the land ſalamander muſt, however, be ſubject to vary; and it appears that ſome are found in the marſhy foreſts of Germany, which are quite black above and yellow below. To this variety we muſt refer the black ſalamander, found by Mr. Laurenti, in the Alps, which he conſidered as a diſtinct ſpecies, and which appeared to me to have too near a reſemblance to the common ſalamander to be ſeparated from it *.

* *Salamandra atra* Laurenti Specimen Medicum. Viennæ, 1768, p. 179.

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The tail, which is almoſt cylindrical, appears to be ſeparated into different diviſions, by circular rings compoſed of a very ſoft ſubſtance.

The land ſalamander has no ribs —neither have frogs, to which it has a great reſemblance in the general form of the anterior part of its body. When touched, it ſuddenly covers itſelf with that kind of coat of which we have ſpoken, and it can alſo very rapidly change its ſkin from a ſtate of humidity to a ſtate of dryneſs. The milk which iſſues from the ſmall holes in its ſurface is very acrid; when put upon the the tongue, one feels as it were a kind of ſcar at the part which it touches. This milk, which is conſidered as an excellent ſubſtance for taking off hair, has ſome reſemblance to that which diſtils from thoſe plants called eſula and euphorbium. When the ſalamander is cruſhed, or when it is only preſſed, it exhales a bad ſmell, which is peculiar to it.

Land ſalamanders are fond of cold damp places, thick ſhades, tufted woods, or high mountains, and the banks of ſtreams that run through meadows; they ſometimes retire in great numbers to hollow trees, hedges, and below old rotten-ſtumps; and they paſs the winter in places of high latitude, in a kind of burrows, where they are found collected, ſeveral of them joined and twiſted together. The ſalamander being deſtitute of claws, having only four toes on each of the fore feet, and no advantage of conformation making up its deficiencies, its manner of living muſt, as is indeed the caſe, be very different from that of other lizards. It walks very ſlowly; far from being able to climb trees with rapidity, it often appears to drag itſelf with great difficulty along the ſurface of the earth. It ſeldom goes far from the place of ſhelter which it has fixed on; it paſſes its life under the earth, often at the bottom of old walls during ſummer; it dreads the heat of the ſun, which would dry it, and it is common only when rain is about to fall, that it comes forth from its ſecret aſylum, as if by a kind of neceſſity, to bathe itſelf, and to imbibe an element to which it is analogous. Perhaps it finds then with greateſt facility thoſe inſects on which it feeds. It lives upon flies, beetles, ſnails, and earth worms; when it repoſes, it rolls up its body in ſeveral folds like ſerpents. It can remain ſome time in the water without danger, and it caſts a very thin pellicle of a greeniſh grey colour. Salamanders have even been kept more than ſix months in the water of a well, without giving them any food; care only was taken to change the water often.

It has been remarked, that every time a land ſalamander is plunged into the water, it attempts to raiſe its noſtrils above the ſurface, as if to ſeek for air, which is a new proof of the need that all oviparous quadrupeds to breathe, during the time they are not in a ſtate of torpor. The land ſalamander has apparently no ears, and in this it reſembles ſerpents. It has even been pretended that it does not hear, and on this account it has got the name of *ſourd*, in ſome provinces of France. This is very probable, as it has never been heard to utter any cry, and ſilence in general is coupled with deafneſs.

Having then perhaps one ſenſe leſs than other animals, and being deprived of the faculty of communicating its ſenſations to thoſe of the ſame ſpecies, even by imperfect ſounds, it muſt be reduced to a much inferior degree of inſtinct; it is therefore very ſtupid, and not bold as has been reported; it does not brave danger, as is pretended, but it does not perceive it.

Whatever geſtures one makes to frighten it, it always advances without turning aſide; however, as no animal is deprived of that ſentiment neceſſary for its preſervation, it ſuddenly compreſſes its ſkin, as is ſaid, when tormented, and ſpurts forth upon thoſe who attack it that corroſive milk which is under it. If beat, it begins to raiſe its tail; afterwards it becomes motionleſs, as if ſtunned by a kind of paralytic ſtroke, for we muſt not, with ſome naturaliſts, aſcribe to an animal ſo devoid of inſtinct, ſo much art and cunning as to counterfeit death. In ſhort, it is difficult to kill it; but when dipped in vinegar, or ſurrounded with ſalt reduced to powder, it expires in convulſions, as is the caſe with ſeveral other lizards and worms.

It ſeems one cannot allow a being a chimerical quality, without refuſing it at the ſame time a real property. The cold ſalamander has been conſidered as an animal endued with the miraculous power of reſiſting and even of extinguiſhing fire, but at the ſame time it has been debaſed as much as elevated by this ſingular property. It has been made the moſt fatal of animals; the ancients, and even Pliny, have devoted it to a kind of anathema, by affirming that its poiſon is the moſt dangerous of all. They have written, that infecting with its poiſon almoſt all the vegetables of a large country, it might cauſe the deſtruction of whole nations. The moderns alſo for a long time believed the ſalamander to be very poiſonous; they have ſaid that its bite is mortal, like that of the viper; they have ſought out and preſcribed remedies for it; but they have at length had recourſe to obſervations by which they ought to have begun. The famous Bacon wiſhed naturaliſts would endeavour to aſcertain the truth reſpecting the poiſon of the ſalamander. Geſner proved by experiments, that it did not bite, whatever means were uſed to iritate it, and Wurfbainus ſhewed that it might ſafely be touched, and that one might without danger drink the water of thoſe wells which it inhabited. Mr. de Maupertuis ſtudied alſo the nature of this lizard. In making reſearches to diſcover what might be its pretended poiſon, he demonſtrated experimentally, that fire acted upon the ſalamander in the ſame manner as upon all other animals. He remarked, that it was ſcarcely upon the fire, when it appeared to be covered with the drops of its milk, which, rarified by the heat, iſſued through all the pores of its ſkin, but in greater quantity from the head and dugs, and that it immediately became hard. It is needleſs to ſay, that this milk is not ſufficiently abundant to extinguiſh even the ſmalleſt fire.

Mr. de Maupertuis, in the courſe of his experiments, in vain irritated ſeveral ſalamanders, none of them ever opened its mouth; he was obliged to open it by force.

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As the teeth of this lizard are very ſmall, it was vey difficult to find an animal with a ſkin ſufficiently fine to be penetrated by them: he tried without ſucceſs to force them into the fleſh of a chicken ſtripped of its feathers; he in vain preſſed them againſt the ſkin, they were diſplaced, but they could not enter. He, however, made a ſalamander bite the thigh of a chicken, after he had taken off a ſmall part of the ſkin. He made ſalamanders newly caught, bite alſo the tongue and lips of a dog, as well as the tongue of a turkey, but none of theſe animals received the leaſt injury. Mr. de Maupertuis afterwards made a dog and a turkey ſwallow ſalamanders whole, or cut into pieces, and yet neither of them appeared to be ſenſible of the leaſt uneaſineſs.

Mr. Laurenti ſince made experiments with the ſame view; he forced grey lizards to ſwallow the milk proceeding from the ſalamander, and they died very ſuddenly. The milk, therefore, of the ſalamander taken internally, may hurt, and even be fatal to certain animals, eſpecially thoſe which are ſmall, but it does not appear to be hurtful to large animals.

It was long believed that the ſalamander was of no ſex, and that each individual had the power of engendering its like, as ſeveral ſpecies of worms. This is not the moſt abſurd fable, which has been imagined with reſpect to the ſalamander; but if the manner in which they come into the world is not ſo marvellous as has been written, it is remarkable in this, that it differs from that in which all other lizards are brought forth, as it is analogous to that in which the chalſide and the ſeps, as well as vipers, and ſeveral kinds of ſerpents are produced. On this account the ſalamander merits the attention of naturaliſts, much more than on the falſe and brilliant reputation which it has ſo long enjoyed. Mr. de Maupertuis, having opened ſome ſalamanders, found eggs in them, and at the ſame time ſome young perfectly formed; the eggs were divided into two long bunches like grapes, and the young were encloſed in two tranſparent bags; they were equally well formed as the old ones, and much more active. The ſalamander therefore brings forth young from an egg hatched in its belly, as the viper. But ſome have written, that, like the aquatic ſalamander, it lays elliptic eggs, from which are hatched young ſalamanders, under the form of tadpoles. We have often verified the firſt fact, which has been well known for ſome time, but we have not had an opportunity of proving the ſecond. It would be matter of ſome importance to aſcertain that the ſame quadruped produces its young in ſome meaſure two differ nt ways; that there are eggs, which the female lays, and others, the fœtus of which comes forth in the belly of the ſalamander, to remain afterwards encloſed with other fœtuſes in a kind of tranſparent membrane, until the moment in which it is brought into the world. Were this the caſe, it would be neceſſary to diſſect ſalamanders at different periods very near one another: from the time of their coupling until that when they bring forth their young; one might carefully trace the ſucceſſive increaſe of the young till they were perfectly formed, and compare

them with the growth of thoſe which are hatched from the egg, out of the mother's belly, &c. However this may be, the female ſalamander brings forth young perfectly formed, and her fecundity is very great; naturaliſts have long written, that ſhe has forty or fifty at one time, and Mr. de Maupertuis found 42 young ones in the body of a female ſalamander, and 54 in another.

The young ſalamanders are generally of a black colour, almoſt without ſpots, and this colour they preſerve ſometimes during their whole lives in certain countries, where they have been taken for a diſtinct ſpecies, as we have ſaid. Mr. Tumberg has given, in the memoirs of the Academy of Sweden, the deſcription of a lizard, which he calls the Japaneſe lizard, and which appears not to differ from our ſalamander, but in the arrangement of its colours. This animal is almoſt black, with ſeveral whitiſh and irregular ſpots, both on the upper part of the body, and below the paws; on the back there is a ſtripe of dirty white, which becomes narrower to the point of the tail. This whitiſh ſtripe is interſperſed with very ſmall ſpecks which form the diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic of our land ſalamander. We are of opinion, therefore, that we may conſider this Japaneſe lizard, deſcribed by Mr. Tumberg, as a variety of the ſpecies of our land ſalamander, modified a little, perhaps, by the climate of Japan. It is in the largeſt iſland of that empire, named Niphon, that this variety is found. It inhabits the mountains there and rocky places, which indicates that its nature is like that of our land ſalamander, and confirms our conjectures reſpecting the identity of the ſpecies of theſe two animals. The Japaneſe attribute to it the ſame properties with which the ſcinque has been long thought to be endowed, and which in Europe have been attributed alſo to the flat-tailed ſalamander; they conſider it as a powerful ſtimulant and a very active remedy, and on this account, in the neighbourhood of Jedo, a number of theſe Japaneſe ſalamanders may be ſeen dried, hanging from the ceiling of the ſhops.

USEFUL

USEFUL PROJECTS.

List of Patents for 1804.

JOHN Slater, of Huddersfield, in the county of York, ſurgeon; for his new invented improved method of manufacturing and fabricating of cables, ſhrouds, ſtays, and other articles for the rigging of ſhips, of materials never before uſed for that purpoſe. Dated January 19, 1804.

George Alderſon, of Carnaby Street, in the pariſh of Saint James, Weſtminſter, in the county of Middleſex, lead pipe manufacturer; for his new invented manufacture of metal pipes, the ſame being lead, lined with tin, in a manner and by a proceſs entirely new, to be uſed in all caſes to which lead pipes are applicable. Dated January 26, 1804.

Edward Thompſon, of Birmingham, in the county of Warwick, button and toy manufacturer; for an improved method of making pikes. Dated February 7, 1804.

Marcus Hymans, of Exeter Street, Covent Garden, in the county of Middleſex; for a compoſition for ſhaving, without the uſe of razor, ſoap, or water. Dated February 7, 1804.

William Hyde Wollaſton, of Buckingham Street, Fitzroy Square, in the county of Middleſex, gentleman; for an improvement in ſpectacles, by the application of concave convex glaſſes to them. Dated February 7, 1804.

Thomas Paſmore, of Doncaſter, in the county of York, machine maker; for an improved machine for chopping of ſtraw, and for ſplitting beans, cruſhing oats, and grinding malt and barley. Dated February 7, 1804.

Thomas Rowntree, of Great Surry-road, in the pariſh of Chriſt Church, in the county of Surry, engine maker; for a machine, on an improved conſtruction, for agitating and ſeparating certain mixtures. Dated March 25, 1804.

Joſiah Crane, and Richard March, of Barnſtaple, in the county of Devon, hoſiers; for a method of double ſeaming and uniting the inſides of ſtocking net-work, together, ſo as to conſolidate and make it one compact and elaſtic body, for cutting into any ſhape required, and converting into all

or any of the articles in hoſiery, or other garments or wearing apparel, to be worn double. Dated May 1, 1804.

Nathaniel Merriman, of Crutched Friars, in the city of London, tin manufacturer; for a ſtove, grate, or range, upon an improved conſtruction of which is likewiſe applicable to thoſe already in uſe, for the purpoſe of clearing away foul air from churches, chapels, and all other places of public reſort, as well as houſes, buildings, and rooms, of every deſcription. Dated May 8, 1804.

John Swift Saxelbye, of the town of Derby, in the county of Derby, white lead maker; for a method of making white lead different from the methods now practiſed or uſed, and without the aid of horſe litter, or tanner's bark, or either of them. Dated May 14, 1804.

Joſeph Mozely Elliot, of the pariſh of Saint Mary-le-bone, in the county of Middleſex, watch maker; for a method of making repeaters, or repeating watches and chronometers. Dated May 14, 1804.

Robert Browne, of the town and county of Nottingham, lace manufacturer; for a machine to affix or attach to horizontal work, or Vandyke knitting frames, for the purpoſe of manufacturing, by a more ſimple, neat, and expeditious method, lace or net work of various figures and qualities, with thread, ſilk, cotton, worſted, or other materials produced from animal, vegetable, or mineral ſubſtances. Dated May 14, 1804.

Thomas Dobbs, of King's Norton, in the county of Worceſter, chemiſt; for a new article of trade, which he denominates, *Albion metal*, and which he applies to the making of ciſterns, linings for ciſterns, coverings and gutters for buildings, boilers, vats, coffin furniture, worms for diſtillers, and ſuch other things as require to be made flexible, a wholeſome, or a cheap metallic ſubſtance. Dated May 14, 1804.

Joſhua Jowett, of High Holborn, in the county of Middleſex, ironmonger; for a fire guard ſtove. Dated May 18, 1804.

John Peter Barthelemy, of Marſhall Street, in the county of Middleſex, ſtay maker, and James Stoubridge, of Old Bond Street, in the ſaid county of Middleſex, hatter; for a ſhield or protection for the preſervation of the human body, againſt ſword, bayonet, or pike, as alſo being proof againſt a muſket-ball at a moderate diſtance. Dated May 18, 1804.

Joſeph Burrell, of Thetford, in the county of Norfolk, iron founder; for an improved threſhing machine. Dated May 18, 1804.

Frederick Albert Winſor, of Cheapſide, London, merchant; for an improved oven, ſtove, or apparatus for the purpoſe of extracting inflamable air, oil, pitch, tar, and acids, and reducing into coke and charcoal all kinds of fuel, and which is alſo applicable to various other uſeful purpoſes. Dated May 18, 1809.

George Simmonds, of ——; for a method of manufacturing hats, bonnets, and other uſeful articles of paper. Dated May 19, 1804.

Samuel Godwin, of Avoncliffe, near Bradford, in the county of Wilts, clothier; for improvements upon machines for carding, ſcribling,

ling, dreſſing, and bruſhing wool and woollen cloth. Dated May 30, 1804.

Samuel Lucas, of Sheffield, in the county of York, refiner; for a method of ſeparating the impurities from crude or caſt iron, without fuſing or melting it, and of rendering the ſame malleable, and proper for the ſeveral purpoſes for which forged or rolled iron is now uſed; and alſo by the ſame method of improving articles manufactured of caſt iron, and thereby rendering caſt or crude iron applicable to a variety of new and uſeful purpoſes. Dated May 20, 1804.

John Porter, of Lemonville, near Tanderagee, in the county of Armagh, in that part of the United Kingdom called Ireland, gentleman; for a lamp upon a new conſtruction. Dated May 30, 1804.

John Duncan, of Glaſgow, manufacturer; for an improved method or means of tambouring or raiſing of flowers, figures, or other ornaments upon muſlins, lawns, and other cottons, cloths, or ſtuffs, or of cloths or ſtuffs compoſed partly of ſilk, cotton, or woollen. Dated May 30, 1804.

John Heppenſtall, of Doncaſter, in the county of York, machine maker and engineer; for improvements in machinery or mill ſpinning, for the ſpinning of cotton, wool, ſilk, hemp, flax, ſubſtitutes for hemp and flax, and for the laying twiſting cord, linen, line, twine, and thread. Dated June 2, 1804.

Thomas Johnſon, late of Bradbury, but now of Stockport, in the county palatine of Cheſter, weaver; for a further addition and improvement to a new and improved method applicable to the dreſſing of cotton warp; and alſo a new and improved method, if and when the ſame ſhall be uſed for dreſſing linen, ſilk, or woollen warps. Dated June 2, 1804.

Arthur Woolf, of Wood Street, Spa Fields, in the county of Middleſex, engineer; for improvements in the conſtruction of ſteam engines. Dated June 7, 1804.

Timothy Bentley, of Lockwood, in the pariſh of Almondbury, in the county of York, common brewer; for a method of ſeaſoning new caſks, and purifying muſty ones, in a ſtyle far ſuperior to any other. Dated June 19, 1804.

Lyon Pyke, of No. 8, Colcheſter Street, in the county of Middleſex, pencil maker; for improvements on pencils, which he intends to denominate "*Pyke's patent improved pencils.*" Dated June 20, 1804.

Edward Martin, of Morriſton, in the county of Glamorgan, gentleman; for a method of making pig and caſt iron, of every deſcription, from iron ſtone, iron mine, and iron ore, and of remelting, preparing and refining of pig and caſt iron of every ſort, and for the making of ſuch pig and caſt into wrought or bar iron, by uſing raw ſtone, coal, and culm, to be worked in an entire new manner. Dated June 20, 1804.

William Hawkes, the younger, of Gateſhead, in the county of Durham, iron manufacturer; for ſundry improvements in conſtructing and making chains for the uſe of mines and other purpoſes. Dated July 20, 1804.

John Browne, of the town of Poole, in the county of Dorſet, merchant;

merchant; for improvements in the wheels of carriages, applicable alſo to windlaſſes, capſtans, and other uſeful purpoſes. Dated Auguſt 4, 1804.

William Pether, of the pariſh of Saint Michael, in the city of Briſtol; for certain methods on a new principle, either for preventing or curing ſmokey chimneys. Dated Auguſt 4, 1804.

William Warris, of Sheffield, in the county of York, optician; for an improvement in the mounting of glaſſes, commonly called Opera glaſſes. Dated Auguſt 4, 1804.

Edward Greaves, of Sheffield, in the county of York, razor manufacturer; for improvements on razors. Dated Auguſt 4, 1804.

Baker Chifney, of London, gentleman; for a compoſition to be uſed in waſhing, in order to render muſlins and linens beautifully white, and for other purpoſes. Dated September 14, 1804.

John Bywater, of the town and county of Nottingham; for an improved method of clothing and unclothing the ſails of windmills while in motion provided they are made after the Dutch manner, or as the generality of windmill ſails are conſtructed; by which the mill may be clothed, either in whole or in part, in an eaſy and expeditious manner, by a few revolutions of the ſails, whether they are going faſt or ſlow, leaving the ſurface ſmooth, even and regular in breadth, from top to bottom: and in like manner the cloth, or any part thereof, may be rolled or folded up to the whip at pleaſure, by machinery, ſimple and durable, that may be fixed up in a few days, at a comparatively eaſy expenſe, requiring very little alteration of any part of the mill, and is equally applicable to any old ſails on the common conſtruction, however warped or looſened, without the neceſſity of having new cloths. Dated September 14, 1804.

John Gregory Handcock, of Birmingham, in the county of Warwick, die engraver; for a method of forcing or working the bolts of preſſes or of engines; and for the purpoſe of cutting, preſſing, and ſqueezing of metals, horn, leather, paper, and other ſubſtances. Dated September 14, 1804.

Joſeph Huddart, of Highbury Terrace, in the pariſh of Iſlington, in the county of Middleſex, Eſq.; for a mode or art of manufacturing and ſpinning yarn, differing from any ſuch now in uſe. Dated September 21, 1804.

Michael Scarth, of Caſtle Eden, in the county of Durham, ſail-cloth manufacturer; for a method of manufacturing ſail-cloth, with ſingle or double thread warp, without ſtarch, or any ſubſtitute for ſtiffening, and without the double threads being twiſted together. Dated September 21, 1804.

Robert Raines, the younger, of the town and port of Hull, in the county of York, tanner and glue manufacturer; for a method of making and manufacturing of hard glue from tails, fins, and other parts of whale-fiſh. Dated November 22, 1804.

Henry Clayfield, of the city of Briſtol, wine merchant; for a method of finding out of certain proceſſes for ſeparating of the alkalies of potaſh and of ſoda from their ſulphates or combinations with ſulphur, as in ſoaper's black aſh, and

and other ſimilar compounds. Dated November 22, 1804.

James Sharpleſs, of the city of Bath, in the county of Somerſet, Eſq.; for certain combinations and arrangements of implements and mechanical powers, and certain principles and forms of tables uſeful for ſurveying. Dated November 24, 1804.

John Edwards, of Bow Street, in the county of Middleſex, currier and harneſs-maker; for improvements in fire places, calculated to ſave fuel, give a more general heat, and prevent chimnies from ſmoking. Dated December 4, 1804.

Mathew Gregſon, of Liverpool, upholder; for a method of cleaning feathers for beds, and hair, wool, down, and other the natural covering of birds and animals, from their animal oil, in the moſt perfect manner, and in ſuch a way as to render them more healthful, ſweet, and pleaſant for uſe. Dated December 4, 1804.

Stephen Paſquier, of Wilderneſs row, Charter-houſe Square, in the county of Middleſex, profeſſor of languages; for his new invented manufacture, ſyſtem, or method of writing, printing engraving, drawing, painting, ſtamping, working and uſing certain characters, figures, inſtruments, or machines, for facilitating correſpondence and other literary operations. Dated December 19, 1804.

William Everhard, baron von Doorneck, of Wells Street, in the county of Middleſex, for certain compoſitions formed by uniting an abſorbent or detergent earth with other ingredients, ſo as to render the ſame more effectual in waſhing or ſcowering, and for various purpoſes to which ſoaps, or detergent earths are now applied. Dated December 19, 1804.

Joſeph William Mayer, of Soho Square, in the county of Middleſex, Eſq.; for improvements upon bits of bridles. Dated December 19, 1804.

Samuel Guppy, of the city of Briſtol, merchant; for additions to and improvements on machines for cutting, heading and finiſhing nails, and the mode of working thereof. Dated December 19, 1804.

An Account of the Origin of Sliding Keels, and the Advantages reſulting from their Uſe.

(From Grant's Narrative of a Voyage of Diſcovery to New South Wales.)

The great utility of veſſels conſtructed with ſliding keels, having been fully proved in the Lady Nelſon, a veſſel of ſixty tons burthen, ſent on a voyage of diſcovery to New South Wales, I am induced to believe this ſhort account of the riſe, progreſs, and preſent ſtate of the invention itſelf, will not fail to give ſatisfaction to my readers, many of whom, though of the nautical profeſſion, may not be thoroughly acquainted with their conſtruction and uſe.

The ſliding keels is an improvement in ſhip-building, for which this country is (and all maritime Europe will hereafter probably be,) indebted to the ſkill and ingenuity of Captain John Schank, of the royal navy, formerly one of the commiſſioners of the Tranſport Board. This gentleman, during the

the American war, gave evident proofs of his talent for invention and reſource on the lakes of that continent, and any attempt on my part to write his eulogy would be ſuperfluous: ſuffice it to ſay, that he has always diſtinguiſhed himſelf as the diſintereſted friend of mankind, and a ſincere well-wiſher of his country.

It was in America, during the fatal conteſt betwixt the mother country and her colonies, that Captain Schank obtained the favour and patronage of his Grace the Duke of Northumberland, then Earl Percy, who was on ſervice there with his regiment. His Grace had ſo long ago as that period diſcovered a taſte for naval architecture, the knowledge of which he now poſſeſſes in an eminent degree. It was there in a converſation on the art of ſhip-building, betwixt his Grace and Captain Schank, that the idea of *ſliding keels* firſt ſuggeſted itſelf to the latter.

His Grace obſerving, that "if cutters were built much flatter, ſo as to go on the ſurface and not draw much water, they would ſail faſter, and might ſtill be enabled to carry as much ſail, and keep up to the wind, by having their keels deſcend to a greater depth; and that the flat ſide of the keel when preſented to the water would even make them able to ſpread more canvas, and hold the wind better, than on a conſtruction whereby they preſent only the circular ſurface of the body to the water." Captain Schank coincided in this opinion, and obſerved, that if this deep keel was made moveable, and to be ſcrewed upwards into a trunk or well formed within the veſſel, ſo as that on neceſſity they might draw little water, all theſe advantages might be obtained.

Captain Schank having maturely conſidered the principle thus ſuggeſted, was fully convinced of its uſe and practicability, and afterwards (viz. in 1774) ſolicited Lord Percy, then at Boſton in New England, to permit him to build a boat for his Lordſhip upon that conſtruction. He did ſo, and it was found to anſwer in every reſpect.

In 1789 he built a boat at Deptford with three ſliding keels, and in the following year the Trial cutter at Plymouth. Since that time Captain Schank has built a number of other veſſels on the ſame conſtruction, three of which are at this time in the ſervice of Government: theſe are, the Trial cutter before mentioned, the Cynthia ſloop of war, and the Lady Nelſon, the ſmalleſt of the three; of the ſucceſsful voyage to South Wales, in the laſt of which, the following ſheets contain the narration.

All theſe veſſels have proved the utility of this conſtruction. Other veſſels might be mentioned, built on the account of private perſons with the like conſtruction, which have been found to anſwer every uſeful purpoſe.

Having now given a brief account of the origin of the invention of ſliding keels, I ſhall lay before my nautical and other readers the advantages reſulting from their uſe; and this I am enabled to do from papers with which I have been favoured by Captain Schank himſelf.

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That gentleman has comprehended their advantages under the ſix following heads:—1. That veſſels thus conſtructed will ſail faſter, ſteer eaſier, and tack and wear quicker, and in leſs room: 2. They will carry more, and draw leſs water: 3. They will ride more eaſy at an anchor: 4. They will take the ground better: 5. In caſe of ſhipwreck, of ſpringing a leak, or of a fire, they are more ſafe and more likely to be ſaved: 6. And laſtly, that they will anſwer better as men of war, bombs, fire-ſhips, floating batteries, gun boats, gun batteaux, and flat-bottomed boats for landing troops.

1. With reſpect to veſſels ſo conſtructed ſailing faſter, he ſays; it has ever been his opinion, that a ſhip's ſailing faſt does not ſo much depend upon her being ſharp-built, as it does on her depth in the water; becauſe water is the leſs eaſy to divide the deeper it is; to aſcertain which, figures of different forms may be ſunk to greater or leſs depth. Such experiments have been made by him, and their reſults have determed his predilection of the ſliding keel.—Suppoſe a frigate drawing ſeventeen feet, and another alike in burthen drawing eleven; the laſt has a body of ſix feet leſs to divide, oppoſing only three, two, or one keel, as may be found neceſſary to make her hold a good wind; while the other has ſix feet depreſſed, or about one-third of her real ſize oppoſing the water: of courſe ſhe has a body of water to diſplace and force through equal to the difference of eleven feet to ſeventeen, and the deeper the ſtronger. North country built veſſels, or thoſe in the coal trade, are proofs of this obſervation. Theſe veſſels generally draw about one-third leſs water than other Engliſh veſſels; yet when employed as tranſports, they are found to ſail as faſt as any others; and when going before the wind, in ballaſt or half loaded, they frequently beat the King's ſhips. Now when theſe veſſels come cloſe hauled on a wind they drop to leeward, but had they ſliding keels it may be preſumed they would have the advantage of all others. The Dutch take little pains to make their trading veſſels ſail, yet when theſe are light they ſail faſt before the wind, and this by reaſon of their ſmall draught of water. That nation has likewiſe other flat veſſels; ſuch as pilot boats, yagers for carrying the firſt herrings to market, and pleaſure boats, all of which have lee-boards, by the help of which they ſail as faſt as moſt other veſſels in the Northern Seas. Veſſels with ſliding keels will ſteer better, be ſafer, and receive many advantages in conſequence of ſteering eaſy and with little helm. The uſe of the ſliding keels in ſteering is ſeen in every action of the ſhip's movement; by the ſliding keels the ſhip's courſe is kept in a more direct line, for the eaſier the ſhip ſteers the nearer ſhe goes on a given point, and the ſhip's hull, as well as the ſtern-poſt, rudder, maſts, rigging, and ſails are leſs ſtrained. In place of two, three or four men at the helm, the largeſt ſhip may be ſteered by one. This is a great advantage, for it is not uncommon that veſſels ſteer ill even in freſh breezes or light winds, ſo as not to be able when the wind is on their quarter to carry all their ſails, and thereby

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are neceſſitated to go one or two knots an hour ſlower. Through ſuch defect, and with ſuch a wind, they loſe in the twenty-four hours as many knots or double that number. This in the diſtance, beſides what may be loſt in longitude or latitude by an incorrect courſe. Hereby the loſs of the ſhip might be occaſioned; for even with a good obſervation the error of the longitude cannot be rectified. But if no obſervation ſhould happen to be taken, and the ſteerage be wild, the error may be great, and the ſhip in danger in making the land. But the worſt conſequence of a difficulty in ſteering is, what it is to be feared has too frequently happened, though rarely heard of, and that is the ſhip's broaching-to. This, though ſometimes the conſequence of wild or careleſs ſteerage, is more frequently occaſioned by ſtrong gales and high ſeas. Thus, for inſtance, a ſhip ſcudding before the wind, or quartering, having little ſail ſet, and that low, ſuch as a reefed fore-ſail, when between two ſeas, is almoſt becalmed, and therefore loſes her way: the next or following ſea raiſes her ſtern, her bow inclines downwards, the cutwater having a different direction from the intended courſe, the ſtern by this is lifted ſo high that the rudder has little or no power, it being almoſt out of water. In this ſituation, the ſhip preſſed on the lee-bow by the water having got on the weather quarter and the ſhip on the top of the ſea, ſhe flies with ſuch violence as to bring her head round; and then lying on the broadſide ſhe plunges with the greateſt velocity into a high or raging ſea, the water breaks into her, waſhing and carrying away every thing off the deck, frequently ſome of the crew; and it is to be feared by ſuch accidents veſſels themſelves go to the bottom, and are no more heard of. Now there is nothing more clear and certain, than that ſliding keels counteract theſe dreadful effects; for in a freſh breeze or light winds all poſſible ſail may be made without regard to the wind or on what maſt ſail is carried. The moment ſail is made, and the courſe ſhaped, the keels may be raiſed or lowered, until the ſhip is found to ſteer eaſy, and with little helm, by which means quick progreſs is made, a ſtraight or direct courſe, and an eaſy ſhip. To prevent the dreadful accident of the veſſel's broaching-to, no more need be done than to heave the main and fore keels cloſe up, and let down as much as is thought neceſſary of the after keel; and if enough of it is down, it is impoſſible that any ſhip can meet with this accident. How pleaſing muſt this reflection prove to the minds of every one on board; but more eſpecially to him, with whom the ſhip's ſafety and the lives of all on board are particularly intruſted, and whoſe memory may ſuffer from an accident, which neither his prudence could foreſee, nor his preſence of mind prevent; and of which, perhaps, he himſelf falls the unfortunate victim!

Veſſels having three or only two ſliding keels muſt tack quicker and in leſs room, becauſe the foremoſt keel and the after one have each an effect on them nearly equal to the rudder. Therefore when going about or working to windward in a narrow channel, river,

&c. where the veſſel has little room, they may venture to ſtand nearer the ſhore, being more certain of not miſſing ſtays. Thus, for inſtance, in tacking or going about, it has been experienced that to heave up the after-keel and let the fore-keel cloſe down, at the ſame time putting the helm a-lee, will make the veſſel come much faſter round than if ſhe was without ſliding keels. Indeed, in the latter caſe, the difference is ſo great, that it is as much as the men can do to work or attend the ſails, and in a freſh gale they can ſcarcely trim them in time. The next advantage from the fore-keel is, that being hove up as ſoon as the ſhip is right with her head to the wind, it remains ready to prevent what happens to moſt ſquare-rigged veſſels, her falling round off, and thereby loſing a deal of ground, time and tide: therefore the inſtant the ſails are full, and the veſſel has hauled off, and is falling off more, the fore-keel muſt be hove down which will ſtop her, and with the leaſt headway ſhe flies to as faſt as if coming about; and even muſt be prevented coming round by again raiſing the fore-keel a little up. Veſſels with this conſtruction wanting to wear are to heave up the fore-keel, and heave down the after-keel; and if it be requiſite to wear very quick the main-keel ſhould be hove up alſo; veſſels will then turn or come round as if upon a pivot, the rudder being uſed at the ſame time as in common caſes. The reaſon of this is plain; for the fore and main keels being up and the after-keel down, the latter acts as a rudder, and hinders reaching, the effect of it being not unlike what would be produced by a rope faſtened to the ſtern of a veſſel in the tide's way, which the moment her head is at liberty would ſwing round with her ſtern to the tide. In the ſame manner a veſſel drawing more water aft than forward, when ſhe takes the ground with her keel, turns her head round from the ſea or tide.

2. Veſſels conſtructed with ſliding keels will carry more freight, and draw leſs water. It is well known to every perſon converſant in naval architecture, that different conſtructions of veſſels cauſe a difference in the quantity carried. Veſſels ſharp fore and aft loſe a great deal of ſtowage, and ſome of them carry the floor ſo ſtraight and narrow the whole of their length, that by looking down into their holds the difference is eaſily diſcernible by the eye. For this reaſon it is impoſſible a true meaſurement can be made, ſo that, notwithſtanding all that has been written on the ſubject by mathematicians of different nations, no method will ever be diſcovered to aſcertain a true meaſurement of veſſels until they ſhall be built more alike. It has been obſerved that ſome veſſels of the ſame meaſurement would not take in near the quantity they meaſured, whilſt others took in more than theirs, and, moreover, carried it with eaſe. But if veſſels ſharp-built could be brought to hold their meaſurement they would not be able to carry it, owing to their ſharpneſs forward, which would cauſe them to pitch and ſhip water. This difference is conſtantly to be obſerved as proceeding from the veſſel's conſtruction. Sharp veſſels go down ſo faſt, that by the time they

they come to their bearings they are full, and frequently not near loaded; whereas thoſe of flat and long floors go down ſlowly, and having the quantity according to what they meaſure, have ſtill room for more, and are high out of the water. The improvements, therefore, which remain to be made in ſhip-building, muſt be tried on a long and flat floor; and by improvements herein, there is a promiſe of every advantage that can be derived from the uſe of ſhipping. On the plan of long and flat floors every thing can be obtained, except working to windward; and if ſliding keels anſwer the expectation hoped from them in that reſpect, the point is gained, and veſſels will in general hold more than they can carry; whereas at preſent the contrary is the caſe with ſharp-built veſſels.

That veſſels thus conſtructed will draw leſs water is demonſtrable, from the largeſt veſſel in the world to the Indian canoe. The collier, the coal lighter, corn barge, bean cod, all afford proofs that the flatter a veſſel is, the leſs water ſhe draws; becauſe the more ſpace a body covers on the ſurface of the water the leſs it will ſink in it.

3. Veſſels conſtructed in the manner herein deſcribed will be more eaſy at an anchor, by the ſame reaſon that they ſail faſter, carry more, and draw leſs water. In proof of this aſſertion the ſame inſtances may be adduced. The north country ſhipping, and Dutch fiſhing veſſels, ride at an anchor when no other veſſels can; and this becauſe they have long floors, are full fore and aft, riſe and fall eaſier, that is to ſay, do not pitch or plunge ſo violently as ſharp-built veſſels, but have a rolling motion when at anchor, which greatly leſſens their pitching and plunging. In conſequence, they do not ſtrain the cables or anchors, or the hull, ſo much as veſſels built on a ſharp conſtruction. It is a great advantage in navigation to be able to ride at anchor ſafely. Voyages may be undertaken with ſuch ſecurity, that durſt not be attempted in veſſels that do not ride well at anchor. One of the reaſons why Captain Cook gave a preference to a north country collier for his voyages of circumnavigation was, that they more nearly poſſeſſed all theſe qualities now mentioned.

4. Veſſels conſtructed in this manner will take the ground better, and ſit upright and eaſier than others. Flat-floored veſſels, not having a rank keel, when on the ground ſit ſo that every part of their bottom, from the forming of the entrance forward to the run abaft, bear equally on it; therefore, unleſs the ground be as perpendicular as their ſides, little danger can be apprehended. If the ſand or rock be the length of the ſhip's bottom, or whatever length it be, if nearly even or flat, ſo much of the veſſel's bottom will reſt on the ground, and ſhe will certainly not be ſtrained ſo much as if only a ſmall part of the middle of the veſſel touched; which muſt be the caſe with a ſharp-built veſſel. They who have ſeen veſſels take the ground muſt have obſerved, that ſharp-built veſſels, (in which number may be included the ſhips of war of all nations, the Dutch excepted) the inſtant they do ſo, heel in propor-

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tion as the water leaves them. Suppoſing a frigate in this ſituation, when the water is gone from her, the gun-wale would be little more than the height of a man from the ground, and the ſhip would lay along ſo much that no one could walk the deck. Thus ſituated the veſſel would ſtrain ſo much from the weight of her maſt, guns, rigging, &c. that ſhe would be ruined, even if ſhe were to get off. But if on the flowing of the tide it blows the leaſt wind, ſo that the neceſſary aſſiſtance cannot be given her in the act of righting, ſhe will be filled with water by the hatchway before it flows high enough to float her. Suppoſe a flat and ſharp veſſel in company, and both running aground in a ſea, the flat veſſel runs on or ſticks faſt, in either of which caſes ſhe ſits upright, but the ſharp veſſel heels in both. The heel the latter takes expoſes her to the ſea breaking upon her, and by that means either filling her or waſhing the crew off the deck: whereas the veſſel which ſits upright runs none of theſe riſks, and unleſs the bottom is beat out, the chance of ſaving crew, ſhip and cargo is greatly in favour of the flat-floored veſſel. This is ſo well known to ſeamen, that both Engliſh and Dutch flat-floored veſſels coming into harbours where the ground is even, no matter whether ſoft or hard ſo it be ſmooth, have run aground in the hardeſt gales rather than be at the trouble or riſk of bringing up: by this means they avoid the danger of breaking their cables and anchors, or running on board other veſſels. It is remembered that a fleet of tranſports, coming into Cork harbour for troops in a hard gale, did ſo, when a ſharp veſſel, through miſtake, following the example was nearly loſt.

5. In caſes of ſhipwreck, ſpringing a leak, or of fire, veſſels thus conſtructed are ſafer, and more likely to be ſaved. The reaſons laſt given explain the advantages ſuch veſſels have in caſe of ſhipwreck; however, it may be added, that the veſſels thus recommended would poſſeſs a ſuperior degree of ſecurity if built as nearly as can be ſolid; that is, all the frame of timber put ſo cloſe as to be caulked in the ſame manner as the plank on the outſide. And if the plank or ceiling of the inſide, were equally caulked, the veſſel by this means would be much ſtronger, and of courſe would bear more beating on the rocks, ſands, &c.: then if the rocks, &c. occaſion a leak, if this leak does not go through, it will be ſtopt in its progreſs by the caulking: but if it does go through, it will more readily be heard, and of courſe more eaſily come at to be ſtopt. If a rock is the cauſe of the damage, and it goes half way or two-thirds through and ſticks in the veſſel, it becomes a plug for the hole it makes; and if it drop out, even then it will not occaſion a leak. But if the veſſel be divided into many equal rooms or different holds *, ſuppoſing a hole to be ſo large that all the pumps in the ſhip, and twenty more, can-

* Captain Schank is here alluding to his recommendation of dividing the hold of veſſels by ſeparate bulkheads, ſufficiently ſecured againſt any communication of water from the one to the other, except by cocks in caſe of neceſſity.

not clear away the water that ruſhes in, it will then only come into that ſingle part or diviſion in which the leak happens to be, and will flow in no longer than till it is raiſed withinſide to the level of the ſea without. The veſſel would in this caſe be in no more danger than before, nor would the hull be loaded or depreſſed in the water. The difference of conſtruction prevents a flat veſſel from overſetting as ſoon as a ſharp veſſel; and her ſitting upright admits of her crew working and loading, or unloading her, as the circumſtances may require. Add to all this, that ineſtimable advantage which the one veſſel has over the other, of drawing ſo little water. By this the flat veſſel is enabled to ſail over thoſe very rocks on which the ſharp-built one will ſtrike; and admits of the former going into ſhallow water, where the violence of the ſea becomes leſs and leſs the nearer ſhe approaches the ſhore.

The reaſons given why veſſels built upon this conſtruction ſtand a better chance of being ſaved, in caſe of ſhipwreck, will in a great meaſure apply to the circumſtance of a ſhip ſpringing a leak at ſea, as the effect and appearance of the one correſpond with the other, though proceeding from different cauſes. In the former caſe you are ſuppoſed to be forced on the ſhore or rocks by the ſea, wind or tide, but in the latter to be in the ocean on your voyage at a great diſtance from land: your ſhip ſprings a leak which ſeriouſly alarms you; you ſee that you cannot pump out the water; your cocks in the bulk-heads being turned directly, ſhew in what part of the ſhip the leak is; you then try with all your pumps to empty this hold, diviſion, or room; not being able to pump it out, you try to get out of that part of the veſſel what is in it, and if you can only ſee the bottom of the ſhip you will ſee the leak, and it muſt be directly ſtopt. Whereas, in the preſent conſtruction of ſhips, the great inconvenience is, that the water may come from any other part of the ſhip, and the real ſituation of the leak remain undiſcovered. In the caſe now put, ſuppoſing the worſt, and that you cannot ſtop the leak, then putting into that part or diviſion of the ſhip ſuch things of your cargo as will not receive damage by the wet, and applying the pumps to the other parts, you proceed on your voyage with very little difference, as if no ſuch accident had happened. It may be further obſerved, that the more things you put into the damaged part or diviſion of the ſhip the better, as it will leſſen the quantity of water, and the weight of its motion in the rolling of the ſhip. As ſhips on this conſtruction will be more ſolid, it is a great chance if, in caſe of a ſhake in a plank or timber or a butt-end ſtarting, water will find its way more than a few inches; for every part of the plank, inſide and out, being cloſely joined together and caulked, it is impoſſible it ſhould, unleſs the leak or hole be directly through. The ſame obſervation may be made on a ſhot or ſhots ſtriking the ſhip betwixt wind and water, or even below the water-mark; whereas, according to the preſent conſtruction of veſſels, if a ſhot only ſplits or ſhatters the outſide

ſide plank, or goes through into the timber or ceiling, it occaſions a leak of a more dangerous nature, than if it went clear through the ſhip's ſide or bottom; becauſe in the one caſe the water running in can eaſily be diſcovered, and may be ſtopt from the inſide; but in the other, it may run in at the middle of the ſhip, and oozing fore or aft amongſt the timbers may make its appearance in quite a different place. As already mentioned, in veſſels built on this ſolid conſtruction, the ſhot ſticking in the ſhip would make a plug for its own hole; and the ſame obſervation will apply to accidents occaſioned by rocks, ſands, or other violence that ſhips meet with, by which leaks are generally occaſioned; and wherever a leak may happen to be, the new invented method of ſtopping leaks can be applied with more certainty of ſucceſs.

Veſſels divided according to this plan, having three, four, five, ſix or more holds, catching fire in any one of ſuch diviſions, have in the firſt inſtance the advantage of containing all the water thrown in by pumping, &c. in one hold or diviſion, and can have pipes or leathern hoſe below the water-line to communicate with the three wells. By applying all thoſe to the place on fire, which can be done inſtantly, no ſhip can burn below the water-line; ſo that all the water drawn or pumped will be applied to keep the fire from the upper works, rigging, &c.: and by this means the magazine can inſtantly be drowned, or any part of the ſhip where combuſtible matter is, can be filled with water. The crew then have every encouragement to ſtick by the veſſel, and endeavour to extinguiſh the fire: and if the veſſel be in company of other ſhips, each ſhip will come as near as poſſible to that which is in diſtreſs, and ſend boats, men and engines to her aſſiſtance. Whereas, according to the preſent conſtruction of veſſels, a man ſeeing a ſhip on fire, and knowing that ſhip to have powder on board, will not approach her for fear of her blowing up, and thereby involving his own ſhip in her fate. This was the caſe with his Majeſty's ſhip St. George, the ſurrounding veſſels not daring to render her any effectual aſſiſtance, from the apprehenſion of her magazine exploding; whereby, though every exertion was made to ſave her crew, numbers of them were either burnt, drowned or blown up.

6. And laſtly, that veſſels thus conſtructed will anſwer as men of war, bombs, fire-ſhips, floating batteries, gun boats, gun batteaux, and flat-bottomed boats for landing troops.

The advantage of the wells in filling the magazine with water has, in ſome meaſure, been already explained, yet it may not here be improper to mention, that a convenience of this kind has long been a favourite idea with, and the earneſt wiſh of the greateſt officers of the navy. The late ingenious Sir Charles Knowles and Captain Bentinck, with many others, had this object much at heart, but the oppoſition they met with and other views, prevented either of them from accompliſhing what they ſo much wiſhed. Captain Bentinck had formed plans not only for the magazine but for

every ſtore-room in the ſhip. The great difficulty with him was in placing the cocks; but had ſliding keels and theſe wells * been at that time invented, the ſpeedy and eaſy conveyance of the water would ſoon have been ſeen, and there is no doubt would have been applied as has been herein already propoſed. Almoſt every claſs of veſſels having the magazine either fore or aft, the foremoſt or aftermoſt well might be ſo connected with it as in time of action to keep every thing damp.

Such admirals, captains and lieutenants as have done the duty of maſter's-mate, know the trouble of the duty of the hold, and it is known to few others. In long cruizes or paſſages it is a deſirable object to keep the ſhip in her beſt ſailing trim; and this greatly depends on filling the empty caſks with ſalt water. This, from the great trouble attending it, is a duty which is generally put off as long as poſſible; ſometimes, indeed, ſo long, that the ſhip is by far too light to carry ſail; and a gale coming on in this ſituation occaſions much inconvenience. Then every exertion is uſed to fill up empty caſks; but as there is but one cock, and that only ſuited to fill the lower or middle tier, it takes up much time; and pumping or drawing water in bad weather is commonly found impracticable. But were ſhips built with ſliding keels, there would be no danger in having two or three cocks to each well, ſo that all the water neceſſary could be had in one hour. Water might alſo by the ſame means be let into a ciſtern wherein the hand-pump ſtands, and from thence be conveyed to any part of the ſhip, either to fill the caſks or waſh the decks; and by ſuch aſſiſtance all the decks in the ſhip would be waſhed at the ſame time. Another great convenience might be derived from the wells to men of war victualling for long voyages. In freſh water rivers all the caſks in the ſhip could be filled from them with the greateſt eaſe. Turtle, lobſters, oyſters, and other ſorts of fiſh uſually kept for any time in well veſſels, might in men of war be preſerved alive, by means of the wells, without the leaſt inconvenience to the veſſel.

The importance it is of that ſhips ſhould keep their ſtation in the line of battle is well known, both from recent inſtances, and from the hiſtory of ſea-fights in times paſt. As veſſels are now conſtructed, from the difference of their draught of water, and their varying height, ſome ſhips are more or leſs leewardly than others, and therefore do not all keep the line equally well. To obviate this inconvenience the French generally keep a point or two from the wind, the fleet keeping under way and under ſteerage, which frequently draws them a-head and to leeward, yet ſtill they form a good and well connected line. Great advantage too might be derived from this circumſtance in going on expeditions. It often happens that a commander in chief, with a fleet of men of war with

* The wells here ſpoken of are the grooves in which the ſliding keels move: and by which they are raiſed up or lowered down. They may have cocks let into them on either ſide.

troops

troops and ſtores under his command, brings-to at night to keep his fleet together, on account of ſome ſhips being more apt to go to leeward than others. He finds in the morning that they have ſhifted their ſituation as to him, and their reſpective ſituation with each other. This often produces much inconvenience: it may however be remedied, in a great meaſure, by the uſe of ſliding keels. For ſhould a commander in chief, on ſeeing a gale coming on, bring-to before night, fix on the ſail he intends to lay-to under (if poſſible) all night, order the helm to be put as intended for the night, the yards to be braced, backed or pointed to the wind, the keels to be hove down or up, and the ſignal to be made for the fleet to take up this drift, it is to be preſumed that in the courſe of the whole night there would not be the difference of three miles in a fleet of a hundred ſail or more, unleſs occaſioned by neglect, or through the wind ſhifting; whereas, according to the preſent mode of ſhip-building it ſeldom happens, even with men of war, that fleets and even the ſmalleſt ſquadrons are not ſeparated by lying-to in long winter nights. This we need not be ſurpriſed at when we take notice in the day of the difference between a frigate and a line of battle ſhip in the act of lying-to. In order more clearly to explain what is here ſaid with reſpect to keeping ſhips together when in fleets, and lying-to, or even ſtanding on a wind, it may be added, that by the uſe of the keels, though a veſſel or a number of veſſels ſhould be left behind, owing to their not being able to ſail as faſt as the King's ſhips, yet they may be prevented from falling to leeward: and, therefore, if in the morning it be found that any ſhips have fallen aſtern and are miſſing, there is a greater certainty of their coming up if waited for; or if a frigate be ſent after them, ſhe is ſurer of finding them. The Trial cutter, in which the experiment has been made, when brought-to, and all her keels up, will drive to leeward, leaving her wake over the weather-beam; but on the keels being hove down, ſhe proportionably leſſens her drift and fore-reaches; nay, if the helm be given, and all the keels hove down, ſhe will, from one knot or two, increaſe her motion to four or five; and ſo on in proportion, and according to circumſtances.

The ſituations of harbours in conſequence of points of land, tides, rocks, ſhoals, and ſands, being as various and as numerous as the harbours themſelves, the approach of ſhips to towns and forts which are to be attacked or bombarded are thereby often rendered both difficult and dangerous. In expeditions of this kind great impediments have been obſerved to have ariſen from the ſharpneſs of veſſels, and their great draught of water. The circumſtance of drawing much water prevents them from getting near the object of attack, and often occaſions, perhaps, the failure of an expedition, from their being obliged to wait for a full tide, which gives the enemy an opportunity of diſcovering the deſign, and taking meaſures accordingly. With regard to the ſharpneſs of veſſels, beſides the inconvenience of drawing more

water, they are ſubject likewiſe to another, from the aukward manner in which they take the ground. For ſuppoſing a ſharp-built veſſel to get near enough to the object of attack, and to be left in that ſituation by the tide, ſhe cannot throw her ſhells, becauſe ſhe will be lying almoſt on her broadſide. Being thus expoſed to the fire of the enemy, without ability to return it, it is more than probable that before the tide return ſhe will be taken, or the water flow into her before ſhe rights. But veſſels built flat and ſolid, as on the plan herein-before recommended, will not be equally liable to theſe inconveniences; the circumſtance of drawing leſs water will enable them to come nearer the object of attack, remain there longer, and withdraw eaſier from it; even ſhould ſuch veſſels be left by the tide, they might remain during the ebb, doing their duty equally as if afloat.

All the inconveniences now juſt before pointed out in the caſe of bombs, from ſuch veſſels being ſharp built, and having a great draught of water, apply with equal force to fire-ſhips. But ſome other advantages may be enumerated as derivable to fire-ſhips from ſliding keels, which could be of no uſe with reſpect to bombs. Such as when, in certain ſituations, opportunities occur by placing the keels, and making the ſails, that fire-ſhips may run on a direct point, and do the duty required amongſt ſhipping in a road or harbour, or againſt a town near the water; and it is to be preſumed, that with fire-ſhips thus conſtructed it is practicable not only to ſet fire (if no boom,) to a fleet in a harbour, but at the ſame time ſo effectually to deſtroy the harbour itſelf, as to prevent the ſhips that ſhould not be burnt from coming out, or any other ſhips of the line from going in.

Many of the reaſons given in the two laſt caſes againſt ſharp-built veſſels, and in favour of thoſe on a flat conſtruction with ſliding keels, apply to floating batteries, gun boats, gun batteaux and flat-bottomed boats for landing troops. If a floating battery is to be built, it ſhould be conſtructed ſuitable to the place and object it is intended for, whether it be to go to ſea, or to work up rivers; to run a certain diſtance before the wind, or be towed by boats to the place where they are to act. In either of theſe caſes a variation in the conſtruction would be required; but the moſt conſiderable part of the improvement would be in making ſeparate bulk-heads, which in batteries or boats the more numerous the better. For inſtance; ſuppoſe gun boats are attacking a veſſel or fort, or a great number of flat-bottomed boats landing men, if a large ſhot ſtrike any one of theſe boats and go through her, the boat muſt inevitably ſink, to the great alarm of the men in the other boats; but if theſe veſſels are built with bulk-heads, the water only can come into one or two places; and unleſs the ſhot goes in below the water-line at one end of the boat, ſhe will not ſink, nor will the men in the other boats know any more of a ſhot ſtriking her, than of a man being killed.

Thus much Captain Schank has delivered, reſpecting the advantages reſulting to veſſels conſtructed with

with ſliding keels, and applicable to ſhips in the ſervice of Government; the obſervations which follow, apply more particularly to trading veſſels, and the general improvement of navigation.

1. Veſſels thus conſtructed will anſwer better as coaſters of all kinds, and for the coal trade. The advantages which coaſters will derive from this conſtruction are many. It is certain that great numbers of them are loſt owing to their great draught of water; and it is alſo well known that their paſſages are frequently much lengthened, by their being obliged, when the wind is contrary, to run to leeward to get a good harbour or roadſted. In ſuch caſes, if they drew a few feet leſs water, they would go into many harbours, which they are now obliged to paſs. But the inconvenience does not reſt here, for even when they arrive at the intended port, they are, perhaps, often obliged to wait ſeveral days for a ſpring tide, which, when it comes, a gale of wind probably prevents them from taking advantage of, and getting in: and often the ſame time may be loſt in getting out of the harbour. Beſides loſs of time, and conſequent expences to the owners, great quarrels are ſometimes produced through the ſame cauſes, betwixt owners, captain and crews. All which would, in a great degree, be prevented, were theſe veſſels of a ſmaller draught of water. According to the plan herein recommended, veſſels of one hundred and twenty to one hundred and forty tons, would not draw when loaded above five feet and a half of water at moſt; and all other veſſels in the ſame proportion. They who are concerned in ſhipping, and know what water veſſels of ſuch burthen at preſent draw, muſt ſee with aſtoniſhment the advantage of this conſtruction; which would likewiſe prove more convenient, as ſuch veſſels would not require a pier to lie to, and are capable of being moored in any part of a harbour; and if the ground admit of it, carts, &c. might come alongſide, and load or unload them, which alſo would ſave a great expence.

2. Veſſels built on this conſtruction would anſwer in canals; where the canal is above four or five feet deep. Let us ſuppoſe the Duke of Bridgewater's canals, and all others now made, or to be made in the kingdom, to be equal to the depth of the Scotch canal betwixt Glaſgow and Carron, the locks to be from ſixty to ſeventy feet long or more, and from twenty to twenty-ſix or more wide; in ſuch a caſe, all the trade from any part of the inland country adjoining to the canals could load at any public place, town or village, where a manufactory was carried on; and proceed to the moſt diſtant parts of the known world without the aſſiſtance of any other craft. This idea is ſubmitted to the conſideration of all thoſe who are concerned in ſuch public undertakings.

3. Veſſels thus conſtructed would be exceedingly convenient to carry corn or mixed cargoes, part of which it is required to keep ſeparate. This is certainly a great convenience when it can be obtained without leſſening the tonnage, and bulk-heads will ſerve to ſeparate the cargo, let it be as oppoſite as iron and gunpowder. The

bulk-heads anſwer as ſeparate apartments, or like ſhifting boards, either for corn, ſalt, &c. There is, perhaps, nothing except maſts, which ſuch a veſſel will not anſwer for better than any other.

4. Veſſels built with ſliding keels have the advantage of all others in caſe of loſing the rudder. Although what has been ſaid reſpecting the effect of the fore and after keel, and the main or middle keel, are ſufficient to prove that veſſels with three ſliding keels can, in caſe of loſing the rudder, be inſtantly ſteered with the keels either on a tack, or working to windward; yet as experiments have been made, and the efficacy of the keels ſufficiently aſcertained, it will be neceſſary to refer to the certificate made by Lieutenant Malbon of the Trial cutter and his officers, to the Lords of the Admiralty; in addition to which, ſays Captain Schank, I can offer the teſtimony of the ingenious James Templer, Eſq. of Stove, in the county of Devon, who ſailed ſeveral leagues in the ſame veſſel, only uſing the keels. "I myſelf, (he further adds) on many occaſions, in the preſence of ſea officers of different ranks, ſteered and worked that veſſel in every manner poſſible, with the keels only: but a ſtill more flattering and more honourable proof remains, as this experiment was made in preſence of his Majeſty at Weymouth, who was pleaſed to condeſcend ſo far as to examine the conſtruction of the cutter, and to order her to ſail in company with him, when ſignals were ſettled, by which ſhe was to ſteer and work to windward, with the keels only; which was done, and his Majeſty ſignified his moſt gracious approbation."

5. Veſſels on this conſtruction will laſt longer than thoſe built according to the preſent mode. Long experience has diſcovered that nothing deſtroys timber ſo much as being ſometimes wet, at other times dry; ſometimes being expoſed to the air, and at other times air excluded from it. This is not the caſe with ſhips built according to the conſtruction which has been herein often, but it is hoped not inconſiderately, recommended. It is generally known that the bottom of a ſhip ſeldom rots in leſs than fifty or ſixty years; and ſome laſt even longer, though the upper works decay much ſooner. This may be imputed to the diſtance the timbers are from each other, or to the circumſtance of the ceiling not being caulked, which defects admit of a quick ſucceſſion of different ſorts of air, heat and cold, wetneſs and dryneſs: but according to the plan of making the ſhip more ſolid, theſe would, in a great meaſure, be excluded, and ſhips would laſt at leaſt one-third longer, if not double the time they do at preſent.

Notice on the Dutch Method of ſalting Herrings.

(From the Annales des Arts et Manufactures.)

The Dutch are acknowledged to underſtand the art of ſalting herrings better than any other European nation; therefore ſome account of their method of preſerving

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ing thoſe fiſh may not be deemed unacceptable.

As ſoon as the herrings are caught, the fiſhermen immediately proceed to pack them; preparatory to which they open the gills, and with the fore-finger and thumb, they pull out the entrails, liver, and ſtomach, together with the inteſtines and the fat membrane, which always adheres to them, but without ſeparating the latter. They are then plunged into a ſtrong brine of ſalt and water, and afterwards hung up till they have drained ſufficiently dry.

When this operation is completed, they proceed to the packing, which conſiſts in ſtowing them away in barrels as cloſely as poſſible, in layers, with a ſtratum of ſalt over every layer of herrings; taking care to place the fiſh of each ſucceeding layer in a contrary direction. The barrels are then cloſed. The greateſt attention is paid to ſelect ſuch caſks as are ſound and well hooped, for if the air gets admittance the fiſh are ſpoiled. The herrings are thus left in ſalt a fortnight if fine ſalt has been employed, or three weeks, or a month, if it be of the coarſe kind, by which time they are ſufficiently impregnated.

Upon the return of the veſſel to port, the barrels are immediately landed, and conveyed to the place where the proceſs of curing is completed.

The ſubſequent operation is the moſt important part of the Dutch method, as it prevents the tendency of the liquor, charged with lymph and blood, to putrefy. It depends upon a proceſs, by which the oil contained in the liquor being made to commix with the water, or reduced to a ſaponaceous ſtate, is preſerved from the action of the air, and is conſequently leſs liable to become rancid.

When the herrings have been ſufficiently ſtirred to diſengage the lymph and blood from them, the barrels are emptied upon large tables or benches, provided with ledges, which are inclined in ſuch a manner that the liquor which drains from them may run into a tub, placed underneath. This liquor is put into an iron pot, and boiled; during the ebullition the ſcum is taken off, and it is then emptied into a wooden veſſel, where it is left to cool.

They then take the roes of thirty herrings for each barrel, and pound or triturate them in a ſtone mortar, mixing with them a ſmall quantity of the liquor as the trituration proceeds, till they reduce it to the ſtate of an emulſion, or a ſaponaceous liquor. This they pour into the liquor that has been boiled, and removed into the wooden veſſel, and the whole is mixed together. The fiſh are then packed in the barrel, where they are placed in the manner already deſcribed. When the caſk is filled, the top is forced down upon the fiſh; for which purpoſe a preſs is employed, as well as to preſs down the herrings from time to time during the package. This preſſure is uſeful for preſerving them, and cauſes each barrel to contain one-third more than in the firſt operation. The liquor boiled and mixed as above is then poured in at the bung-hole till the caſk is quite full; when the herrings ceaſe to abſorb any more liquor, the bung is driven in, and the caſks of herrings are ready for ſale. The liquor is only uſed when cold.

Obſerva-

Observations on the Dry Rot in Timber, and Means of curing or preventing it. By Benjamin Johnson, Esq. of Ipswich; and Richard Ramsden Bramley, Esq. of Leeds.

(From the Transactions of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce.)

The mischief arising in buildings from that decay of the timber and wood work, known in general by the name of the dry rot, has been, and yet continues so great as to demand every attention for its prevention. In the second volume of the first series of this work will be found some valuable facts, furnished by Robert Batson, Esq. of Limehouse, respecting the methods he took to prevent this evil, in one of his rooms greatly affected by it. The plan he adopted was to charr the ends of his timbers, to take away the infected earth to the depth of two feet, and to fill up that space with anchor-smith's ashes, or ashes from a foundery, before his flooring-boards were laid. On the 15th of May 1794, which was upwards of six years after the flooring was laid, as above-mentioned, a minute examination of the boards, wainscot, and timbers, was made in the presence of a Committee of the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, &c. and they were all found entirely free from any appearance of the rot. To investigate the matter more fully, a farther inquiry has been made in June 1803, and an answer received, that there has been yet no appearance of the dry rot there; the Society, therefore, think it may be of consequence to notice the fact, and have inserted, in their last volume, some other papers with which they have been favoured upon the subject. They contain many hints deserving public attention, and which will doubtless tend to check the progress of this evil.

Mr. Johnson's Communication.

Some time between 1771 and 1773, I went, at the request of a friend, to the Chapel at the Lock-Hospital, through curiosity, to examine a pew there, that had frequently been repaired for damages by the dry rot.

After a close investigation, we found that it was the operation of a plant, whose leaf resembled that of the vine. Wherever it had touched, the effect of its poisonous quality got through the wood to the paint, which I have seen a mere skin. I proposed to cover the floor with bricks, laid in mortar, which was accordingly done. I called twice since, the last time about seven years ago, and have reason to think that it had never appeared again.

The next opportunity of examining it carefully was at Mark Hall, in Essex, the seat of Mr. Montague Burgoyne. In a parlour there were three pillars of about ten inches in diameter, the out-wood of which was between two and three inches thick. Two of them were eaten through in less than seven years, from the bases, about two feet upward, within the hollow, and were as rotten as if it had been the effect of a hundred years standing. Mr. Montague Burgoyne's gardener was a botanist;

niſt: we found the plant where I directed him to ſearch for it; and he ſaid it was the *Boletus Lachrymans* *.

At another time I ſaw it in a houſe at Whitehall, built by Sir John Vanbrugh, whoſe nephew then lived in it. The houſe is, I think, only two ſtories high; the plant had aſcended to the upper ſtory, committing devaſtation on the wainſcot all the way. It will deſtroy half-inch deal wainſcoting in a year.

I have had it twice in houſes I inhabited; one in Suffolk, and the other in Glouceſterſhire. I bore with the firſt; in the other caſe, I undertook, and did ſtop it effectually.

The cauſe is from the floor being laid on the earth, which has been, where I have obſerved, of a gravelly or ſandy loam. The moiſture from a water-courſe at hand, or a north aſpect, where the outer wall ſtands in a garden-bed, ſo that the rain percolates, are great encouragers: it requires moiſture.

It never riſes in the middle of the floor; becauſe, if the ſeed were there, it could not germinate for want of air; but it is eaſy to ſuppoſe, that after the floor is ſhrunk, an air may be created between that and the vacancy between the wainſcot and outer wall, ſufficient for the purpoſes of vegetation.

I ſaw an inſtance, laſt ſummer, in the houſe of a friend, a ſtudent in botany. He was ſurpriſed when I told him, it was a viſit from a plant; but ſo it proved, and always is, and ever was ſo; nor does it originate from any other cauſe.

In my own caſe, I removed the original ſoil near the part affected, and ſupplied its place with ſand. I then placed pieces of tile; on thoſe I laid mortar, and tiles over them, puſhing them under the wainſcot, ſo that it had no communication with the joiſts or floor. Pillars, in like manner, ſhould be kept from the earth.

In laying a floor upon the ground, I ſhould take away the earth for a foot in breadth, and four inches in depth, all round the walls, and place the ends of the joiſts in mortar, covering them with tiles preſſed under the floor and wainſcot, quite to the outward wall. Iron or tin plates would do, but are not ſo cheap as mortar and tiles.

This plant has no adheſive powers but in contact with wood. If it could paſs over brick or mortar, it might be ſeen to ſpring from the cellars, and infect half the houſes in the kingdom.

In ſhort, the wainſcot is to be kept free from contact with the joiſts and floor; and I believe it cannot be better effected than I have deſcribed.

The leaves of the plant appearing exhauſted and dead, is owing to their having imparted all their juices to the wood, which change it to a fungus, and not to a powder, like a rottenneſs from length of time.

The *Boletus Lachrymans* is of the

* Some authors call it a paraſitical plant; and it is ſometimes to be found with the willow and ſallow tribe, but this is not to the purpoſe. Till within a few months I have never been without ſome leaves of the plant. For many years they appear exhauſted and dead, and ſoon crumble into duſt; but I ſuſpect that freſh wood attracts a freſh growth from the root.

fungus

fungus tribe, and is one of the few that have leaves, as the miſletoe, &c.

Nothing is more eaſy than to prevent the damage from the plant. Beſides what I have before ſaid, I am poſitive that a tile laid cloſe along the walls round the room would prevent the growth of the plant, even without mortar; and perhaps it is only neceſſary where the walls are next to the air.

Charring the ends of the joiſts for a few inches, and charring the ſide of the wainſcot at bottom next to the wall, would be ſufficient; for the plant cannot adhere to any thing but wood, and that poſſeſſed of its natural juices to a certain degree; ſo that I queſtion if old dry oak would receive it.

All the white ſoft woods, as beech, poplars, and deals, are for a long time ready to receive it. Repairing the damage with freſh wood, without removing the earth and plant, is only feeding the evil.

The plant is of the creeping kind, and cannot riſe two inches; ſo that wood, in all caſes, muſt be in contact with the earth to ſupport it.

A fungus broader than the palm of one's hand, and an inch or more in thickneſs, is commonly ſeen at the bottom of an old poſt, on the ſurface of the earth; but it is not eaſy to diſcern whether the wood or the earth furniſhes the matter; ſo true is the obſervation of Muller:—"Dans l'étude de la nature, on peut nous comparer à de petits enfans qui commencent à ouvrir les yeux; nous voulons parler beaucoup, et nous ne faiſons que bégayer."

The qualities of this plant are unknown to moſt Engliſh botaniſts, as appears from their publications; but they are known to the Germans, who have habitually uſed more wood in their buildings than we have.

I had lately a converſation with an old friend, who ſhewed me two parcels of rotten wood, from an oak barn floor, laid about ſixteen years ago. After lying twelve years it ſhook upon the joiſts. On examination, it was found to be rotted in various parts, and the planks, two inches and a half in thickneſs, were nearly eaten through, though the outſide was gloſſy, and without blemiſh. The joiſts and a large middle beam were laid at the ends, in brick and mortar, to create a firm level. No earth was near the wood; and he thinks that no air could find a paſſage. The rottenneſs was partly an impalpable powder, of the colour of Spaniſh ſnuff, and other parts were black, as if burnt; the reſt was clearly a fungus.

This gentleman is a perſon of undoubted veracity; but a nice and exact obſervation is neceſſary in ſuch examinations. He thought nothing of any plant, and it is likely there was none of the Boletus; ſo that my aſſertion, that it was always to be found, was rather too ſyſtematic.

I aſked him if the timber was dry when laid down. He could not however ſay, that had been particularly adverted to. It had been ſawed from a large oak, and was, as he thought, in all reſpects proper for a barn floor. As this ſeems not the operation of the Boletus, how did it happen?

We know that the oak, when in vegetation, is ſubject to what I ſhall

I ſhall call an exudation of juices, which produces the fungus, named the Agaric of the oak, with which the Druids of old played many tricks. The oak, then, if ſawed into thick quantities, may emit theſe ſame juices, as the progreſſive courſe of nature to its entire decay.

We have all ſeen oaks of vaſt ſize and ancient record, with a great part of the outſide whole, and all the inſide gone; perhaps the work of a century. In all hollow trees fungus is diſcoverable. To uſe a law term, it is a *miſnomer* to call it dry rot; for the rotting principle is in moiſture.

I had never ſeen the rot upon ſo large a ſcale as in timber, till lately. The prevention, then, of beams, rafters, large joiſts, and poſts, put into the earth, from decay by the rot, is in charring only, which will dry up all the fungus juices of wood in large ſubſtance. Paint, or a bituminous preparation, may probably ſtop up the pores, and prevent the rot in ſlight work, where the treatment I before obſerved, with fire, might be incommodious, as in half-inch wainſcot, &c.

The incorruptibility of charcoal is atteſted by undoubted hiſtorical facts, at the deſtruction of the famous temple at Epheſus. It was found to have been erected on piles that had been charred; and the charcoal in Herculaneum, after almoſt 2000 years, was entire and undimiſhed.

Mr. Bramley's Communication.

As the Society for the Encouragement of Arts, &c. have for ſome years offered a premium for the diſcovery of the cauſe occaſioning the dry rot in timber, of which, it ſeems, no ſatisfactory account has yet been received; ſhould the following prove ſo, it will give the author much pleaſure. To bring the matter to the teſt by experiments would require the obſervation of a long period, and in ſelected ſituations.

Wood, uſed for the general purpoſes of man, is cut down at different periods; and although it may be felled at the proper ſeaſon, or when moſt free from ſap or moiſture, it is not always to be effected.

Even admitting it to have been cut down in the moſt favourable ſituation, it ſtill abounds with ſuch an extra proportion of moiſture, as to require a regular expoſure to the air, prior to its being applied to uſe, if we wiſh to guard againſt that ſhrinking which always takes place, where this precaution has not been taken.

Although the fir kind contains leſs of this watery portion, yet it aſſuredly poſſeſſes a conſiderable ſhare; and it is in this ſpecies, I apprehend, that the evil called the dry rot moſt generally occurs, as from the facility of working the ſame, it is moſt generally applied in buildings.

But ſuppoſing it to be fir, or any other ſpecies; wood felled when abounding with any extra proportion of ſap, and applied to uſe without the proper ſeaſoning or expoſure to a free current of air, until ſuch extra moiſture has had time to exhale, is moſt liable to the diſeaſe in queſtion; and the cure, or principal prevention againſt it, would be the precaution of felling all wood only at the proper

ſeaſon,

ſeaſon, or when the ſap is not in circulation. The next mode of prevention would be to uſe ſuch wood only as has been for a conſiderable period expoſed to the influence of a free current of air, or where convenience will admit, to that of air heated to a moderate degree; ſuch air extracting with greater facility the incloſed moiſture, and in a more certain ratio than the irregularity of our atmoſphere will allow.

In all rapidly improving countries this evil is likely to be an increaſing one, as the current demand for wood generally exceeds the ſupplies laid by in ſtore, ſo as to be applied to uſe in regular ſucceſſion, after being properly ſeaſoned.

Another cauſe that affects all wood moſt materially, when not fully dried, is the application of paint, the nature of which prevents all exhalation, and confines the incloſed moiſture, till it occaſions a fermentation through the whole fibrous ſyſtem of the wood, and brings on a premature ſtate of decompoſition, or the dry rot.

A ſimilar evil may be induced, in conſequence of any newly-finiſhed building having all the doors and windows ſhut up, and that for ſome length of time, particularly in moiſt weather. The wood, even though unpainted, is thus frequently placed in an atmoſphere more charged with vapour than its own internal contents, and is conſequently in an imbibing inſtead of an exhaling ſtate, and tending to decay. Wood placed in dampiſh ſituations, and the ends of timbers near to moiſt walls, ſuffer from ſimilar cauſes.

What particularly attracted my obſervation to the circumſtances was this, that both oak and fir poſts were brought into this premature ſtate of decay, from their having been painted prior to the due evaporation of their moiſture; and then extending the obſervation, and tracing the hiſtory of other wood affected in a ſimilar manner, I am convinced that the evil frequently thus originates, and its prevention would be in uſing timber previouſly well dried and ſeaſoned.

Since I communicated the preceding obſervations relative to the dry rot in timber, I have been buſily engaged in draining 4 to 5000 acres of ground, and farther ideas on the ſubject of the dry rot have recurred to me from the work I have been engaged in, which may probably be worthy of attention.

Where houſes are troubled with damp walls, near to the earth's ſurface, it is generally, if not univerſally, occaſioned by the percolation of water from the higher adjoining ground, which, thus intercepted in its current, attempts to follow the general hydroſtatic law, of elevating itſelf, by the ſyphon line, to a height equal to that from whence it has its origin. Thus, in houſes differently ſituated, we ſee the damp ariſing, to varying degrees of height, on the walls; and thoſe are probably all correſponding to the height at which the moiſture circulates in the adjoining ground. At its firſt entrance to the building, and whilſt the moiſture is in ſmall quantity, the excavated part of the foundation wall may abſorb, and gradually

dually quit ſuch proportions; but the exceſs, as is generally the caſe in moiſt weather, exceeding that power, the foundation ſtones are then ſaturated in a more rapid proportion than the adjoining rarefied internal atmoſphere can evaporate: the watery particles then creep up, in degrees proportionate to the aſcent from which they originally deſcended, excepting when prevented, or driven off by the ſuperior heat of the adjoining rooms, when, in addition to the diſagreeable damp they cauſe, they frequently occaſion conſiderable damage to pictures, furniture, &c. Drains laid out athwart the aſcending ground, with a very ſlight deſcent or fall, and made of the depth of one yard for each yard of aſcent, and from the foundation until equal to the height that ſuch damp ever riſes, would, there is little doubt, completely ſecure the houſe and furniture from the inconveniences hitherto ſuſtained, and would generally prove an effectual prevention to moſt caſes of the dry rot, where it originates in extreme moiſture. I am of opinion that the fungus which pervades decaying wood is not the firſt cauſe, but an attendant on the peculiar ſtate to which ſuch wood has been reduced by prior cauſes. The diſſeminated ſeeds finding a proper bed, or *nidus*, like to the muſhroom, toads-tool, &c. fix their abode there, and pervade the whole ſubſtance, thus accelerating the general law of Providence, which tends to make all matter reproductive.

Cellars, or ſuch other places, ſhould be drained in the manner I have above mentioned, by taking off the percolating water, prior to its gaining admiſſion to, or contact with, the walls; and it is probable that, in moſt caſes, a ſingle drain will have complete effect; it would aſſuredly do ſo, if it was not for the variation of the earth's internal ſtrata, which are not eaſily diſcernible. If attention to this rule was paid prior to the building any new ſtreets in towns, it would prove eſſentially uſeful.

The Society have been informed, that mortar made of lime from burnt chalk is much more deſtructive to timber than ſtone lime, or that burnt from lime-ſtone. Chalk lime attracts moiſture, and communicating it to any timber which it touches, occaſions its decay.

Sea ſand is alſo prejudicial, if made into mortar, from a ſimilar quality of attracting moiſture from the atmoſphere: this may in ſome degree be corrected by waſhing the ſand well in freſh water, where good ſand cannot be procured.

Good mortar, where any is required to be in contact with timber, may be made from a mixture of ſtone lime freſh burnt, and river ſand, to which a very ſmall quantity of common brown, or yellow iron ochre, ſhould be added, and well incorporated therewith.

ANTIQUITIES.

Bardiſm.

(From Bingley's Tour round North Wales.)

THE ancient Britiſh Bards were divided into three eſſential claſſes of Derwydd, Bardd, and Ovydd *, or Druid, Bard, and Ovate. Of theſe there was one chief head, called the Arch Druid, to whom the whole rendered an implicit obedience, and by whom they were guided in conducting their moſt important affairs. He was eſteemed ſupreme throughout the whole nation, and to his tribunal the people annually aſſembled, and, in appeals that were made to him, he gave a final judgment, to which the parties were obliged to abide. On the death of the Arch Druid, the next in dignity and reputation ſucceeded him; but, if the merits of ſeveral were equal, the election was made by the collected votes of the inferior orders. The habitation of the Britiſh Arch Druid is ſuppoſed to have been near Llanidan, on the ſouth eaſt coaſt of Angleſea, where are ſaid, even yet, to be left ſome ſlight veſtiges of Tre'r Dryw, the Arch Druid's manſion: Bôd-Drudaû, the abode of the Druids: and near them Bôd-owyr, the reſidence of the Ovates, and Tre'r Beirdd, the abode of Bards.

The Druids were employed chiefly in the exerciſe of religious functions, and it was their prerogative to preſide over the rites and myſteries of their religion. The office of the Bards was to ſing to the multitude their religious precepts; to ſing to the harp at their nuptials and funeral obſequies, their games and other ſolemnities; and, at the head of the armies, to chant the praiſes of thoſe who had ſignalized themſelves by virtuous or heroic actions. The Ovate appears to have conducted the moſt trivial duties appertaining to their religion, and as a diſciple to have been in preparation by the ſtudy of nature, for the higher and more important offices of Bard and Druid.

Mr. Maſon, in his tragedy of Caractacus, has recognized all theſe

* Strabo, Lib. xv. Derwydd means the body of the oak, and, by implication, the man of the oak, from the Britiſh word derw, an oak, and ydd, a termination of nouns. Bardd ſignifies the branching or what ſprings from, derived from bâr, a branch, or the top. Ovydd implies the diſciple, from ôv, raw, and ydd, above explained.

Jones's Bards, p. 2.

orders,

orders, where, having ſpoken of the Arch Druid, he ſays,

His brotherhood,
Poſſeſs the neighbouring cliffs,
On the left
Reſide the ſages ſkill'd in nature's lore:
Yonder grots,
Are tenanted by bards, who nightly thence,
Rob'd in their flowing veſts of innocent white,
Deſcend with harps that glitter to the moon,
Hymning immortal ſtrains.

The Druids and Bards were the divines, the legiſlators *, and phyſicians of the ancient Britons; they compoſed hymns for the uſe of the temples, and accompanied them with their harps. They ſang the eſſence and immortality of the ſoul; the works of nature; the courſe of celeſtial bodies; the order and harmony of the ſpheres; and the encomiums on the virtues of eminent men. In later periods, they kept an account of the deſcent of families, emblazoned their arms, and compoſed ſongs on the valiant actions of illuſtrious warriors, in heroic verſe, which they chanted to their harps, and conſequently were the national hiſtorians; and from them much of the ancient hiſtory of this country has been collected.

The Druids were accounted the firſt and moſt diſtinguiſhed order of the nation: they were frequently choſen from the moſt reſpectable families: and the honours of their birth, aided by thoſe of their function, procured them the higheſt veneration amongſt the people. The authority even of the kings was greatly controuled by them; for, being conſidered as the interpreters of the Gods, their power, and conſequently the honour paid to them, was incredibly great.

On all important occaſions, the Bards were ambaſſadors between contending chiefs; and their perſons were at all times held ſacred. "Cairbar," ſays Oſſian, "feared to ſtretch his ſword to the Bards, though his ſoul was dark. Looſe (ſaid the noble Cathmor) the Bards. They are the ſons of other times. Their voice ſhall be heard in other years, when the kings of Temora have failed." They, as well as the Druids, were exempted from all military ſervices, even in times of the greateſt danger; and, when they attended their patrons into the field, to ſing their heroic actions, they had a guard aſſigned them for their protection.

Whatever religious opinions the Druids might privately entertain, they certainly, in public, either worſhipped a multiplicity of deities, or one God under ſeveral titles and appellations: of which was Teutates, or Mercury, the inventor of arts, and the chief conductor of travels and expeditions; then, next in order, came Apollo, Mars, Jupiter, and Minerva, under different Britiſh names. To theſe they offered human victims. On ſolemn occaſions they reared huge images, whoſe members, wrought with oziers, they filled with living men, or with different kinds of animals; and, ſetting fire to them, conſumed theſe miſerable victims, as ſacrifices to their cruel deities.

* They are ſuppoſed to have been the firſt framers of laws in Britain. The firſt written laws are ſaid to have been thoſe of Dynvwal Moelmud, King of Britain, 440 years before Chriſt, called the Moelmutian laws.

Thieves, robbers, and other malefactors, were preferred for this purpoſe; but if theſe were wanting, innocent perſons were taken. Diodorus Siculus ſays, that condemned criminals uſed to be reſerved for five years; and, on a certain day, ſacrificed all together. Captives of war were alſo immolated in the ſame manner. It was alſo an article in their creed, that nothing ſhort of the life of a man, offered a ſacrifice on their altars, could atone with the Gods for the death of another man.

A ſingular relic of the ancient ſacrifices of the Druids, is yet remaining in ſome parts of North Wales. When a violent diſeaſe breaks out amongſt the horned cattle, the farmers of the diſtrict where it rages join to give up a bullock for a victim, which is carried to the top of ſome neighbouring precipice, from whence it is thrown headlong down; and this they call "caſting a captive to the devil."

It has been ſaid, that the Druids taught the Pythagorean doctrine of tranſmigration of ſouls into other bodies; but Lucan and Marcellinus both repreſent them as teaching, that the ſoul, after death, aſcended into ſome higher orb, where it enjoyed more perfect happineſs.

Their acts of worſhip were all performed in the open air; for they thought it derogated from the greatneſs of their Gods to confine them within walls. The places appropriated for this purpoſe appear to have been groves of oak. Pliny ſays "they dreſs and cultivate groves of oak; for, without that tree, or thoſe groves, they never celebrate any part of their ſacred functions." Theſe groves were great incloſures of tall and ſpreading oaks, ſurrounding their moſt ſacred places. In theſe they had their mounts and hillocks, which they called Gorſeddaû, from their ſetting aloft upon them, when they pronounced their decrees and ſentences, and made their ſolemn orations to the people; or there erected pillars, to which ſome think they yielded divine honours, as the memorials of their deified heroes.

They placed a very high myſtery in the miſletoe * of the oak; for when the end of their year was near, they marched in proceſſion, with great ſolemnity, to gather it, in order to preſent it to their Deity; inviting all the world to aſſiſt at the ceremony, in theſe words: — "The New Year is at hand, gather the miſletoe." The ſacrifices being ready, the prieſt aſcended the oak, and, with a golden hook, cut off the miſletoe, which was received in a white garment ſpread for the purpoſe. This part of the ceremony being ended, the victims, two white bulls that had never been yoked, were brought forth, and offered up with prayers, for the proſperity of thoſe to whom had been given ſo precious a boon. The miſletoe thus gathered, was deemed an antidote to all poiſons; and the

* In ſome parts of Wales, the miſletoe was called all-iach, all-heal; pren-awyr the celeſtial tree; and uchelwydd, the lofty ſhrub. Beſides this plant, the Druids ritually gathered lycopodium ſelago, fir-leaved club-moſs; and ſamolus valerandi, round-leaved water pimpernel, both of which they applied to medical uſes.

uſed

uſed it as a ſpecific againſt ſterility.

The moſt ſacred ſolemnities of the Druids were uſually performed on the ſixth day of the moon, which was always the firſt day of their months. But beſides this, it appears probable that they had alſo, with the generality of mankind, one day in ſeven ſet apart for divine worſhip. What other feſtivals, or anniverſary ſolemnities, they had, we know not; yet it is not unlikely, but that they had ſet times, and peculiar celebrations, for many of their deified warriors.

To be excluded from their ſacred rites, was eſteemed the moſt grievous puniſhment that the Druids could inflict; and they had the power of doing this to any that they judged it proper. Thoſe againſt whom this ſentence of excommunication was pronounced, were conſidered as impious, and their ſociety was ſhunned by all. They were denied the protection of the law, and were rendered incapable of any honour or truſt. The Druids took every care to inculcate in the people the indiſpenſible obligation of their ſubmitting to the neceſſary rites and duties of oblation and ſacrifice, together with their own indiſputable power, of deſigning and appropriating whatever perſons or things they thought proper, for the cruel victims of their altars. This power, which was the chief prop of the Druidical authority, they retained to the laſt.

The diſciples of the Druidical Bards underwent a noviciate of twenty years, during which time they learned an immenſe number of verſes, in which they preſerved the principles of their religious and civil polity, by uninterrupted tradition, for many centuries. Though the uſe of letters was familiar to them, they did not deem it lawful to commit theſe verſes to writing, in order that, by this means, they might ſtrengthen their intellectual faculties, and keep their myſterious knowledge from the contemplation of the vulgar.

The metre, in which theſe oracular inſtructions were communicated to the people, was called Englyn Milwr, or the Warrior's Song; and is a kind of triplet ſtanza. That the Engliſh reader may have ſome idea of their conſtruction, I have inſerted, from Jones's Muſical and Poetical Relics of the Welſh Bards, tranſlations of five of them. Theſe have the ſame number of lines and feet as the original; and the ſenſe is preſerved, as near as the limits of the metre would allow. The two firſt lines do not ſeem to have much connection with the laſt; however, there appears to have been no ſmall degree of art employed in their compoſition. In the firſt lines, the Druid deſcribes, either actions that are familiar to every one, or the appearance of viſible objects: he then concludes, with a precept of morality, or a proverbial ſentence; and, by annexing to it undoubted fact, artfully implies, and engages the mind to receive the truth of the moral maxim, as equally clear and well eſtabliſhed as the identity of material objects.

In the oak's high-tow'ring grove,
Dwells the liberty I love.—
Babblers from thy truſt remove.

Liberty I ſeek and have,
Where the green birchen branches wave.—
Keep a ſecret from a knave.

Snow a robe o'er hamlets flings:
In the wood the raven ſings.—
Too much ſleep no profit brings.

When the mountain ſnow is ſpread,
Stags love ſunny vales to tread.—
Vain is ſorrow for the dead.

Fair the moon's reſplendent bow,
Shining on the mountain ſnow.—
Peace the wicked never know.

In all the orders of Druidiſm, the hair was worn very ſhort, and the beards extremely long. All wore long habits; and the Druids, when performing their religious rites, had on robes of white, as emblems of truth and piety. The Bards at theſe times wore azure garments, with cowls to them, as ſymbols of heaven, peace, and fidelity; and the garments of the Ovates were green, the emblems of learning and truth.

The immenſe power that the Druids had acquired, drew upon them the vengeance of the Romans, who, in other inſtances, were not often intolerant. The pretext for firſt attacking them, was the cruelty committed in their ſacred rites; but the true reaſon was certainly the great influence that they had obtained over the people. The authority of the Druids in Gaul was, by various means, ſo much reduced in the time of Claudius, that they are ſaid to have been entirely deſtroyed there, about the year 45, by that Emperor. And in Britain, Suetonius Paulinus, the governor of the country under Nero, having taken the iſland of Angleſea, not only cut down the ſacred groves of the Druids, and overturned their altars, but alſo conſumed many of the Druids themſelves, in thoſe fires that had been kindled for ſacrificing the Roman captives, had that army been defeated.

Immediately after this event, thoſe who eſcaped fled from the country, and ſought refuge in the adjacent iſlands of Ireland, the Iſle of Man and Bardſey, places to which the Roman ſword had not at that time reached. The theory of the Britiſh muſic is ſaid to have moved with them, and to have ſettled in Ireland, which, from that period, continued, for many ages, the ſeat of learning aud philoſophy.

The Bards, having now loſt their ſacred Druidical character, began to appear in an honourable, though leſs dignified capacity, at the courts of the Britiſh kings. The muſic, as well as the poetry, of Britain, no doubt received a tincture from the martial ſpirit of the times; and the Bards, who once had dedicated their profeſſion to the worſhip of the Gods in their Sylvan temples, the celebration of public ſolemnities, and the praiſe of all the arts of peace, and who had repreſſed the fury of armies, prepared to ruſh upon each other's ſpears; now,

With other echo taught the ſhades
To anſwer and reſound far other ſong.

At the commencement of the 6th century they began to reſume the harp with unuſual energy, to animate their country in their ſtruggle

ſtruggle with the Saxons; but, from the ninth to the eleventh, if we are to judge from the few pieces that are extant, compoſed during that period, their muſe ſeems again to have received a check. The hiatus continues till the time of Prince Gryffydd ap Cynan, who, about 1100, re-reformed many diſorders which prevailed amongſt the Bards. Being educated in Ireland, this prince, either from a partiality to the muſic of his own country, or on account of its ſuperior excellence to that of Wales, invited over from thence ſeveral of the moſt celebrated muſicians, and formed a body of inſtitutes for the amendment of their manners, and the correction of their art and practice.

This reformation was effected by dividing them into claſſes, and aſſigning to each claſs a diſtinct profeſſion and employment. It was made their office to applaud the living and to record the dead. They were required to poſſeſs learning and genius, a ſkill in pedigrees, an acquaintance with the laws and metres of poetry, a knowledge of harmony, a fine voice, and the command of an inſtrument. They were diſtributed into three grand orders of poets, heralds, and muſicians; each of which again branched into ſubordinate diſtinctions.

The firſt claſs of the poets conſiſted of hiſtorical or antiquarian Bards, who at times mixed prophecy with their inſpiration: they were alſo critics and teachers, and to them belonged the praiſe of virtue and the cenſure of vice. It was their duty to celebrate the gifts of fancy and poetry. Of them it was required, to addreſs married women without the air of gallantry; and the clergy, in a ſerious ſtrain, ſuitable to their function; to ſatirize without indecency, and without lampooning; to anſwer and overthrow the lampoons of the inferior Bards.

The ſecond claſs was formed of domeſtic Bards, who reſided in the houſes of the great, to celebrate their exploits and amiable qualities; they ſang the praiſes of generoſity, contentment, domeſtic happineſs, and all the ſocial virtues; and, in this manner, eminently contributed to enliven the leiſure of their patrons.

The third claſs conſiſted of the Herald Bards, who were the national chroniclers, and were alſo well verſed in pedigrees and blazonry of arms, and in the works of the primary Bards. They could trace back the deſcents of their princes, and nobles, as far as Beli, Sylvius, Æneas, or even to Adam himſelf. Their poetry was of a humbler kind; it was uſually confined to ſubjects of jocularity and mimickry, invective and reproach.

Of the muſical Bards, the firſt claſs was appropriated to the performers on the harp; the ſecond contained performers on the ſix-ſtringed Crwth. The third conſiſted of ſingers, whoſe employment it was to ſing to the harps of others, the compoſitions of the poetical Bards; but from theſe a variety of other qualifications was expected.

The Eiſteddfod, the Britiſh Olympic, was a triennial aſſembly of the Bards, for the regulation of poetry and muſic; for conferring honorary degrees, and advancing to the chair of the Eiſteddfod, by the

deciſion of a poetical and muſical conteſt, ſome of the rival candidates; or eſtabliſhing, in that honourable ſeat, the chief Bard, who had already occupied it. This aſſembly was uſually held at Aberffraw, the royal ſeat of the ancient princes of North Wales; in Angleſea; or ſometimes at Dinevawr, in Caermarthenſhire, the caſtle of the princes of South Wales; or Mathraval, in Montgomeryſhire, the royal palace of the princes of Powys.

Before any perſon could be enrolled in the Eiſteddfod, the permiſſion of the prince or lord, within whoſe juriſdiction he lived, was to be obtained. If he deſired to proceed to degrees in poetry, he was obliged, at his preſentation, to explain the five metres of ſong, and to ſing them in ſuch a manner, that one of the principal Bards would declare upon his conſcience, that he was competent to be admitted. He then became a pupil of ſome one of the principal Bards, whom he was obliged to attend annually in Lent, and without whoſe approbation he could make no compoſition public; and, during three years, that is, till the next Eiſteddfod, he remained an under-graduate, and was called Diſgybl yſpas cerdd davod, a probationary ſtudent of poetry.

At the next Eiſteddfod, he was examined for the degree of Diſgybl Diſgy blaidd, or Bachelor of the Art of Poetry.

After another like interval, the Bard took the degree of Diſgybil Penceirddiaidd, or Maſter of the Art of Poetry; for which it was requiſite that he ſhould underſtand the rules of grammar and rhetoric; and analyſe and explain the alliterative concatenations of the language; to eſcape all the errors, and to ſing melodiouſly in parts twenty-one of the metres.

To the Pencerdd, or Profeſſor of Poetry, who obtained his degree at the end of the ſame period, belonged the whole myſtery of the art. He was able to ſing in harmony or concord, and was well verſed in tranſpoſed alliteration. Among his qualifications are enumerated fertility in poetical ſubjects; a ſtore of matter and invention; authority of deciſion; and a facility in compoſing in praiſe of the great, what would be heard or received with the moſt delight, and longeſt retained in memory.

The degrees in muſic appear to have been much the ſame in form with thoſe in poetry. The candidate was, for the firſt three years, a Probationary Student in muſic without a degree. At the end of that term he became a Graduate Probationary Student. His ſecond degree, at the end of ſix years, was Bachelor, and at the end of nine, was Maſter of Muſic; and, as in poetry, the higheſt degree was Pencerdd Athraw, or Doctor of Muſic.

If a diſciple of any degree was diſcovered in taverns, or ſecret places, playing for money at dice, or any other game, any perſon was authorized to take from him whatever money was found in his purſe. For mockery and deriſion, and the invention or propagation of falſehood, they were puniſhed by fine and impriſonment; for the laws ſay the Bards ſhall be eaſy and peaceful in their manners, friendly in their diſpoſitions, and humble in their ſervices to their prince, and his adherents.

The

The Eiſteddfod was a rigid ſchool. The poetical, or muſical diſciple, who at the expiration of his triennial term was not able to obtain a higher degree, was condemned even to loſe that which he had already poſſeſſed.

The Bards were ever held in the higheſt repute, by the Britiſh kings and nobles. The Court Bard, or Laureat Bard, was in rank the eighth officer of the king's houſehold, and was very often of his council. Whoever ſlightly injured him, was fined ſix cows and a hundred and twenty pence; and the murderer of a Bard was fined a hundred and twenty-ſix cows. He accompanied the army upon their march, and, in the front of the battle, ſang the ancient ſong called the "Monarchy of Britain;" and for this ſervice, when the prince had received the ſhare of the ſpoils, he was rewarded with the moſt valuable beaſt that remained.

A vaſſal, by the practice of poetry and muſic, which he could not adopt without the permiſſion of his lord or prince, acquired the privileges of a freeman, and an honourable rank in ſociety.

Nothing can diſplay more forcibly the eſtimation and influence which the Bards enjoyed in the early periods, than their remarkable prerogative of petitioning for preſents by occaſional poems. This cuſtom they carried to ſuch an exceſs, and ſuch reſpect was conſtantly paid to their requeſts, that, in the time of Gryffyd ap Cynan, it became neceſſary to controul them by a law, which reſtrained them from aſking for the prince's horſe, hawk, or greyhound, or any other poſſeſſion beyond a certain price, or that was particularly valued by the owner, or could not be replaced.

The revenues of the Bards aroſe from preſents, at princely or other nuptials; and from the fees that they received in their circuits at Chriſtmas, Eaſter, Whitſuntide, and in their triennial Clera, or grand circuit, when they were received into the houſes of the great, and continued ſo long as any feaſting laſted. Theſe fees and preſents were regulated in proportion to their degrees. They were alſo allowed a certain ſum out of every plough-land; and, in proportion, out of every half plough-land of their diſtrict.

Beſides the regular, or graduated Bards, there were four other claſſes of inferior and unlicenſed Bards; theſe were of the meaner, and more unſkilful ſort of muſicians and poets, and were what might be termed minſtrels. They were pipers, players on the three-ſtringed crwth, taborers, and buffoons.

They had no connection with the Eiſteddfod; and their eſtimation and their profits were equally inconſiderable.

The period that intervened between the reign of Gryffydd ap Cynan, and that of the laſt prince Llewelyn, is the brighteſt in the Welſh annals. It abounds with perhaps the nobleſt monuments of genius their nation can boaſt. The names of the Bards are numerous; but their remains unluckily very few.

Early in the twelfth century, muſic and poetry had approached their utmoſt degree of perfection in Wales; nor by the common fate of the arts in other countries, did they ſuddenly fall from the eminence they had attained. If during

the ſucceeding age, they indicated any ſymptoms of decay, remedy was always ſo diligently applied by the ſkill of the Eiſteddfod to the declining part, that they preſerved their former vigour, and perhaps acquired even additonal graces.

By the cruel policy of Edward I. who, though he had conquered this conntry, did not think himſelf ſecure in his triumph, whilſt the warm and energetic ſongs of a race of men, deemed almoſt inſpired, were permitted to overawe the vulgar, was effected a total maſſacre of the Welſh Bards. The enſuing ſcene to this, Gray had finely deſcribed:

On dreary Arvon's ſhore they lie,
Smear'd with gore, and ghaſtly pale:
Far, far aloof, th'affrighted ravens ſail,
The famiſh'd eagle ſcreams and paſſes by.

The Bards, after this "Cambria's fatal day," were reduced to employ their ſacred art in obſcurity and ſorrow, but while thus cramped in their poetical department, they had more leiſure for the ſtudy of heraldry, and their other domeſtic duties.

By the inſurrection, however, under Owen Glyndwr, in the reign of Henry IV. the martial ſpirit of the Britiſh muſe was once more revived, to celebrate the enterprizes of their heroic leader. Like him the Bards of his time were "irregular and wild;" and as the taper glimmering in its ſocket, gives a ſudden blaze before it is extinguiſhed, ſo did they make one bright effort of their original and daring genius, which was ſoon afterwards buried, with their hero, in the grave.

Under the patronage of Henry VII. the Cambro-Britiſh muſe was once more reſtored, the Eiſteddfods, which had been diſcontinued, were re-eſtabliſhed, and the Bards were employed in the honourable commiſſion of making out, from their authentic records, the pedigree of their king.

After a long interval of anarchy amongſt them, commiſſioners were appointed by Queen Elizabeth, to eſtabliſh an Eiſteddfod at Caerwys, in the year 1568. They were inſtructed to advance the ingenious and ſkilful to the accuſtomed degrees, and to reſtore to the graduates their ancient excluſive privilege of exerciſing the profeſſion. "The reſt not worthy," were by this commiſſion commanded to betake themſelves to ſome honeſt labour and livelihood, on pain of being apprehended, and puniſhed as vagabonds.

From this time the bardic meetings ſeem to have again dwindled almoſt to nothing. A ſociety in London called the Gwyneddigion, or North Wales men, have, in theſe late years, endeavoured once more to raiſe them from oblivion, by convening annual meetings in ſome village or town, in North Wales, giving ſubjects for candidates to write upon, and honorary medals to ſuch as are ſucceſsful. One of the firſt of theſe meetings was held about eight years ago, at Corwen, in Merionethſhire; and an Eiſteddfod was aſſembled at Caerwys, on the 29th of May, 1798. This meeting was well attended. The number of Bards was twenty, of vocal performers eighteen, and of harpers twelve.

From the earlieſt times the Bards were the Britiſh hiſtorians; in their triennial clera, or perambulation, they collected and wrote down all the memorable tranſactions that paſſed in every country,

that

that it concerned their profeſſion to notice. For this purpoſe they had a ſtipend paid to them, and a ſevere puniſhment of long impriſonment, loſs of place and dignity, and great diſgrace, was by law inflicted upon ſuch as miſrepreſented facts, or ſet down falſities. No man was permitted to deſcribe any battle but ſuch as had been an eye-witneſs thereof; for ſome of the chief Bards were Marſhals of all battles; they ſat in council in the field, and were the king's, or general's intelligencers, how the action went on; ſo that they could not be ignorant of any circumſtance of importance that was going on in the field.

A Diſſertation on the early Scotiſh Drama,

(From Irving's Lives of the Scotiſh Poets.)

It is remarked by Maximus Tyrius, that the Athenian ſtage derived its remote origin from the rude and extemporaneous ſongs of the huſbandmen, who were accuſtomed to aſſemble after having cloſed the annual labours of the ſeed-time and harveſt. If ſuch was the progreſs of a national drama which at length attained to ſo high a degree of perfection, it were but rational to ſuppoſe, that the dramatic poetry of Scotland, a country which has never been diſtinguiſhed by its ſucceſsful cultivation of this department of literature, muſt have ariſen from no very pure ſource.

Dramatic repreſentation is generally underſtood to have been indebted for its revival to the oſtentatious genius of the Catholic religion. During the middle ages, learning, or even an acquaintance with the letters of the alphabet, was almoſt excluſively confined to the different orders of eccleſiaſtics. With a view of diſpelling the perpetual clouds of monaſtic indolence, they occaſionally had recourſe to dramatic exhibitions; which, from the circumſtance of their being commonly founded on the more myſtical paſſages of the Scriptures, were denominated myſteries. Theſe exhibitions took place in the churches and other ſacred edifices, and were regarded as acts of devotion.

Repreſentations of this kind prevailed in Scotland as well as in the other countries of Europe; but whether they were introduced at an early period, cannot eaſily be aſcertained. Players of a different character ſeem to be ſpecified in the laws aſcribed to Macbeth. It is there enacted that players and other idle vagrants ſhall be enjoined to betake themſelves to ſome mechanical occupation; and that ſuch as neglect to obey this mandate, ſhall be treated like beaſts of burthen, and compelled to draw the plough or the cart. An exception is however made in favour of thoſe who have received the royal licence to exerciſe their profeſſion. The word which I have here tranſlated players, is *hiſtriones*: but this term, as ſufficiently appears from the gloſſary of Du Cange, is often applied in a very indefinite manner. The *hiſtriones* and *ludiones* mentioned in the ſtatutes were perhaps jugglers and tumblers. So lately as the reign of Queen Mary of England, tumblers were introduced for the diverſion of the court.

court. The character of the juggler does not appear to have been unknown in Scotland. Holland, in his allegorical deſcription of the aſſembly of fowls, has thus repreſented the jay:

Quhen they had ſangin and ſaid ſoftly a ſchoure,
And plaid as of paradyſs it a poynt ware,
In ſame japane the ja, as a jugloure,
With caſtis and with cantelis, a quynt caryare.
He gart thame ſee, as it ſemyt, in ſamin houre,
Hunting at herdis in holtis ſo haire;
Soune ſailand on the ſee ſchippis of toure;
Bernis batalland on burd, brym as a bare:
He could carye the coup of the kingis des,
Syne leve in the ſtede
Bet a blak bunwede;
He coud of a henis hede
Mak a man mes.

Innumerable bands of tumblers, buffoons, rope-dancers, minſtrels, and players, were at a certain period retained in the courts of princes. Between theſe profeſſions it is not always eaſy to draw a diſcriminative line; ſeveral of them were occaſionally exerciſed by the ſame individual. In tracing the hiſtory of the early Scotiſh drama, there is ſome danger of our encroaching upon the province of the minſtrels: whoſe recitations might ſometimes be thought to partake of the nature of dramatic repreſentation. It will however be neceſſary to collect every detached hint which promiſes to illuſtrate the preſent ſubject. In this ſketch the character of the profeſſional buffoon or jeſter ſeems to merit a place. Men of this deſcription are not unfrequently mentioned by our early writers. A *fool* belonged to the houſehold eſtabliſhment of James the Fifth, and probably to that of other Scotiſh monarchs. It appears to have been the duty of this perſonage to amuſe his patron with ſallies of wit and humour; with bold and unexpected remarks on the occurrences of the day; with ludicrous repreſentations of incident and character. He wore a fantaſtic and party-coloured garment; and endeavoured by every art to attract the attention of the prince or baron by whom he was entertained. He was expoſed to the wit or folly of every joker; and, in his turn, was privileged to exerciſe his profeſſional talents without repect to rank.

The following paſſage in The Prieſts of Peblis tends to illuſtrate the nature of this groteſque appendage of the feudal court:

Sa ouir the ſey cummin thair was a clark
Of greit ſcience, of voyce, word, and wark,
And dreſſit him, with al his beſynes,
Thus with this king to mak his recidens,
Weil ſaw he with this king micht na man byde,
Bot thay that wald al ſadnes ſet on ſyde.
With club, and bel, and partie cote with eiris,
He feinyeit him ane fule, fond in his feiris.
French, Dutche, and Italie yit als,
Weil could he ſpeik, and Latine feinye fals.
Unto the kirk he came befoir the king,
With club, and cote, and monie bel to ring.
Dieu gard! Sir King, I bid nocht hald in hiddil:
I am to yow als ſib as ſeif is to ane riddil.
Betwixt us twa mot be als mekil grace,
As froſt and ſnaw fra Yule is unto Pace.
Wait yee how the Frenche man ſayis ſyne?
Nul bon, he ſayis, *Monſieur, ſans pyne.*
With that he gave ane loud lauchter on loft:—
Honour and eis, Sir; quha may have for nocht?
Cum on thy way, Sir King; now for Sanct jame,
Thow with me, or I with the, gang hame

Now

Now, be Sanct Katherine, quod the king and ſmyld,
This fule hes monie waverand word and wyld.

Ridiculous as ſuch a character may appear, it found general encouragement in the moſt refined nation of antiquity: the jeſter, or γελωτοποιὸς, was known at Athens during the age of Xenophon and Plato. In ſupport of this aſſertion it will only be neceſſary to appeal to a paſſage in the writings of the former. "After the gueſts were placed at ſupper," ſays Xenophon, "Philip the jeſter, having knocked at the door, announced his readineſs to divert the company. I am provided, added he, with every thing that may qualify a man for partaking of his neighbour's feaſt; and my boy is alſo completely wearied with carrying nothing. You all know that I am a jeſter, cried Philip, preſenting himſelf in the banqueting apartment: I have thus viſited you of my own accord; being perſuaded that it is more comical to come to a feaſt without any invitation, than to wait for that ceremony."

Boyce and Leſley have informed us, that Randolph Earl of Murray, in his capacity of regent, impoſed a reſtraint on vagrants of various deſcriptions, and among the reſt, on players or *hiſtriones*.

During the reign of James the Firſt, it is affirmed, "the court, and, by that example, the country, was become too ſoft and delicate, ſuperfluous in all delights and pleaſures. Maſques, banqueting, gorgeous apparel, revelling, were not only licenſed, but ſtudied and admired." Theſe probably bore a remote affinity to the maſques which at a later period were ſo frequently exhibited at the Engliſh court. The authority on which Drummond has hazarded this ſtatement, ſeems to be that of Buchanan; who, among other changes which took place under the adminiſtration of King James, enumerates the frequent exhibition of *perſonatæ ſaltationes*.

At the celebration of the nuptials of James the Fourth and the Lady Margaret, a company of Engliſh comedians, under the management of John Engliſh, regaled the court with a dramatic repreſentation. "After dynnar," ſays John Younge, "a moralite was played by the ſaid Maſter Ingliſhe and hys companyons, in the preſence of the kyng and qwene; and then daunces war daunced."

In England the character of the Abbot of Miſrule was known at a pretty early period. Dr. Stuart has remarked, that in Scotland a perſonage of the ſame kind, under the appellation of the Abbot of Unreaſon, ſeems to have been ſtill more common, and even ſo familiar in the loweſt ranks of civil life, that he at length became a public nuiſance.

In the city of Aberdeen, this character was diſtinguiſhed by the title of Abbot of Bon-Accord. In the year 1445 the town-council reſolved, that for the future no fees ſhould be paid to this abbot: but the inſtitution was too congenial to the ſpirit of the inhabitants to be eaſily aboliſhed; and in 1486 his annual allowance was ſettled at ten marks. The Abbot of Bon-Accord ſuperintended the repreſentation of the myſteries. About the year 1445 the myſtery of *The Halie Blude* was acted on the Windmill-hill.

In

In 1515, when John Duke of Albany arrived from France in order to undertake the regency, the citizens of Edinburgh manifeſted their joy by the exhibition of "moſt facetious comedies and exquiſite ſpectacles." Theſe ſpectacles muſt have been pageants; a ſpecies of entertainment with which our anceſtors appear to have been familiarly acquainted. As ſplendid ſhows of this deſcription are in ſome degree allied to the genius of the drama, they are here entitled to a ſhare of our attention. The moſt remarkable pageants mentioned by our early writers, ſeem to be thoſe which, in the year 1538, were exhibited at St. Andrews, in honour of the arrival of Mary of Guiſe. "The queen," ſays Lindſay, "landed in Scotland at the place called Fyfeneſs, near Balcomy, where ſhe remained till horſe came to her. But the king was in St. Andrews, with many of his nobility, waiting upon her home-coming. Then he, ſeeing that ſhe was landed in ſuch a part, he rode forth himſelf to meet her, with the whole lords ſpiritual and temporal, with many barons, lairds, and gentlemen, who were convened for the time at St. Andrews in their beſt array; and received the queen with great honours and plays made to her. And firſt, ſhe was received at the new Abbey-gate: upon the eaſt ſide thereof there was made to her a triumphant arch by Sir David Lindſay of the Mount, Lyon Herald, which cauſed a great cloud come out of the heavens above the gate, and open inſtantly; and there appeared a fair lady moſt like an angel, having the keys of Scotland in her hands, and delivered them to the queen, in ſign and token that all the hearts of Scotland were open to receive her Grace; with certain orations and exhortations made by the ſaid Sir David Lindſay to the queen, inſtructing her to ſerve her God, obey her huſband, and keep her body clean according to God's will and commandments." When they viſited Edinburgh, "great triumphs, farces, and plays, 'were' made unto the Queen's Grace on the expences of the ſaid town: And ſo was then likewiſe in Dundee the ſpace of ſix or eight days, very magnificently treated by the town when the queen made her entreſs."

About this period Sir David Lindſay had begun to cultivate dramatic poetry. One play of his compoſition has been preſerved: nor does it appear that he was the author of any other work of this deſcription. It is entitled *Ane Satyre of the Thrie Eſtaitis;* but the principal burthen of his ſatire falls upon the eccleſiaſtics. In this curious relique we diſcover few traces of dramatic character or incident: allegorical and real perſons are unſkilfully grouped together; and a very ſlight degree of attention is paid to probability. The different parts have but little connection with each other. The expreſſion is in many inſtances highly groſs and indecent. This work, however, is not entirely devoid of humour: and in the Scotiſh populace of that æra it muſt undoubtedly have excited infinite delight.

The following extract is from one of the ſpeeches of a pardoner:

My potent pardonnis ye may ſe,
Cum fra the Can of Tartarie

Will

Weill ſeilit with eſter ſchellis.
Thocht ye haif no diſcretioun,
Ye ſall haif no remiſſioun
With help of buikis and bellis.
Heir is a rellik, lang and braid,
Of Fynmakowll the richt chaſt blade,
With teith, and all togeddir.
Of Collingis kow heir is a horne,
For eitting of Makameillis corne
Was ſlane into Baquhidder.
Heir is the cordis, baith grit and lang,
Quhilk hangit Johnnie Armſtrang,
Of gud hempt, ſoft and ſound:
Gude haly pepill, I ſtand ford,
Quhavir beis hangit in this cord,
Neidis nevir to be dround.
The culum of St. Bryddis cow;
The grunttill of Santt Antonis ſow,
Quhilk bure his haly bell;
Quha evir heiris this bell clink,
Gife me a duccat to the drink,
He ſall nevir gang till hell,
Withowt he be with Belliall borne.
Maiſteris, trew ye that this be ſcorne?
Cum, win this pardone, cum!
Quha luvis thair wyvis not with thair hairt,
I haif power thame to depairt:
Me think you deif and dum.
Hes nane of yow curſt wickett wyvis
That haldis you into ſturt and ſtryvis?
Cum, tak my diſpenſatioun:
Off that ſummer I ſall mak yow quyt,
Howbeid your ſelf be in the wyte,
And mak an fals narratioun.
Cum wyn the pardone, now lat ſee,
For meill, for malt, or for money,
For cok, hen, guſe, or gryſs.
Off rellikkis heir I haif a hunder:
Quhy cum ye not? This is a wondir:
I trow ye be not wyſs.

This precious drama is ſuppoſed to have been repreſented at Linlithgow in the year 1539. It was alſo "playit beſide Edinburgh, in preſence of the Quene Regent, and ane greit part of the nobilitie, with ane exceiding greit nowmer of pepill; leſtand fra nyne houris afoir none til ſix houris at euin." From one of the ſtage-directions it appears, that at a proper ſeaſon the repreſentation was ſuſpended, and the ſpectators were permitted to refreſh themſelves during the interval. Spectators who remain in their ſtation for the ſpace of nine hours, muſt certainly meet with no ſlight degree of entertainment. Lindſay's *Satyre of the Thrie Eſtaitis* was alſo acted on the Caſtle-hill at Cowpar.

According to Dr. Mackenzie, Sir James Inglis, who is ſaid to have died in 1554, was the author of ſeveral tragedies and comedies. His only authority for this aſſertion is probably the following paſſage in Lindſay:

Quha can ſay mair than Schir James Inglis ſayis
In ballatis, farſis, and in plefand playis?

On the authority of various writers, Mr. Dalyell has ſtated, that about this time "a black friar Killor converted the hiſtory of Chriſt's Paſſion, a favourite topic in France and England, into a dramatic form; which, it would appear, was performed before the king on a Good-Friday morning; and, ſpeaking rather too freely of eccleſiaſtics and perſecution, he was burnt. One James Wedderburn wrote plays in the Scotiſh language. In a tragedy on the beheading of John the Baptiſt, he treated the corruptions of religion ſeverely; and, in a comedy, the hiſtory of Dionyſius the tyrant, he likewiſe attacked the Papiſts;—which were both performed at Dundee. He counterfeeted alſo the coniuring of a ghaiſt."

In the year 1555 an act of parliament had been paſſed, by which it was ordained, "that in all times cummyng, na maner of perſon be choſen Robert Hude, nor Little John, Abbot of Unreaſon, Queenis of May, nor otherwiſe, nouther

nouther in burgh nor to landwart." This ſtatute, however, was little regarded: and in 1560 a tumult was the conſequence of ſuch a prohibition. "The Papiſts and Biſhops," ſays John Knox, "diſappointed of their principall enterprize, did yet make broyle for trouble: For the raſcall multitude were ſtirred up to make a Robin Hood, which enormitie was of many years left off, and condemned by ſtatute and act of parliament; yet would they not bee forbidden, but would diſobey, and trouble the town, eſpecially upon the night: Whereat the Bayliffs offended, took from them ſome ſwords and enſeyne, which was occaſion that they that ſame night made a mutinie, kept the gatis of the town, and intended to have purſued ſome men within their owne houſes; but that, upon the reſtitution of their ſwords and enſeyne, was ſtayed. And yet they ceaſed not to moleſt, as well the inhabitants of Edinburg, as divers countrey-men, taking from them money, and threatening ſome with farther injuries: Wherewith the magiſtrates of the towne highly offended, took more diligent heed to ſuch as reſorted to the towne, and ſo apprehended one of the principall of that diſorder, named Balon a ſhoemaker, whom they put to an aſſizes."

Alexander Scott, in his *Gratulatioun of the Moneth of May*, a poem written about this period, expreſſes his regret that theſe games ſhould have loſt their ancient ſplendour:

In May quhen men yied everichone,
With Robene Hoid and Littil John,
To being in bowis and birkin bobynis;
Now all ne game is faſtlings gone,
Bot gif it be amangs clowin Robbynis.

At the baptiſm of James the Sixth, which was ſolemnized at Stirling on the 18th of December, 1566, a kind of rude attempt at theatrical repreſentation was exhibited to the courtiers. We are informed by Sir James Melvil, that "a French-man called Baſtien deviſed a number of men formed like Satyrs, with long tails, and whips in their hands, running before the meat, which was brought through the great hall upon a machine or engine marching, as appeared, alone; the muſicians, clothed like maids, ſinging and playing upon all ſorts of inſtruments. But the Satyrs were not content only to make way or room, but put their hands behind them to their tails, which they wagged with their hands in ſuch ſort as the Engliſh-men ſuppoſed it had been deviſed and done in deriſion of them, weakly apprehending that which they ſhould not have appeared to underſtand. Mr. Hatton ſaid unto me, if it were not in the queen's preſence, he would put a dagger to the heart of that French knave Baſtien."

On the 17th of January, 1568, a play written by Robert Semple was repreſented at Edinburgh before the regent and others of the nobility.

In the general aſſembly conſtituted at Edinburgh on the 7th of March, 1575, it was enacted, that "no comedies, nor tragedies, or ſuch plays, ſhould be made on any hiſtory of canonical Scriptures, nor on the Sabbath day: If any miniſter be the writer of ſuch a play, he ſhall be deprived of his miniſtry. As for plays of another kind, they alſo ſhould be examined before they be propounded publicly."

In

In 1576 the aſſembly refuſed its permiſſion to the bailie of Dunfermline, to repreſent on Sunday afternoon a certain play which was not founded on the canonical part of the Scriptures. Dr. Percy remarks, that Sunday was the day originally ſet apart for theatrical repreſentation; probably becauſe the firſt dramatic pieces were of a religious complexion. During a great part of Queen Elizabeth's reign, the Engliſh playhouſes were only opened on that day of the week.

In 1577, it was enacted by the aſſembly, "that the playes of Robin Hood, King of May, and ſuch others on the ſabbath day be diſcharged." Two years afterwards it was carried into a reſolution, that ſuch individuals, as after due admonition, perſiſted in frequenting May plays, ſhould not be admitted to the communion of the church, without yielding ſatisfaction for the ſpecified offence.

Theſe inſulated facts tend to evince, that exhibitions of this kind were among the favourite recreations of our anceſtors. The frequent interference of the church was neceſſary to prevent or to reform abuſes: and on theſe occaſions the reformed clergy appear to have acted with ſufficient liberality and moderation.

For many years ſucceeding this period, no regular theatre was eſtabliſhed in the Scotiſh metropolis. The plays, it would appear, were ſtill performed in the *play-field* between Leith and Edinburgh: and in all probability the performers were only caſually collected. Before the year 1633, no fewer than nineteen playhouſes had been opened in London.

A company of Engliſh comedians viſited Edinburgh in 1599. The clergy were offended at the arrival of ſuch gueſts, and began to exclaim in their ſermons againſt the vicious conduct of players. Notwithſtanding the royal licence which had been granted, they even ventured to prohibit the inhabitants, under pain of eccleſiaſtical cenſures, from frequenting the dramatic repreſentations; but on the interference of King James, they were under the neceſſity of repealing the act.

At Edinburgh in the year 1603 was publiſhed, "Ane verie excellent and delectabill treatiſe intitulit PHILOTUS." From the language and ſtyle we may perhaps conclude, that the compoſition and publication of this curious play were nearly of the ſame date. It is poſſible, however, that an edition ſomewhat earlier may have exiſted. In the meſſenger's addreſs to the audience theſe verſes occur:

Laſt, ſirs, now let us pray with ane accord,
For to preſerve the perſoun of our king;
Accounting ay this gift as of the Lord,
Ane prudent prince above us for to ring.

The work ſeems of a more modern date than the reign of King James the Fifth: and from theſe words of the meſſenger it is certain that it was not compoſed during the reign of Queen Mary.

The following argument was prefixed to the edition publiſhed at Edinburgh in 1612: "Philotus, an olde rich man, is enamoured with the love of Emilia, daughter to Alberto, who being refuſed, imployeth a macrell, or pandrous, to allure her thereto, but all in vain: afterward he dealeth with her

her father Alberto, who being blinded with the man's wealth, uſeth firſt faire words, and thereafter threatnings, to perſwade her thereto: the mayde ſtill refuſeth. In the mean time Flavius, a young man, enters in conference with the mayde, and obtaineth her conſent, who being diſguiſed, conveyeth herſelfe awaye privilie with the ſaid Flavius. Her father and Philotus ſearches for her in the houſe. Philerno, the maydes brother, laitlie arryved out of other countries (being very lyke her), is miſtaken by her father and Philotus to be Emilia; who takes the perſon of his ſiſter upon him, and, after diverſe threatnings of his father, conſenteth to marrie Philotus: and ſo Philotus committeth Philerno to the cuſtodie of his daughter Briſilla, untill the marriage ſhould be accompliſhed. Philerno faines himſelfe to Briſilla to be transformed in a man, and ſo maketh himſelfe familiar with her. Thereafter, Philerno is married to Philotus; who fearing to be diſcovered, maketh a brawling that ſame night with Philotus, and abuſeth him vyllie, and to colour the matter the better, agreeth with a whore to go to bed with Philotus. Flavius ſeeing the ſuppoſed Emilia to bee married to Philotus, imagines the right Emilia to be a devill, and, after many conjurations, expelleth her his houſe: ſhe returneth to her father Alberto, acknowledging her miſbehaviour, and lamenting her caſe. Flavius being ſent for, perceiving how he had miſtaken Emilia, revealeth the whole trueth, and ſo taketh her home agane to his wife, and Philerno Bryſilla. In the end, Philotus bewaileth his follie for purſuing ſo unequall a match, warning all men to beware, by his example."

The comedy of Philotus exhibits a dramatic plot ſufficiently complex. In ſeveral inſtances the laws of probability are undoubtedly violated; but the conduct of the piece is leſs irregular than might have been expected. Its conſtruction approaches much nearer to that of the modern drama than Lindſay's Satyre. The verſification poſſeſſes no inconſiderable degree of facility. The ſpeeches are generally long and declamatory. The diviſion into acts and ſcenes is not adopted.

About the time of the union of the two crowns, William Alexander, afterwards Earl of Stirling, began to compoſe his *Monarchicke Tragedies*. Theſe are four in number; namely *Cræſus*, *Darius*, *The Alexandræan Tragedie*, and *Julius Cæſar*. The author does not ſeem to have intended them for repreſentation; nor is their form very dramatic. The reader's attention is not ſolicited by plots and incidents: the characters are chiefly occupied in diſcuſſing the general principles of ethics and politics; and their ſpeeches frequently extend to a moſt enormous length. The tone of his ſentiments and diction is however energetic and manly. He has unfortunately adopted the elegiac quatrain; a mode of verſification by no means ſuited to dramatic compoſition. He has followed the ancient uſage of introducing a chorus; but his lyrical pieces are not very ſpirited or elegant. Seneca appears to have been the writer whom he propoſed as his model: both poets are equally fond

fond of declamation, and of pointed ſentences.

The Latin dramas compoſed by natives of Scotland are not here entitled to much of our notice; as it is not certain that any of them was ever repreſented in this country.

With reſpect to the works which Biſhop Douglas is ſaid to have produced under the title of comedies, it would be idle to form conjectures. One author denominates them *Comoediæ*, another *Comoediæ Sacræ*. Whether they were written in Latin or in Scotiſh, is not apparent. Their title affords no evidence of their being dramatic compoſitions: for, about the period when Douglas flouriſhed, tragedy and comedy were terms of very indefinite application.

Of theſe comic productions of Douglas, if in reality they ever exiſted, ſome vague notion may perhaps be formed by inſpecting the *Comoediæ Sacræ* of Cornelius Schonæus. The writer ſeems to have termed them comedies, becauſe, in the iſſue, the principal characters are always fortunate. The dialogue and the incidents are by no means of a comic nature; for he has ſelected his ſubjects from the ſacred volume, and has endeavoured to treat them in a manner calculated for advancing the intereſts of piety and virtue. He profeſſes to have regarded Terence as his model: and, if we may credit himſelf, he is no unſucceſsful imitator of that poet's ſtyle; for we are given to underſtand, that certain erudite Germans hailed him by the title of the Chriſtian Terence. Between his compoſitions however, and thoſe of the ancient poet, no ſtriking reſemblance will very readily be traced, except in thoſe paſſages where he purloins the phraſeology of his maſter. Schonæus was rector of the grammar-ſchool of Haerlem; and from the prologues it appears, that his ſacred comedies were repreſented by his own pupils. Theſe dramas, notwithſtanding their dulneſs, ſeem to have been favourably received: during his own life they twice viſited the preſs, blazoned by the encomiums of many a poetaſter; and in the time of Morhof they continued to be read in ſome of the continental ſchools.

The plan of ſelecting dramatic ſubjects from the ſacred writings, adopted in later times by Buchanan, Grotius, and Racine, appears to have derived its origin from a remote æra. During the fourth century many Greek tragedies of this deſcription had been compoſed, with the pious intention of expelling the Pagan dramas from the theatre of Conſtantinople. One of theſe has been preſerved under the title of *Chriſt Suffering*, and is commonly publiſhed among the works of Gregory Nazianzen: but Dr. Cave, without ſupporting his deciſion by arguments, has ventured to attribute it to the elder Apollinarius.

Buchanan's four tragedies were written during his reſidence at Bourdeaux, and, according to the practice which generally prevailed, were acted by the ſtudents of the univerſity. In furniſhing them with models of this kind, it was his principal object to explode the abſurd myſteries, which ſtill maintained the higheſt popularity in France. Theſe tragedies, as Le Clerc has remarked, are not the moſt finiſhed of Buchanan's productions;

tions; but they undoubtedly contributed in some measure to revive the spirit of the ancient drama.

Dempster's tragedy, entitled *Decemviratus Abrogatus*, was performed in the university of Paris; and, as he informs Thuanus in the dedication, was honoured with the attendance of a very numerous and splendid auditory. Its structure is by no means classical.

Such was the progress of our dramatic poetry till the commencement of the seventeenth century. Were we to trace it to a later period, the prospect would be found still more barren. Sir Thomas Sydserf and Mrs. Cockburn are the only names that occur till we descend to the age of Thomson, Mallet, and Armstrong; and even during the eighteenth century the dramatic poets of Scotland have seldom attained to any high degree of excellence. Our countrymen are in a great measure strangers to the true dramatic spirit. Into the causes of this striking deficiency it would be superfluous to institute a formal enquiry; they are such as every observer must readily discover. The removal of the court from our metropolis, and the consequent necessity of writing in a foreign dialect, were circumstances fatal to every department of literature; but their influence extended with more baneful efficacy to the peculiar genius of dramatic poetry.

Ancient Customs and Ceremonies of the Maltese.

(From Boisgelin's History of Ancient and Modern Malta.)

The Maltese, either from a wish to imitate the Oriental manners, the severities of which they had witnessed in the Arabs, or from the example of the jealous Spaniards, formerly kept their wives in the strictest retirement. The prudent inhabitants of the country constantly repeated to their children, "that women should never appear but twice in public; the day they were married, and when they were buried." They were therefore always employed within doors, and never went out, except at a very early hour to church, when they were entirely covered by a long and large mantle. This *costume* came originally from Sicily, and reached from the head to the feet: the forehead and eyes alone were visible; but the upper part of the mantle was cut in a different manner for unmarried women; the former wearing it round and the latter in a pointed form.

Sometime afterwards, when the fair sex was allowed a proper degree of liberty, and the desire of pleasing encreased with the opportunity of inspiring admiration, the women threw off this heavy garment, which not only kept them concealed, but was extremely unpleasant: they however constantly wore veils; which, they conceive, decency required to be black, and the only colour they could with propriety wear when absent from their own homes.

Marriages in Malta were always entirely arranged by the parents; who consulted their own interest, and the suitableness of the connection, without attending to the inclinations of their children. The articles of the contract settled, and the portion ascertained, the young man sent his intended bride a present consisting of certain fish ornamented with garlands of ribband,

band, and in the mouth of the fineſt among them a ring. The firſt interview was then fixed to take place in preſence of the parents and their particular friends, who were regaled with ſweetmeats and other refreſhments; but juſt before this meeting, the two mothers of the young people retired either into an arbour in the garden or ſome ſeparate apartment, where they prepared a mixture of aniſeed, aromatic plants, ſalt, and honey, with which they rubbed the bride's lips, with the idea of rendering her affable and prudent. She was then conducted to the room where her future huſband waited her arrival; who preſented her a ring on which were engraved two hands united, the emblem of mutual faith, together with bracelets, necklaces, and a gold chain, ſhe giving him in her turn a handkerchief trimmed with lace and bows of ribband.

On the day appointed for the celebration of the nuptials, the moſt reſpectable perſonages among the huſband's relations threw a white and very fine veil over the bride's head; who was extremely ornamented, and wore a velvet *ſimarre*, in which the other relations made certain rents for the purpoſe of affixing ſmall golden ſhells. They then proceeded to church for the *haddara* or ceremony, attended by performers on different inſtruments, and ſingers who ſang ſtanzas in praiſe of the young couple. Theſe muſicians were preceded by three men: the firſt bearing on his head a baſin of white earth, varniſhed and painted in araſbeſque, of a yellow colour; this was filled with freſh *brioches* (a kind of cake), on the largeſt of which were placed two ſmall figures: he alſo wore a ſcarf, with a round cake called *collora* hanging from it. The ſecond carried a baſket filled with ſugar-plums and candied nuts, which one of the relations diſtributed among the acquaintances he happened to meet: in the middle of the baſket was a handkerchief folded in the form of a pyramid, and ornamented with the images of the Virgin, Saint Joſeph, and the infant Jeſus. The third was conſtantly employed in burning perfumes. The bride and bridegroom followed, under a canopy of crimſon velvet feſtooned, carried by four of the principal perſons who attended the wedding; and the reſt of the relations cloſed the proceſſion. This cuſtom of the canopy continued in uſe till 1668, when it was forbidden by the biſhop.

The arrival of the proceſſion at the church was announced by the ringing of bells; and the prieſt was preſented with a baſin containing a cake, a handkerchief, and two bottles of wine, the uſual fee on ſuch occaſions. The bleſſing given, they returned from church in the ſame order as they went. The whole of the ceremony generally laſted four hours. On the entry of the new married couple into the houſe, a ſervant from one of the windows threw a few handfulls of grain and ſome ſmall money on their heads. There was a reigning prejudice in thoſe days among the Malteſe, which made them believe that if the wife on her return from church put her foot firſt on the threſhold of the door, ſhe would undoubtedly govern her huſband; now with ſuch an idea, it is not very likely the bridegroom ſhould be polite enough

to give place to his bride on this occaſion.

The nuptial feaſt took place immediately afterwards; but the bride either ate in a ſeparate apartment, or in a corner of the hall, which was properly prepared and covered with linen cloth to conceal her from public view. The repaſt over, ſhe was ſeated next her huſband, and drank out of the ſame cup.

At a village wedding, the company danced during the feaſt; each dancer throwing a piece of money to the fiddlers, and each gueſt contributing a fowl to the repaſt.

Till the beginning of the eighteenth century, all balls given in towns on wedding days were in the Spaniſh ſtyle, and every one danced with caſtanets in their hands.

The bride always paſſed the firſt week in her father's houſe; after which ſhe was received with much pomp by her huſband, whoſe relations gave a great feaſt and a ball.

The Malteſe never married during the month of May; indeed they carried their prejudice ſo far, that they would not even cut out a coat, thinking it impoſſible that any thing begun at that time could ever ſucceed. This ſuperſtition calls to remembrance the manner in which the Romans divided the year into fortunate and unfortunate days; and it is impoſſible not to perceive a great reſemblance between the old Malteſe cuſtoms, and thoſe of various ancient nations.

On the death of a Malteſe, two women called *Neuicha*, hired for the occaſion, and habited in long mourning cloaks, immediately entered the houſe of the deceaſed, ſinging, in a low and diſmal voice, ſome moral ſentences. Theſe women cut away the branches of ſuch vines as formed arbours in the courts, ranged through all the apartments, overturned the flower pots in the windows, broke ſome of the ornamental furniture, and carrying away the remains to a retired ſpot, threw them into a cauldron of boiling water, in which they mixed ſoot and aſhes. With this liquid they ſtained all the doors in the houſe, ſighing moſt bitterly whilſt performing the operation. The *neuicha* then proceeded to the chamber of the deceaſed, already in his coffin, and ſurrounded by his female relations wearing veils over their faces, and black ſilk cloaks; the room, otherwiſe entirely unfurniſhed, was hung with black cloth. The *neuicha*, throwing themſelves on their knees at the foot of the coffin, began ſinging the praiſes of the dead; and at the end of each couplet the other women beat their breaſts, wept bitterly, and cut off handfuls of their hair, which they ſtrewed over the coffin. The ſame day, cakes and boiled wheat were diſtributed among all the relations, and the hair was cut off all the tails of every horſe in the ſtables belonging to the houſe of the deceaſed.

The funeral proceſſion was always compoſed of the relations in mourning, preceded by hautboys, trumpets, and the *neuicha*. When the corpſe was interred, a pillow filled with orange and laurel leaves (the latter tree was regarded by the Pagans as expiatory) was placed under the head; and a carpet

pet ſpread over the tomb, which was ſuffered to remain ſome days, to ſhew that during that time it was forbidden to walk over it.

No fire was lighted for three days in the kitchen of the deceaſed, and either the moſt diſtant relation or moſt intimate friend ſent a dinner to the inhabitants of the houſe; which they ate croſs legged on a mat on the floor. Women on theſe occaſions remained forty days confined to the houſe, but men went out on the ſeventh day. The mourning laſted either one or two years, according to the degree of relationſhip.

The infectious diſtemper which deſtroyed ſuch numbers in Malta in 1676, put a ſtop to the ceremonies we have juſt deſcribed, and they have never ſince been renewed.

Account of the Rolls of Papiri, preſented to the Prince of Wales, by the King of Naples.

(From the Monthly Magazine.)

The ſix rolls of Papiri, preſented to the Prince of Wales by the King of Naples, are arrived in London; and, under the immediate auſpices of his Royal Highneſs, will be given to the world with all convenient ſpeed. In the year 1800, his Royal Highneſs directed the Rev. John Hayter, a gentleman eminently qualified for the taſk, to go to Italy, and with a ſuitable proviſion, to exert himſelf on the ſpot, under the permiſſion of the King of Naples, to unrol and tranſcribe the Papiri. Mr. Hayter addreſſed a letter to the Prince at the outſet of his miſſion, in 1800, an extract from which will be intereſting to our readers. "The number of the manuſcripts ſaved from Herculaneum and Pompeii, is ſaid to be about 500; but if I am rightly informed by thoſe whoſe official ſituation muſt give them a competent knowledge of the ſubject, your Royal Highneſs, by facilitating the developement of theſe volumes, will probably be the means of further excavation, and of reſcuing from their interment an infinite quantity of others. About thirty years ago, his Sicilian Majeſty ordered the developement, the tranſcription, and the printing of thoſe volumes which had then been ſaved, to be undertaken. This operation was accordingly begun, and has never been diſcontinued till the late invaſion of the French. But its mode, however excellent, was extremely ſlow; it has been performed by a ſingle perſon, with a ſingle frame only, under the direction of the Marquis del Vaſto, Chamberlain to the King, and Preſident of the Royal Academy. The frame conſiſts of ſeveral taper and oblong pieces of wood, with parallel threads of ſilk, that run on each ſide, the length of each piece; when the frame is laid on any volume, each piece of wood muſt be fixed preciſely over each line of the page, while the reſpective threads, being worked beneath each line, and aſſiſted by the correſponding piece of wood above, raiſe the line upwards, and diſcloſe the characters to view. The operation ſeems ingenious, and well adapted to the purpoſe; it was, I believe, invented by a Capuchin, at Naples.—The fruits of it are ſaid to be two publications only, one on muſic, by the celebrated

Philodemus, who was a cotemporary of Cicero; and the other on cookery. The first is in his Majesty's library, at the queen's palace. Through the obliging politeness of Mr. Barnard, the king's librarian, I have had the advantage of perusing it. Indeed, I hope your Royal Highness will not disapprove my acknowledging in this place the very warm and respectful interest which both this gentleman and the right honourable the President of the Royal Society have expressed for the furtherance of your Royal Highness's great and good design. Meanwhile, by this specimen of Philodemus I am convinced that, if the frames should be multiplied to the proposed extent, several pages of thirty different manuscripts might be disclosed and transcribed within the space of one week. But the very period at which the manuscripts were buried, serves to point out to your Royal Highness that you may expect the recovery of either the whole, or at least parts, of the best writers of antiquity, hitherto deemed irrecoverable. All of these, in truth, had written before that period, if we except Tacitus, whose inestimable works were unfortunately not composed till twenty years afterwards, during the reign of Trajan. Nor can it be imagined for a moment, that among five or six hundred manuscripts, already excavated, and especially from the numberless ones which further excavations may supply, lost at such a period in two of the most capital cities, in the richest, most frequented and most learned province, of Italy, each of them an established seat of the arts and sciences, each of them the resort of the most distinguished Romans, not any part of those illustrious authors should be discovered. But the manuscript of Philodemus itself makes the reverse of such an idea appear much more probable. To the moderns who have

> 'Untwisted all the chains that tie
> The hidden soul of harmony,'

his treatise on music cannot indeed be supposed to communicate much information; yet the subject is scientific, and scientifically treated. The author himself, too, was one of the most eminent men in his time for wit, learning, and philosophy. But in the rest of the arts and sciences, in history, in poetry, the discovery of any lost writer, either in whole or in part, would be deemed a most valuable acquisition and treasure, and form a new æra in literature. It is extremely fortunate that the characters of these manuscripts, whether they should be Greek or Latin, must be very obvious and legible. Before the year of our Lord 79, and some time after it, the Majusculæ or Unciales Litteræ, capital letters, were solely used. A page, therefore, in one of these manuscripts, would present to your Royal Highness an exact image of some mutilated inscription in those languages on an ancient column, statue, or sepulchre. There cannot remain a doubt, even omitting the assurances from men of official situation to that effect, that your Royal Highness's superintendant will receive every possible assistance from the Marquis del Vasto; and in that case it seems improbable that the object of this mission can be altogether fruitless. With such a termination of it, however, your Royal Highness, by having

having propoſed to concur with his Sicilian Majeſty in the quicker and more effectual developement, tranſcription, and publication of theſe manuſcripts, will reap the ſatisfaction of having made a moſt princely attempt in behalf of knowledge and literature, on an occaſion where their intereſts might be affected moſt materially, and in a manner of which no annals have afforded, or can hereafter afford, an example. Your very interpoſition will be your glory; your want of ſucceſs will only make the learned world feel with gratitude what you would have done." The interpoſition of the Prince of Wales has had the happy effect of reviving the drooping ſpirits of the Italian Literati, and the conſequence has been, that the buſineſs of unrolling and tranſcribing the manuſcripts now proceeds with the moſt promiſing ſucceſs. In forty-ſix years not more than eighteen rolls had been developed before the interference of his Royal Highneſs, but under his encouragement ninety have been recovered in two years! Several of theſe will be publiſhed, in the firſt inſtance, at Naples; and afterwards in this country, under the ſanction of his Royal Highneſs, by Mr. Phillips, who will alſo have the honour of publiſhing the ſix original rolls which have already arrived at Carleton Houſe.

MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

The State of Married Women among the Mahomedans.

(From Tennant's Indian Recreations.)

Caunpore, Jan. 1798.

OF this important part of domeſtic economy among Aſiatics, Europeans are, notwithſtanding all that has been written upon the ſubject, worſe informed than of any other. The very name of the apartments deſtined for the reſidence of married women, Haram (forbidden), implies the excluſion of all ſtrangers, particularly males, from theſe abodes. Our medical gentlemen, and even with them the occurrence is very rare, are the only perſons ever ſuffered to approach the dwelling of a married woman of rank: when in caſe of any dangerous illneſs a phyſician is applied to, he is only permitted to approach the door of the apartment, which is covered with a ſcreen, and there he muſt preſcribe, without ſeeing her, according to the replies he receives to his enquiries relating to her complaint. Hence the various relations, regarding the privileges, cuſtoms, and employment of Aſiatic females, are generally the offspring of the narrator's vanity, and may be regarded as deſtitute of truth and accuracy, ſince the writers enjoyed no opportunity of better information. Of the general fact, only, the ſecluſion of all females of rank, an European can decide; and when he urges the advantages of a freer intercourſe with the female character, he can ſpeak on no ſubject on which he is leſs likely to perſuade. To a Muſſulman, our notions regarding the treatment of females, always appear abſurd and ridiculous; and he ſeldom ſeems more ſatisfied with his wiſdom, than when he expatiates on the bad conſequences which are ſometimes the reſult of them.

It was to a converſation on this ſubject, with a learned Muſſulman, who lately viſited England, that we are indebted for "A Vindication of the Liberties of Aſiatic Women," written in Perſian by Abu Taleb Khan, a native of Lucknow, in the province of Owde. This paper, the production of a learned Aſiatic, upon

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this intereſting ſubject, has been tranſlated, and preſerved in the Aſiatic Annual Regiſter, as a more authentic document, than perhaps the public are yet in poſſeſſion of, relating to the married ſtate of the Orientaliſts.

"One day, ſays Abul Taleb, in a certain company, the converſation turned upon liberty, in reſpect of which the Engliſh conſider their own cuſtoms as the moſt perfect in the world. An Engliſh lady, addreſſing herſelf to me, obſerved, that the women of Aſia had no liberty at all, but live like ſlaves, without honour, and without authority, in the houſes of their huſbands; and ſhe cenſured the men for their unkindneſs, and the women alſo, for ſubmitting to be ſo undervalued. However much I attempted, by various ways, to undeceive her, by obſerving, that the truth is exactly the reverſe, (for it is the European women who do not poſſeſs ſo much power,) yet it did not bring conviction to her mind. She, however, began to waver in her own opinion, and falling into doubt, requeſted of me to write ſomething on the ſubject, the purport of which ſhe might comprehend at one view, and be enabled to diſtinguiſh the truth from falſehood.

"Since the ſame wrong opinion is deeply rooted in the minds of all other Europeans, and has been frequently held forth, I conſidered it neceſſary to write a few lines concerning the privileges of the female ſex, as eſtabliſhed both by law and cuſtom, in Aſia, and in Europe, omitting whatever was common to both, and noticing what is peculiar to each, in the manner of compariſon, that the diſtinction may be the more eaſily made, and the real ſtate of the caſe become evident to thoſe capable of diſcernment.

"It muſt firſt be laid down as a general maxim, that in ſocial order, reſpect to the rules of politeneſs, and forbearance from injury, is a neceſſary condition; for, otherwiſe, the liberty of one would be deſtructive of the liberty of another: thus, if a perſon be at liberty to do in his own houſe what may endanger the ſafety of his neighbour's, this muſt be in direct oppoſition to the liberty of that neighbour; or, if in order to free himſelf from the inconvenience of the hot weather, he ſhould viſit his friend in his dreſſing gown, or night ſhirt, although it would be eaſe and liberty to him, yet it would be ſowing the ſeeds of ill-breeding; therefore the obſervance of theſe rules is eſſential.

"Thoſe things which make the liberty of the Aſiatic women appear leſs than that of the Europeans, are in my opinion ſix: Firſt, The little intercourſe with men, and concealment from view, agreeable to law, and their own habits; and this is the chief of the whole; for it has been the cauſe of thoſe falſe notions entertained by European women, that the inclination of the Aſiatic females leads them to walk out in the ſtreets, and market places, and that their huſbands keep them ſhut up, and ſet guards upon their doors. It may be here obſerved, that the advantages of this little intercourſe, which prevents all the evils from the admittance of ſtrangers, and affords ſo much time for employment and uſeful work, are ſo very manifeſt, that they need not be enlarged upon:

upon: the practice in London of keeping the doors of the houſes ſhut, and the contemptible condition of the Dutch at the Cape of Good Hope, are ſufficient proofs. If, notwithſtanding this, the cuſtom of intercourſe of the ſexes is allowed in England, it is owing both to the force of cuſtom, and good morals among the Engliſh, and to the apprehenſion of greater inconveniences in the contrary practice. The chief of theſe inconveniences are four; firſt, the high price of all things, and the ſmall number of ſervants, and rooms; for were there a ſeparate houſe and table, and equipage for the wife, the expence would be too great to be borne; and therefore of neceſſity both huſband and wife eat their food, with their gueſts, in one place, ſleep together in the ſame chamber, and cannot avoid being always in each other's company: whereas in Aſia, where, by the cheapneſs of work, the women have ſeparate apartments for themſelves, they have not to make their time and convenience ſuit that of their huſbands. When their particular friends are with them, they do not deſire their huſband's company for ſeveral days, but ſend his victuals to him in the murdanna (mens' apartment); and, in like manner, when the huſband wiſhes to be undiſturbed, he eats and ſleeps in the murdannah.

"A ſecond reaſon for this intercourſe in England, is the coldneſs of the climate, which requires exerciſe and walking, and the huſband to ſleep in the ſame bed with his wife: but concealment from view is incompatible with walking; and as for the ſecond caſe, the want of room is the cauſe: for it is natural for mankind, when under diſtreſs and affliction of mind, to wiſh frequently for retirement and privacy, by ſleeping alone.

"A third cauſe is, the people here being all of one race; for in this kingdom, placed in a corner of the globe, where there is no coming nor going of foreigners, the intercourſe of the ſexes is not attended with the ſame conſequences of a corruption of manners as in Aſia, where people of various nations dwell in the ſame city; and to allow the women ſuch a liberty there, where there is ſuch danger of corruption, would be an encroachment upon the liberty of the men, which (as ſhown in the beginning) is contrary to juſtice. That a corruption of manners muſt enſue, where various kinds of people mix together, is too evident to need demonſtration. Before the Muſſulmans entered Hindoſtan, the women did not conceal themſelves from view; and even now, in all the Hindoo villages, it is not cuſtomary: and it is well known how inviolable the Hindoos preſerve their own cuſtoms, and how obſtinately they are attached to them: but now ſo rigidly do women in the great towns obſerve this practice of concealment from view, that the bride does not even ſhow herſelf to her father-in-law, and the ſiſter comes but ſeldom into the preſence of her brother.

"A fourth cauſe of the cuſtom in Europe is, the neceſſity which the women there have to acquire experience in the affairs of the world, and to learn various arts on account of the duty laid upon them of taking part in their huſ-

band's

band's buſineſs. This experience could not be obtained by keeping in concealment; whereas the duties of Aſiatic women conſiſting only in having the cuſtody of the huſband's property, and bringing up the children, they have no occaſion for ſuch experience, or for laying aſide their own cuſtom of concealment. What has been juſt ſaid, was to ſhow that the Aſiatic women have no neceſſity to expoſe their perſons; but it muſt alſo be obſerved that they have many reaſons for preferring privacy. One is the love of leiſure, and repoſe from the fatigue of motion; a ſecond, their deſire of preſerving their honour by not mixing with the vulgar, nor ſuffering the inſults of the low and rude, who are always paſſing along the ſtreets. This feeling they have in common with the wives of European noblemen, who, to preſeve their dignity, are never ſeen walking on the ſtreets; and alſo with ladies in private life, who, when walking out at night, and even in the day, are always attended by a male friend, or ſervant, who protects them.

"The notion which the European women have, that the women of Aſia never ſee a man's face but their huſband's, and are debarred from all amuſement and ſociety, proceeds entirely from miſinformation: they can keep company with their huſband's and father's male relations, and with old neighbours and domeſtics; and at meals there are always many men and women of this deſcription preſent: and they can go in palankeens to the houſes of their relations, and of ladies of their own rank, even though the huſbands are unacquainted; and alſo to walk in the gardens, after ſtrangers are excluded; and they can ſend for muſicians, and dancers to entertain them at their own houſes; and they have many other modes of amuſement beſides thoſe mentioned.

"The ſecond cauſe why the liberty of Aſiatic women appears leſs than that of Europeans, is the privilege of the huſband, by law, to marry ſeveral wives. This, to the European women, ſeems a grievous oppreſſion; and they hold thoſe very cheap who ſubmit to it. But, in truth, the cauſe of this law and cuſtom is the nature of the female ſex themſelves, which ſeparates them from the huſband the ſeveral laſt months of pregnancy, and time of ſuckling; and, beſides theſe, the Aſiatic women have many other times of being ſeparate from their huſbands. This privilege not being allowed by the Engliſh law, is indeed a great hardſhip upon the Engliſh huſbands; whereas the Aſiatic law permitting polygamy, does the huſband juſtice, and wrongs not the wife; for the honour of the firſt and equal wife is not affected by it; thoſe women who ſubmit to marry with a married man, not being admitted into the ſociety of ladies, as they are never of high or wealthy families, no man of honour ever allowing his daughter to make ſuch a marriage.

"The mode in which theſe other wives live is this: thoſe who are of genteel extraction have a ſeparate houſe for themſelves, like kept miſtreſſes in England; and thoſe who are not, live in the houſe of the equal wife, like ſervants, and the huſband at times conveys himſelf

himſelf to them in a clandeſtine manner. Beſides, theſe wives cannot invade any of the rights of the equal wife; for although they and their children are by law entitled to inheritance, yet ſince the equal wife never marries without a very large dowry ſettled upon her, all that the huſband leaves goes to the payment of this dowry, and nothing remains for his heirs. The opinion, that the men of Aſia have three or four wives, is very ill founded, for in common they have only one; out of a thouſand there will be fifty perſons who have from one to two, and ten out of theſe who have not more than two. The fear of the bad conſequence of polygamy makes men ſubmit with patience to the times of ſeparation of the equal wife, as much the beſt way: for, from what I know, it is eaſier to live with two tygreſſes than two wives.

"The third cauſe is the power of divorce being in the hands of the huſband. This is ordained by law, but not practiſed: for if a great offence be the motive to divorce a wife, and if it be proved againſt her, ſhe receives puniſhment by the order of the magiſtrate, or from the huſband, with the concurrence of all her relations; and if the offence be of a trivial nature, ſuch as a difference of temper and inſociability, the huſband puniſhes her by leaving the female apartment, and living in his own. But the reaſon for divorce being the will of the huſband, lies in the very juſtice of the law, and the diſtinction of the male ſex over the female, on account of the greater ſhare they take in the management of the world; for all the laborious work falls to their lot, ſuch as carrying heavy burdens, going to war, repulſing enemies, &c. and the women generally ſpend their lives in repoſe and quiet. Nevertheleſs, if a wife eſtabliſh a criminal offence againſt her huſband, ſuch as an unfair diſtribution of his time among them, or a diminution of the neceſſaries of life, ſhe can obtain a divorce in ſpite of him.

"The fourth is, the little credit the law attaches to the evidence of women in Aſia; for, in a court of juſtice, every fact is proved by the teſtimony of two men; but if women be the witneſſes, four are required. This does not ariſe from the ſuperiority of the one over the other, but it is founded on the little experience and knowledge women poſſeſs, and the ficklenes of their diſpoſition.

"The fifth is, the Aſiatic women having to leave off going to balls and entertainments, and wearing ſhewy dreſſes and ornaments, after the death of their huſbands. This is owing to their great affection for their huſband's memory; and their own modes and habits; for there is nothing to prevent a woman from doing otherwiſe, or marrying a ſecond huſband, but the dread of expoſing herſelf to the ridicule and cenſure of women of her own rank.

"The ſixth is, the Aſiatic daughters not having the liberty of chooſing their huſbands. On this head nothing need be ſaid; for in Europe this liberty is nearly nominal, ſince without the will of the father and mother, the daughter's choice is of no avail; and in its effects it ſerves only to encourage running away (as the male and female ſlaves in India do,) and

and to breed coldneſs and trouble among the members of a family. But granting that ſuch a liberty does exiſt in England, the deſpair and miſery it muſt always entail are very evident. The choice of a girl juſt come from the nurſery, and deſirous by nature to get a huſband, in an affair upon which the happineſs of her whole life depends, can neither deſerve that reſpect nor conſideration which is due to the choice of her parents, who have profited by experience, and are not blinded by paſſion.

" But what the Aſiatic women have more than the European, both by law and cuſtom, may be ranked under eight heads: " Firſt, Their power over the property and children of the huſband by cuſtom; for the men of Aſia conſider the principal object of marriage, after the procreation of their own ſpecies for the worſhip of God, two things; the one to have their money and effects taken care of, and the other to have their children brought up, ſo that they themſelves being entirely diſengaged of theſe concerns, may turn the whole of their endeavours to the attainment of their various purſuits. The chief part, therefore, of whatever wealth they may acquire, they give in charge to their wives, and thus the women have it in their power to annihilate in one day the product of a whole life. Although this ſeldom happens, yet it often occurs, that the huſband, who has amaſſed a large fortune in youth and power, and has delivered it in charge to his wife, when he demands it back in old age and neceſſity, ſhe does not allow him more than daily ſupport, and lays the reſt up in a place of ſecurity for the ſake of her children. And ſo great is the power they poſſeſs, as to the diſpoſal of their children, that frequently they are brought up without any education, or die in childhood; for the women, on account of their little ſenſe, are never pleaſed to part with their children, by ſending them to ſchool, and to acquire experience by travelling; and when they fall ſick, they give them improper medicines, by the advice of their own confidants; or, from their ſoftneſs of heart, indulge them in whatever it is the nature of the ſick to take a longing for, and thus they cauſe their death.

" Second, Their power by cuſtom, as to the marriage of their children, and choice of their religious faith; for if the huſband wiſhes to give one of them in marriage to a perſon the mother diſapproves of, the match does not take place, but in the other way it generally does. All the children, both male and female, from being moſtly in the company of the mother, and looking upon her as their protector againſt the father, whom, on account of his wiſhing to have them educated, they conſider as their tormentor, follow the religious tenets of their mother, and remain perfect ſtrangers to thoſe of their father. It often happens where the wife is a Schiah, and the huſband a Sounie, the children having been Shiahs from their own natural diſpoſition, and the inſtruction of the mother, ſpeak diſreſpectfully of the chiefs of the Sounie ſect, in their father's preſence; and he who never all his life bore ſuch language from any perſon, but was ready to put the ſpeaker of it to death, has no redreſs but patiently

patiently to hear it from them, as, on account of their want of understanding, they are excuseable: and thus, by frequent repetition, his attachment to his faith is shaken, and in the course of time he either forsakes it entirely, or remains in it with lukewarmness.

"Third, Their authority of their servants; for the servants of the Murdunnah, the keeping and changing of whom is in the hands of the husband, through fear of exposing themselves to the displeasure of the wife, when she finds a proper opportunity, by their committing some fault, which servants are constantly doing, are more obedient to her than their own masters: and the servants of the Zenana, whom the wife has the care of retaining, or turning off, stand so much in awe of their mistress, that many of them pass their whole lives in the Zenana, without ever once coming into the presence of the husband. Some of them never perform any service for him at all, and others who do, enter not into discourse with him; and the women are so obstinate in this respect, that their husbands can never turn off one of the servants, but his very complaint against them is a recommendation; and his recommendation has the effect of a complaint, by subjecting them to their mistress's resentment.

"Contrary to this is the manner of the European ladies, who have not their own will with their children and servants, but live more like free and familiar guests in their husbands' houses; and the household establishment and equipage being common to both, if any part, as the carriage, for example, is previously employed by the one, the other has to wait till it is disengaged: of this there is no doubt, that if a quarrel ensues between an English husband and wife, the wife has to leave the house, and seek her dinner, either at her father's, or a friend's; whereas in Asia it is the husband who has to go out; for frequently the utensils of cookery are not kept in the murdannah.

"Fourth, the freedom, by custom of the Asiatic women from assisting in the business of the husband, or service of his guests; whereas this is generally the business of European wives, whether their husbands be of a genteel business, such as jewellery, mercery, or perfumery, or the more servile ones; I have seen many rise from their dinner to answer the demands of a purchaser: and although all these duties are not required of the ladies, yet some, especially the entertaining of the guests, carving and helping the dishes at table, and making the tea and coffee, are generally performed by them. Now the Asiatic ladies have no such duties at all; but live in the manner before described.

"Fifth, the greater deference the Asiatic ladies find paid to their humours, and prescriptive right of teazing their husbands by every pretext, which is considered as an essential quality of beauty: for if a wife does not put these in practice, but is submissive to her husband's will in every thing, her charms very soon lose their brilliancy in his eyes. Thus when a wife goes to visit her father, she will not return to her husband till he has come himself several times

to

to fetch her; and being as often vexed by her breaking her promiſe. And every day when dinner is ſerved, by pretending to be engaged at the time, ſhe keeps her huſband waiting, and does not come till the meat is cold; and in the ſame manner at bed-time; for returning quickly from their father's houſe is conſidered as a ſign of fondneſs for the huſband, which looks ill, as they think; and coming ſoon to dinner, in their opinion, betrays the diſpoſition of a hungry beggar. In theſe and ſuch caſes, the huſband has nothing for it but patience; nay, it ever pleaſes him. I have known many beautiful women, conſtant in their affection, and obedient to their huſbands night and day, whom, for want of theſe qualities, their huſbands quickly grew tired of, and unjuſtly deſerted, for the ſake of plain women who poſſeſſed them.

"Sixth, The greater reliance placed by the Aſiatic huſbands in their wives' virtue, both from law and cuſtom. Although European ladies can go out of doors, and diſcourſe with ſtrangers, yet this is not allowed, unleſs they have a truſty perſon along with them, either of the huſband's or the father's; and ſleeping out all night is abſolutely denied them. The Aſiatic ladies, on the contrary, when they go to the houſe of a lady of their acquaintance, though their huſbands be entire ſtrangers, are not attended by any of the huſband's or father's, and they ſpend not only one or two nights in that houſe, but even a whole week: and in ſuch a houſe, though the maſter is prohibited from entering the apartments where they are, yet the young men of fifteen, belonging to the family or relations, under the name of children, have free acceſs, and eat with and enter into the amuſements of their gueſts.

"Seventh, Their ſhare in the children by law. For, if a divorce happens, the ſons go to the father, and the daughters to the mother, contrary to the cuſtom in England, where, if a divorce happens, the mother, who for twenty years may have toiled and conſumed herſelf in bringing up her children, has to abandon all to the father, and, full of grief and affliction, leave his houſe.

"Eighth, The eaſe both by law and cuſtom, with which the wife may ſeparate herſelf from her huſband, when there may be a quarrel between them, without producing a divorce. Thus the wife, in an hour's time after the diſpute, ſets off with the children and her property to the houſe of her father, or relations, and until her huſband makes her ſatisfaction ſhe does not return: and this ſhe can always do without a moment's delay.

"Beſides theſe eight, as above noticed, of the ſuperior advantages the Aſiatic women enjoy over the European, there are many others here omitted for brevity ſake. What has been ſaid is enough for people of diſcernment *."

* Abu Taleb is a man of high rank and character, and has been employed in ſituations of great truſt by the government of Owde, and by the Marquis Cornwallis: he is better acquainted with the ſubject than any European can pretend to be; yet as he ſeems to have a caſe to make out in this vindication of the rights of Aſiatic wives, he is probably not to be believed to the full extent of every aſſertion, though upon the whole a credible evidence.

On

On the Scandinavian Mythology.

(From Drake's Literary Hours, Vol. III.)

Now I rove
Thro' wildeſt ſcenes of ſtrange ſublimity—
Niſthil's nine worlds, and Surtur's fiery plain,
And where upon Creation's uttermoſt verge,
The weary Dwarfs, that bear the weight of Heaven,
Hope the long winter that no ſpring muſt cheer,
And the laſt ſound that from Heimdaller's trump
Shall echo thro' all worlds, and ſound the knell
Of earth and heaven.

A ſtrange and ſavage faith
Of mightieſt power! SOUTHEY.

The mythology of *Scandinavia*, the religion of our Gothic anceſtors, has, more than any other code of polytheiſm, a claim to our particular attention. With it is connected a conſiderable portion of our annals, and the manners, cuſtoms, poetry and laws, not only of this iſland, but of nearly the whole of Europe, have, in a great degree, derived their form and colour from this wild and ſingular ſyſtem of fabling. Chivalry, gallantry, and romantic fiction, are more peculiarly the children of the north, and many of the impreſſive ſuperſtitions which delight imagination in the Tales of the Trouveurs, and in the works of our elder bards, and even ſtill linger in the popular, may with little difficulty be traced to the pages of the Icelandic Edda.

Modern poetry, however, ſeems to have drawn few embelliſhments from this ample ſtore-houſe of imagery; from Dryden to Gray rare are the features which bear any reſemblanne to the ſublime paintings of ſcaldic fancy. To the latter, it muſt be allowed, we are indebted for the introduction into lyric poetry of ſome very ſplendid and terrific ſtrokes, the immediate offſpring of the Edda, and his imitations from the Norwegian, in words that breathe and burn, place before our eyes two of its nobleſt fictions; but this fortunate commencement has not hitherto ſtimulated many to purſue a ſimilar path. Two or three odes by Penroſe, Sterling and Bruce, the Arthur of Hole and the Sketches of Sayers, a few imitations by Mathias, and the tranſlations of Percy, Downman and Cottle form, I believe, nearly a complete liſt of our attempts to introduce the Scandinavian mythology.

One principal reaſon why theſe efforts have failed, though under the conduct of great poetical powers, has been owing to the obſcurity which time has thrown over the doctrines of the Edda. Hence the beautiful Sketches of Sayers, and many admirable deſcriptions in Arthur, are little reliſhed or underſtood by the common reader. To render poetry of this deſcription intereſting, and to impart a taſte for its imagery and alluſions, it is neceſſary that the fictions and manners on which it is conſtructed ſhould be familiar. It has been found eſſential, in order to enter into the ſpirit of the Claſſics of ancient Greece and Rome, to ſtudy accurately their mythology, hiſtory, and cuſtoms, and many works written in a popular and elegant manner, and therefore well calculated to facilitate this preliminary

liminary knowledge, have been publiſhed in various languages. Now, with regard to the fables and religion of the Goths, we poſſeſs but one production, which, from its fulneſs and authenticity, can be ſafely taken for a guide. From the Introduction to the Hiſtory of Denmark by M. Mallet, or rather from this work as tranſlated, and under the title of "Northern Antiquities," greatly improved by the corrections of Dr. Percy, almoſt every information requiſite to a perfect intimacy with the Edda or gothic ſyſtem of religion, may be acquired. Thirty years, however, having elapſed ſince theſe volumes appeared, they are now with difficulty obtained, nor are they, when procured, from their form and elaboration, adapted for general peruſal. The lovers of Engliſh poetry, indeed, ſeem at the preſent period as little to reliſh the imagery drawn from this ſource as previous to the publication of the work, and thoſe who have lately indulged in a diſplay of the bold fictions of the Goths, have done it at the riſque of being unintelligible, and therefore neglected.

As I am confident, however, that a knowledge of the religion and manners of the ancient inhabitants of Scandinavia is alone wanting to induce a taſte for theſe ingenious writers, and that the chief reaſon why this has not hitherto been obtained, has been owing to the want of an eaſy and popular illuſtration, I have been tempted, in the view of doing juſtice to productions of much merit, and with the hope of contributing to a freer introduction into our poetry of the daring and enthuſiaſtic features of northern ſuperſtition, to occupy a few hours in evolving its moſt ſtriking and magnificent peculiarities.

In carrying this plan into execution, I ſhall endeavour by beautiful quotation, critical diſcuſſion, and poetic imitation, to render the ſubject attractive, and to enable the reader to enter into the ſpirit of images and alluſions, which, I truſt, will in future be more frequently found ſcattered through the body of our poetry.

To detail, however, every fiction which the lawleſs imagination of a rude people, prone to war and credulity, has engendered, would be ſuperfluous and abſurd. There are among the terrible and ſublime pictures of the gothic mythology, many ſcenes equally puerile and extravagant, and therefore totally inconſiſtent with the higher departments of the Muſe. To diſtinguiſh thoſe which appear beſt calculated to embelliſh our epic, dramatic, and lyric poetry, I wiſh ſhould be underſtood as the principal intention of theſe papers.

At that period of the Roman republic, when Mithridates flying before the arms of Pompey, implored the friendſhip and aſſiſtance of the Scythians, Odin, the chieftain of the Aſes, a people occupying Georgia, and nearly the entire tract of country between the Euxine and the Caſpian ſea, alarmed at the deſtructive progreſs of the Romans, and dreading even worſe than death the imperious mandates of the conqueror, deſerted with his whole tribe the country of his fathers, and purſuing a north weſterly courſe, ſought for liberty and independence in the wilds of Scandinavia.

Here he was received with that hoſpitality and admiration to which the ſuperior proweſs and civilization of himſelf and his people were entitled; Denmark, Norway, and Sweden, were ſubdued by the arms or by the arts of Odin, and he gradually imparted to the north of Europe his religion, his manners, and his military enthuſiaſm.

It is the ingenious ſuppoſition of ſome literary men, that animated by a ſpirit of profound revenge againſt the enſlavers of mankind, the Aſiatic chief led his hordes into Scandinavia as a nurſery of future heroes who, at ſome diſtant period, ſhould pour in torrents on the devoted empire, and retaliate the injuries inflicted on their founder. A conjecture ſo pleaſing as this, and which in a manner ſo ſtriking accounts for the dreadful ravages of thoſe ferocious deſpots, Alaric and Attila, the mind diſmiſſes with reluctance though founded on no authority. It gives indeed ſo romantic a colouring to one of the moſt important events in hiſtory, a colouring ſo well adapted to the purpoſes of the poet, that its total want of ſupport muſt to him be a ſubject of regret. In this light has it been conſidered by Gibbon, when he obſerves, "this wonderful expedition of Odin, by deducing the enmity of the Goths and Romans from ſo memorable a cauſe, might ſupply the noble ground work of an epic poem." It will appear, I ſhould hope, from theſe ſketches, that gothic fiction is admirably calculated to ſupply ſo bold an outline with a machinery of the moſt ſublime and impreſſive caſt. Had Gray ever conquered his indolence ſo far as to have purſued this path to fame, he would moſt probably have convinced us that the ſame fire and animation which from this ſource breathe through all the accents of his lyre, might glow with even ſuperior ſpirit in the deeper intonations of the epic ſhell.

Returning, however, from this digreſſion, to the character of Odin, it would appear, that he was, in every reſpect, formed to mould the people among whom he came, to all his purpoſes of ambition. He was in Aſiatic Scythia merely the High Prieſt of the eſtabliſhed religion, and which acknowledged one ſupreme God, under the name of Odin, a name which, in Scandinavia, he at length had the addreſs to appropriate to himſelf, and waving the ſubordinate title of prophet or pontiff, boldly claimed the honours due to the deity, and taught, to theſe rude and wondering ſavages, a new ſyſtem of mythology very widely different from the ſimple creed of his anceſtors. An attempt, ſo daring as this, required, for its completion, powers of a very ſuperior order, and applicable to every occaſion. Theſe, in all their varied form, appear, from the records of tradition and hiſtory, to have centered in this extraordinary man. Intrepid valour, the firſt of all virtues in the eſtimation of uncultivated ſociety, was the peculiar characteriſtic of Odin, and the baſis on which he erected his ſyſtem of religion. In the hour of battle ſuch was his invincible proweſs, that he inſpired his opponents with the utmoſt apprehenſion and horror, ſo that, ruſhing through their ranks, he hewed them to pieces, whilſt, not unfrequently, he himſelf

ſelf remained uninjured amid the ſurrounding carnage.

To this neceſſary qualification of animal courage were added, in our gothic hero, what was equally eſſential, a perfect inſight into the characters of the conquered, and the art to avail himſelf of their credulity and ignorance. To a people ſo very rude as were the Scandinavians, the knowledge which Odin poſſeſſed of letters, and the art of writing, appeared ſupernatural, and he taught them to believe, that through the medium of the Runic characters, thrown into metre or graven on wood or ſtone, in varied forms, he could compel all the powers of nature to obey him.

"Do you know," ſays he, in a tone of exultation, "how to engrave Runic characters? how to explain them? how to procure them? how to prove their virtue?

"I know a ſong, by which I ſoften and enchant the arms of my enemies; and render their weapons of none effect.

"I know a ſong, which I need only to ſing when men have loaded me with bonds, for the moment I ſing it my chains fall in pieces, and I walk forth at liberty.

"I know a ſong of ſuch virtue, that were I caught in a ſtorm, I can huſh the winds, and render the air perfectly calm.

"If I ſee a man dead, and hanging aloft on a tree, I engrave Runic characters, ſo wonderful, that the man immediately deſcends and converſes with me."

To theſe magical endowments he annexed many other important ſuperſtitions, the principal of which was the privilege of conſulting the oracle of Mimer, a man celebrated for his wiſdom through the north, on whoſe death Odin poſſeſſed himſelf of his head, embalmed it, and, by his enchantments, reſtored it, he affirmed, on any emergency, to the powers of ſpeech. This invaluable buſt was ever his companion, never differed from him, it is probable, in opinion, and was held in the higheſt veneration by the adoring multitude.

What chiefly contributed to render the aſſumption of theſe ſuperhuman faculties the more eaſy, was the perſuaſive eloquence with which, on every opportunity, the Aſiatic warrior harangued his followers; the annals of Iceland ſpeak in the moſt laviſh terms of the beauty, energy, and all-commanding influence of his language and addreſs: he it was alſo who firſt taught the Scandinavians the melody of rhythm and of verſe, in which he chaunted, not only the ſentiments of heroiſm and national revenge, but occaſionally expreſſed paſſions the moſt tender and delightful, ſo that, adopting the metaphorical imagery of the north, even the ſpirits of the infernal world would leave their dread abodes, and liſten motionleſs and loſt in rapture to the muſic of his lips.

Theſe ſtriking claims to diſtinction were enforced, by the ſuperior luxury, magnificence and ſcience, which he imported from the banks of the Tanais, for though Odin and his companions were themſelves contraſted with the great potentates of the eaſt, in a ſtate comparatively rude and unpoliſhed, yet, to the ſavages of northern Europe, they appeared as demi-gods, as beings gifted beyond the common portion of mankind. That to

the moſt valiant and accompliſhed of theſe ſtrangers, therefore, who had driven every nation before him from the confines of Perſia to the ſhores of the Baltic, who had ſubdued the three kingdoms of the north, and planted his religion in the hearts of the inhabitants, that to a man capable of actions ſuch as theſe, they ſhould cede an homage due only to divinity, can, philoſophically conſidered, furniſh little matter for ſurpriſe. To ſupport, however, the high ſtation he had aſſumed, to excite an enthuſiaſm for the doctrines he had inculcated, and to offer in his own perſon an example and a proof of his ſuperior nature, and of the ſacred and eternal obligation of his principles, required conſummate ſubtlety and determined reſolution. As the felicity conſequent on a violent and honourable death, which alone procured admiſſion to the manſions of the Gods, was a peculiar tenet of his religion, it was obligatory on his part, ere debility and diſeaſe ſhould overtake him, to depart in the manner he had preſcribed. Accordingly, on his return from the conqueſt of Norway, which completed the ſubjugation of Scandinavia, he paſſed into Sweden, and gathering around him his friends, the companions of his glory and ambition, he informed them, unſheathing his ſword, and inflicting nine mortal wounds in the form of a circle on his body, that he was haſtening into Scythia, to his native habitation, the manſions of the eternal Gods, where, reſuming his ſeat at an everlaſting banquet, he would receive, with the higheſt marks of diſtinction, thoſe who fell honourably in battle, who had received their wounds in front, and had preſerved their ſhields and ſwords. His body was burnt to aſhes at Sigtuna in Sweden, with every demonſtration of honour and magnificence.

Thus expired the legiſlator of the north, a man whoſe inordinate ambition and gigantic abilities, enabled him, not only to acquire the ordinary influence of a conqueror, but to obtain unlimited dominion over the minds and paſſions of his followers, to found a new religion, and to eſtabliſh himſelf as its firſt deity.

Before we trace, however, the more prominent features of the mythology which he invented, it will be neceſſary to give a ſlight ſketch of the religious opinions which had prevailed in Scythia many ages anterior to his innovations.

Theſe, from all the evidence that hiſtory and tradition can ſupply, appear to have been very pure and rational, and to have been preſerved free from adulteration, long after the ſouthern Aſiatics had vitiated ſimilar principles, by the paintings of a vivid imagination. They held, in the firſt place, that matter did not exiſt from eternity, but required a cauſe for its production; this primal cauſe they deemed a perfect Being, the Creator of all things. The moſt ancient records term him "The author of every thing that exiſteth; the eternal, the ancient, the living and awful Being; the ſearcher into concealed things; the Being that never changeth; who poſſeſſeth infinite power, boundleſs knowledge, and incorruptible juſtice." To exhibit this ſtupendous Being under any corporeal form, to confine him within the limits of a temple built with human hands, they deemed

deemed a profanation; it was in the centre only of ſome venerable wood or conſecrated foreſt, where an awful ſtillneſs as at midnight reigned, that they preſented, with profound reſpect and ſalutary fear, the offerings of ſimplicity and truth.

It is not to be ſuppoſed, however, that a God, ſo perfectly intellectual and abſtract, ſhould fully ſatisfy the hopes and wiſhes of a people, uncultivated as were the Scythians. From this Almighty Spirit, therefore, they conceived various inferior ſpirits to have ſprung, who preſided over the different departments of nature, who regulated the operations of the elements, guided in their courſe the planetary bodies, and even inhabited the lakes, the rocks, and mountains. To theſe genii or emanations from the divine eſſence, they paid a kind of adoration, as agents or inſtruments of the ſupreme will, and, conſequently, witneſſed the phenomena and operations of nature, with a peculiar intereſt and a grateful terror. This belief in a ſuperintending providence led to the doctrines of a future ſtate; there, for the violators of morality and juſtice, were reſerved places of cruel torment: for the good, the great and valiant, regions of unutterable bliſs.

This creed, venerable for its ſimplicity and approximation toward truth, exiſted with little variation until the migration of the Aſes into Scandinavia, when, through the policy of their leader, a new and very complicated ſyſtem was introduced. Nothing places in a more ſtriking light the vaſt influence which Odin exerciſed over his countrymen, than the eſtabliſhment of a religion, in many reſpects ſo diametrically oppoſite to their former ſentiments and prejudices. The ancient Scythians held polytheiſm, or a multiplicity of coequal and independent Gods, in the utmoſt abhorrence, for though they acknowledged ſpiritual agencies as carrying into execution the will of the deity, yet did they attribute every thing to one eternal and omnipotent cauſe; on the contrary, the Edda which details the mythology of Odin, abounds with Gods, each decorated with their peculiar attributes, at leaſt this was the general belief, though the ſages of that period might conceal more rational opinions behind the veil of fiction.

Whatever the defalcations of this code might be, with regard to moral and metaphyſical purity, it fully anſwered, as we ſhall preſently ſee, the purpoſes of Odin, and was eminently calculated to excite ardent military enthuſiaſm, and all the energies of poetic genius. It was not, however, until the eleventh century, that any ſyſtematic collection of the mythological fables of the north appeared; in that century, viz. in 1057, Sæmund Sigfuſſon, ſirnamed the Learned, publiſhed his Edda, or body of gothic religious poetry, and in about 120 years afterward, another compilation, under the ſame title, but written with more perſpicuity, was given to the world by Snorro Sturleſon, the deſcendant of an illuſtrious family, and twice ſupreme judge of Iceland. From theſe collections, from the numerous ſongs of the Scalds diſperſed through the ancient chro-

nicles, and from modern verſions and imitations, are drawn the ſketches attempted in theſe eſſays, which, I again beg to be underſtood, comprehend not the entire maſs of gothic fiction, but only the moſt ſtriking features, ſuch as may lead to diſcuſſion relative to the manners and cuſtoms of the Scandinavians, or are beſt adapted for the decoration of our more elevated poetry.

In conducting this plan, therefore, I ſhall firſt give a general outline of the ſyſtem, then ſelect the moſt brilliant parts for further illuſtration, and terminate the whole by conſiderations, tending to recommend it to the votaries of the Muſe, as a machinery admirably conſtructed for their purpoſe.

Few parts of the gothic mythology are more loaded with abſurdity and puerile invention, than that which endeavours to account for the origin of matter and the creation of the world; and as much of the imagery is ſcarce explicable, and were it eaſily ſo, yet would it be inapplicable to the purpoſes of ſublime poetry, I ſhall drop the groſſer figurative language, and explain, in more intelligible terms, the probable meaning of the northern ſages.

"In the beginning," obſerves the Voluſpa, a poem forming part of the more ancient Edda, "there was neither ſea, nor ſhore, nor refreſhing breezes. There was neither earth below nor heaven above to be diſtinguiſhed. The whole was only one vaſt abyſs, without herb, and without ſeeds. The ſun had then no palace; the ſtars knew not their dwelling places; the moon was ignorant of her power."

It was then that the firſt Almighty Cauſe, operating on the chaotic maſs, and ſeparating the element of fire, formed in the ſouth a world luminous and glowing. To inhabit this immenſe region of primal heat and light, called Muſpelſheim, and out of which the ſun was afterwards taken, he created ſpirits or genii of fire, over whom preſided Surtur, the demon or black prince of that element. In the other extremity of the univerſe, the north, aroſe, by the ſame creative fiat, realms of everduring froſt, mountains of eternal ice, whoſe appellation was Niflheim, and in whoſe dark and dreary caverns were lodged tremendous giants, termed giants of the froſt. Then, in the vaſt and temperate ſpace between theſe two extremes, the worlds of ice and fire, he called into exiſtence terreſtrial matter, but as yet looſe and uncircumſcribed by figure.

At this period, according to the Edda, the Omnipotent ceaſed to act upon matter by his direct agency, having created inferior divinities, to whom he allotted the arrangement of the terreſtrial particles, the ſtructure of the lower heavens, and the formation of man. Theſe divinities were Odin and his offſpring, who infixed the earth, circumfuſed the air, and, ſeizing upon the fires of Muſpelſheim, formed the ſun. They then erected for themſelves, in the higher regions of the atmoſphere, a glorious manſion, under the title of Aſgard, or the Court of the Gods. Having thus prepared the earth, and conſtructed an abode in the heavens, worthy of their own dignity, they proceeded to create the human ſpecies, calling the man

man Aſke, and the woman Emla. Theſe were liable, by their original conſtitution, to mortality; but the valiant, and the valiant alone, were admitted, after death, into Valhalla, the palace of Odin, where they enjoyed peculiar happineſs for a ſeries of ages, whilſt the cowardly, and thoſe who died of lingering diſeaſe, were plunged into Niflheim, the northern hell, the ſeat of darkneſs and deſolation.

This ſtate of things, however, viz. the duration of the earth, the exiſtence of the Gods, and their places of future puniſhment and bliſs, Valhalla and Niflheim, was ordained but for a ſeaſon. After a long revolution of time, the ſpirits of fire, who, along with the giants, had always been at enmity with the God, ruſh forth, headed by Surtur, followed by Lok, the evil principle of the Scandinavians, and accompanied by the moſt horrid monſters; they conſume, with devouring flames, the earth, the ſun and ſtars, deſtroy the Gods in battle, and periſh themſelves in the general conflagration. On this great event the firſt Almighty Being, he who governs all things, again appears, reſtores the conflicting elements to order, calls into being freſh agents, and a new earth, infinitely more perfect than the preceding, ſprings into light and beauty; here, for the good and virtuous, is prepared a ſeat of ineffable and eternal happineſs, entitled Gimle, or the Palace of Gold, and, in the utter extremity of the univerſe, remote from light and life, riſes the manſion of everlaſting miſery, the receptacle of the wicked, named Naſtrond, whoſe walls are compoſed of the carcaſes of ſerpents, and through whoſe gates pours poiſon in a thouſand torrents.

From this broad outline, a general idea may be formed of the gothic mythology, which is ſingular, perhaps, in attributing deſtruction to the ſubordinate deities, and in preparing for mankind two heavens and two hells; of the former, the firſt conſecrated to the valiant, the ſecond to the good; of the latter, one deſtined to the cowardly and diſeaſed, the other to the wicked and profane. It is characteriſtic likewiſe of this religion, that, as underſtood by its more rational votaries, it preſerves diſtinct and free, from all the mutations incident to matter, the firſt almighty eſſence, the cauſe of cauſes. This was not the caſe, however, with the vulgar, who confounded the great Author of all things with the firſt of his agents Odin. Of this formidable deity, whoſe attributes had ſuch a powerful influence over the minds of his worſhippers, I ſhall now endeavour to give the moſt intereſting particulars, preceding the account, however, by a ſhort nomenclature of the family of Odin and his aſſociates, or the gods and goddeſſes of the Edda.

Odin had by his wife Frea or Hertha, whom the northern ſages worſhipped as the Goddeſs of Fertility, and as allegorically repreſenting the earth, Thor, his firſt born, the moſt valiant of the Gods, their defender and avenger, and who preſided over the atmoſphere, and ruled all its commotions. Balder, the ſecond ſon of Odin, was the God of eloquence and ſplendour, and guided the ſteed of day. Niord, though not of the family

of Odin, was the God of the ſea, the Neptune of the Scandinavians. Frey, the ſon of Niord, preſided over the ſeaſons. Tyr, the protector of champions and brave men, diſpenſed victory in the hour of battle. Brage was the God of poetry and muſic. Heimdaller was the guardian of the bridge Biſroſt, or the Rain-bow, which connects heaven with earth. Hoder, a ſon of Odin, was a God, though blind, irreſiſtably ſtrong, and his name was pronounced with terror. Vidar was the God of ſilence. Vile, the ſon of Odin and Rinda, the daughter of the Sun, was the God of archery, and ſingularly intrepid in war. Ulla was the God of ſwiftneſs, whoſe velocity was ſuch, that no one could ſtand againſt him. Forſete, the laſt and twelfth God, independent of Odin, preſided over controverſies, and inhabited a palace in heaven called Glitner.

The ſame number of Goddeſſes, with Hertha at their head, are noticed in the Edda. Second to Hertha was Saga. Eira was the Goddeſs of medicine. Geſione, of virginity. Tylla, of dreſs and ornament. Freya, of love. Lofna, of reconciliation. Vara, of fidelity. Snotra, of learning. Vora, of penetration. Lyna, of ſafety. Synia was the portreſs of the palace of the Goddeſſes. Gna the meſſenger of Freya.

Beſides theſe deities, whoſe names and number ſometimes vary, Lok, the evil principle and calumniator of his aſſociates, is frequently enumerated among the Gods. He generated three monſters, who were brought up among the giants, namely, the wolf Fenris, the ſerpent of Midgard, or the ſerpent which ſurrounds the earth, and Hela the queen of death. Theſe, with the giants, and the genii of fire, wage perpetual enmity againſt the divinities of Aſgard.

As of many of theſe Divinities, however, there is little worth recording, their agency being trifling, unaccommodated to the purpoſes of poetry, and unoperative as to ſociety, I ſhall only ſelect thoſe whoſe attributes were characteriſtic of the people who adored them, and to whom were attached the moſt ſplendid and magnificent fables.

Odin, the chief Divinity among the Scandinavians, was worſhipped as the God of war, and, in the great temple of Upſal, was repreſented holding a ſword in his hand. The Edda deſcribes him as a "terrible and ſevere God; the father of ſlaughter; the God that carrieth deſolation and fire; the active and roaring deity; he who giveth victory, and reviveth courage in the conflict."

In Aſgard, or the realm of the Gods, the Olympus of the north, Odin had ſeveral palaces. In Gladheim, or the Manſion of Joy, a large and magnificent hall, he adminiſtered juſtice, ſitting on an elevated ſeat, ſurrounded by the twelve Gods. Juſtice was alſo frequently diſpenſed by him and his brother deities under a large aſh tree, named Hydraſil. This enormous tree, whoſe top reaches to the higheſt heaven, and whoſe branches cover the earth, has three roots, which diverge to an infinite diſtance from each other; under the firſt root, which is in heaven, flows the hallowed ſtream of Time-Paſt, with whoſe ſacred waters three virgins perpetually ſprinkle the

the tree, and ſupport the beauty of its foliage; their abode is for ever under the aſh, and they diſpenſe the date and deſtinies of man; their names are Urda the paſt, Werandi the preſent, and Skulda, the future. Under the ſecond, which extends to the land of the Giants, is placed the ſpring of Mimer, the fountain of wiſdom, and the divine liquour of Odin; and beneath the third, which covers Niflheim or hell, and is the food of the monſtrous ſerpent Nidhoger, flows the fountain Vergelner, the ſource of the infernal rivers. On this tree ſits an eagle, whoſe piercing eyes diſcover all things, whilſt, a ſquirrel is inceſſantly occupied in running along the branches, and conveying news from every part of the univerſe.

The principal city of Odin was Valaſcialf, built of the pureſt ſilver and here was eſtabliſhed his throne, called Lidſcialf, or the Terror of Nations, and from whence he beheld all the regions of the earth. On his ſhoulders, whilſt ſitting on this throne, ſate conſtantly two ravens, named Hugo and Mumin, who, being let looſe every morning, flew through every province of the globe, and, returning at night, whiſpered in his ears whatever they had heard and ſeen, whence Odin is frequently termed the God of the ravens.

It was in Valhalla, however, one of his moſt ſuperb palaces, he received the ſouls of thoſe, who died contending on the field of battle; and every warrior, previous to the engagement, took a vow to ſend him the ſpirits of the ſlain, for whom, when dying ſword in hand, the gates of Valhalla were ever open. To this deity prayers were offered for ſucceſs in conflict, and ſuch was his enthuſiaſm for martial deeds, that he was ſuppoſed, often perſonally, mounted on his ſtable ſteed Sleipner, a horſe with eight feet, to mingle in the conteſt, to excite the ardour of the hero, to ſtrike thoſe deſtined to periſh, and to ſpeed the parting ſpirit to the halls of heaven.

The palace of Valhalla was in every reſpect adapted for the elyſium of the warrior; its very conſtruction and its ornaments were warlike,

Broken ſhafts of many a ſpear
Emblazoning the roofs appear;
The domes with ſhields are cover'd o'er,
And coats of mail ſurround the floor.
Behold! Valhalla proudly ſhrouds
Her tower, in the ambient clouds:
Five hundred portals grace the ſide,
With forty more unfolding wide.
Thro' every gate in war array,
With banners ſtreaming to the day,
Eight hundred warriors paſſage find,
When for martial deeds inclin'd.
Five hundred domes aſpiring high,
With forty others pierce the ſky:
There, Gods in mazy lab'rynths roam—
One portal leads to every dome.

In this magnificent dwelling the ſouls of the valiant enjoy the daily pleaſure of arming themſelves, of ranging in order of battle, and of cutting each other to pieces; but when the hour of repaſt approaches, they haſten to the convivial board, and free from pain, or wound or animoſity, feed heartily on the fleſh of the boar Serimner, who is daily renewed, and is amply ſufficient for the moſt numerous party. With this food, eſteemed as the higheſt delicacy, they drink to intoxication plentiful draughts of mead, which is delivered to them by virgins named Valkiries, in the

ſkulls

ſkulls of their enemies, and who are likewiſe employed by Odin to ſelect in battle thoſe who are to periſh. This mead or hydromel is the product of a goat called Heidruna, from whoſe paps every day flows into a vaſe a quantity ſufficient to inebriate the company. In the Edda of Sæmund the following lines are deſcriptive of the joys of Valhallá.

——— ——— In Odin's field,
Their ſwords the Mono-heroes wield:
And daily on each other bear
The dread conflicting ſtorm of war.
Scar'd in the fight, the chiefs divide,
And home on ſtately ſteeds they ride;
Then with the Gods in ſplendid halls,
Drink oblivion to their brawls:
Serimner's fleſh a feaſt affords,
And concord reigns around their boards.—
Heidruna wildeſt of the train,
That ſport on hill or ruſſet plain,
Near Odin's hall ſalacious breeds,
And on the leaves of Lærad feeds.
His ſpacious horn ſhall fill the bowl,
That lifts to rapture Odin's ſoul;
And ever drinking, ever dry—
Still the copious ſtream ſupply.

Odin, however, is uſually repreſented as ſitting apart from the heroes, drinking wine inſtead of hydromel, and under no neceſſity of ſupporting himſelf by food.

As ſtill further illuſtrative of the attributes of this warrior God, and of the joys of Valhalla, I ſhall adduce ſome beautiful modern deſcriptions, which, at the ſame time that they adhere cloſely to the letter of the Edda, are written in the genuine ſpirit of poetry. The two following addreſſes to Odin are from the maſterly pen of Sayers.

God of carnage, king of might,
Clinging to thy fable ſteed,
And daſhing thro' the fight,
Thou ſmil'ſt when thouſands bleed:
Coucher of the ponderous ſpear,
Thou ſhout'ſt amid the battle's ſtound—
The armed ſiſters hear,
Viewleſs hurrying o'er the ground
They ſtrike the deſtin'd chiefs and call them to the ſkies.
Lo! from Skulda's miſty towers
On jetty wing the raven flies,
And bears the deeds of future hours;
To thee he haſtes—in ſolemn ſtate
Thou read'ſt the dread commands of fate
To liſtening deities.

King of Gods on ſhining throne,
Thou, who with a ſingle glance
Pierceſt Nature's wide extent,
Thou, who from the ſpring of Mimer
Quaffeſt liquid lore divine,
Odin, hear.

King of Gods, whom Hydraſil
With ſacred ſhadow veils,
Whilſt around thee ſit cœleſtials,
Whilſt beneath thee Fates attend,
Odin, hear.

King of men, who dealeſt triumph,
Brave in battle, brave in death,
Gaſh'd with gory wounds,
In agony thou ſmil'ſt;
King of men, whoſe dark blue ſteel
No foe unconquer'd ſaw,
Soon his heart's blood ſmok'd around,
Soon his daunted ſpirit fled,
Odin, hear.

In Harold's breaſt thy ſpirit pour,
String his nerves, his eyes inflame,
Direct his brawny arm to fling
The darts of death around,
In the tempeſt of the battle
Throw thy ſhield of ſafety o'er him,
Protect him with thy mighty hand,
And ſend him back with victory.

The paſſage next to be produced is taken from a ſmall volume of poems by Mr. Penroſe, which though lately little noticed, poſſeſſes many claims to high diſtinction. This amiable man periſhed at an early age, the victim of diſappointment and misfortune. The only tribute to his memory, which I recollect, and which, though ſhort, is truly pathetic, exiſts in four

four lines by the author of the Purſuits of literature.

Have you not ſeen neglected Penroſe bloom,
Then ſink unhonour'd in a village tomb?
Content a curate's humble path he trod,
Now, with the poor in ſpirit, reſts with God.

From his admirable poem entitled "The Carouſal of Odin," and compoſed in a vein of the moſt ſtriking enthuſiaſm, I quote merely the commencement.

Fill the honey'd bev'rage high,
Fill the ſkulls, 'tis Odin's cry:
Heard ye not the powerful call,
Thundering through the vaulted hall!
"Fill the meath, and ſpread the board,
"Vaſſals of the grieſly Lord"—

The portal hinges grate —— they come——
The din of voices rocks the dome.
In ſtalk the various forms, and dreſt
In various armour, various veſt,
With helm and morion, targe and ſhield,
Some quivering lances couch, ſome biting maces wield:
All march with haughty ſtep, all proudly ſhake the creſt.
The feaſt begins, the ſkull goes round,
Laughter ſhouts, the ſhouts reſound.
The guſt of war ſubſides—E'en now
The grim chief curls his cheek, and ſmooths his rugged brow.

I conclude theſe poetical illuſtrations of the northern elyſium with part of a beautiful ode by Mr. Sterling, entitled The Scalder. It is extracted from a collection of poems, by this gentleman, publiſhed in 1789, a collection, I believe, little known, though certainly meriting conſiderable applauſe; if the lines which in the courſe of theſe papers I ſhall occaſionally quote from it ſhould induce any lover of poetry to procure the volume, he will, I have no doubt, be highly gratified in the peruſal.

Illuſtrious chiefs, whoſe deathleſs fame
The Scalder's ſong ſhall blazon wide;
Quick they move, a glancing flame,
Kings and heroes ſwell the tide:
A ſhining train, (avaunt the coward ſlave)
From bright Valhalla pours, the manſion of the brave.
In long array the godlike forms appear,
Their harneſs bright'ning in the weſtern beam,
They ſhake the glitt'ring ſword, and pointed ſpear;
Their poliſh'd helms with dreadful ſplendour gleam:
On airy ſteeds the warriors ruſh along,
Swift as the light'ning's flaſh, as wint'ry tempeſts ſtrong.

Now the rage of combat burns,
Haughty chiefs on chiefs lie ſlain;
The battle glows and ſinks by turns,
Death and carnage load the plain.
Pale fear, grim horror ſtalk around;
The blood of heroes dyes the vernant ground.
But at the brazen trumpet's ſhrilling call,
Quick into life the eager champions ſpring:
With headlong ſpeed they crowd the banner'd hall,
Where ſits enthron'd in gold the ſcepter'd king,
Immortal Odin, ſov'reign of the gods,
Who gilds with glory's beams Valhalla's bright abodes.

Their banquet is the mighty chine,
Exhauſtleſs the ſtupendous boar;
Virgins of immortal line
Preſent the goblet foaming o'er,
Of heroes' ſkulls, the goblets made,
With figur'd deaths, and ſnakes of gold inlaid.
The king of men with bounteous ſmile ſurveys
The dauntleſs ſouls, who fall in glory's cauſe;
Who vow to him the period of their days,
Who fight his battles, and uphold his laws:
For theſe Serimner on the board is ſpread,
And in Lærada's leaves the ſhaggy goat is fed.

To this ſingular paradiſe while all who died bravely on the field

of battle were admitted, thoſe who periſhed by diſeaſe, or turned their backs upon the enemy, were condemned to the dreary regions of Niſtheim, the hell of the northern nations, a

— Land of horror! where unyielding froſt
Piles high the mountain ice, and dims the air
With ever-hiſſing ſleet, where piercing blaſts
Sweep on ſtorm-laden wing o'er ſolid ſeas.
SAYERS.

Over theſe realms of deſolation, which were divided into nine worlds, preſided Hela, or death, a being of tremendous aſpect, whoſe features were livid and ghaſtly, and whoſe body was half blue and the other half the colour of human fleſh. Her palace was Anguiſh, her table Famine; her waiters Expectation and Delay; the threſhold of her door was Precipice, and her bed Leanneſs; her apartments are grated with iron, and plunged in perpetual darkneſs,

——————— for here no ray
Of morning plays with ſofteſt luſtre round,
Nor here ambroſial eve with fragrant hand
Scatters her ſweets.

Around the ſpirits doomed to wander amid theſe dreadful ſhades enormous ſerpents wound their clammy folds, and inflicted the moſt piercing ſtings, while the hoarſe deſcant of the raven, the howling of the wolf, and the yells of the tormented, were the only ſounds that penetrated theſe caves of utter darkneſs.

POETRY.

ODE *for the* NEW YEAR, 1804.

By H. J. PYE, ESQ. *Poet Laureat.*

WHEN, at the Deſpot's dread command,
Bridg'd Helleſpont his myriads bore
From ſervile Aſia's peopled ſtrand
To Græcia's and to Freedom's ſhore—
While hoſtile fleets, terrific, ſweep,
With threat'ning oar, th' Ionian deep,
Clear Dircè's bending reeds among,
The Theban Swan no longer ſung *:
No more, by Iſthmus' wave-worn glade,
Or Nemea's rocks, or Delphi's ſhade,
Or Piſa's olive-rooted grove,
The temple of Olympian Jove,
The Muſes twin'd the ſacred bough,
To crown th' athletic victor's brow;
Till on the rough Ægean main,
Till on Platea's trophied plain,
Was cruſh'd the Perſian Tyrant's boaſt,
O'erwhelm'd his fleet, o'erthrown his hoſt;
Then the bold Theban ſeiz'd again the lyre,
And ſtruck the chords with renovated fire:
"On human life's deluſive ſtate,
"Tho' woes unſeen, uncertain, wait,
"Heal'd in the gen'rous breaſt is every pain,
"With undiminiſh'd force, if Freedom's rights remain†."

* See Pind. Iſth. Ode viii. † Ibid.

No

II.

Not ſo the Britiſh Muſe—Tho' rude
Her voice to Græcia's tuneful choir,
By dread, by danger unſubdu'd,
Dauntleſs ſhe wakes the lyric wire:
So, when the awful thunder roars,
When round the livid lightnings play,
The imperial eagle proudly ſoars,
And wings aloft her daring way.
And, hark! with animating note,
Aloud her ſtrains exulting float,
While, pointing to th' inveterate hoſt
Who threat deſtruction to this envied coaſt:
"Go forth, my ſons.—As nobler rights ye claim,
"Than ever fann'd the Grecian patriots' flame;
"So let your breaſts a fiercer ardour feel,
"Led by your Patriot King, to guard your country's weal!"

III.

Her voice is heard—from wood, from vale, from down,
The thatch-roof'd village, and the buſy town,
Eager th' indignant country ſwarms,
And pours a people, clad in arms,
Num'rous as thoſe which Xerxes led,
To cruſh devoted Freedom's head,
Firm as the band for Freedom's cauſe who ſtood,
And ſtain'd Thermopylæ with Spartan blood:
Hear o'er their heads the exulting goddeſs ſing—
"Theſe are *my* favourite ſons, and *mine* their warrior King!"

IV.

Thro' Albion's plains while wide and far,
Swells the tumultuous din of war;
While, from the loom, the forge, the flail,
From labour's plough, from Commerce' fail,
All ranks to martial impulſe yield,
And graſp the ſpear, and brave the field;
Do weeds our plains uncultur'd hide?
Does drooping Commerce quit the tide?
Do languid Art and Induſtry
Their uſeful cares no longer ply?—
Never did Agriculture's toil
With richer harveſts clothe the ſoil;
Ne'er were our barks more amply fraught,
Ne'er were with happier ſkill our ores, our fleeces, wrought.

While

V.

While the proud foe, to ſwell invaſion's hoſt,
His bleeding country's countleſs millions drains,
And Gallia mourns, thro' her embattl'd coaſt,
Unpeopled cities, and unlabour'd plains;
To guard and to avenge this favour'd land,
Tho' gleams the ſword in ev'ry Briton's hand,
Still o'er our fields waves Concord's ſilken wing,
Still the Arts flouriſh, and the Muſes ſing;
While moral truth and Faith's celeſtial ray,
Adorn, illume, and bleſs, a George's proſp'rous ſway.

ODE *for his* MAJESTY's *Birth-Day, June* 4, 1804.

By H. J. Pye, *Eſq. Poet Laureat.*

I.

As the bleſt Guardian of the Britiſh Iſles,
Immortal Liberty, triumphant ſtood,
And view'd her gallant ſons, with favouring ſmiles,
Undaunted heroes of the field or flood;
From Inverary's rocky ſhores,
Where loud the Hyperborean billow roars,
To where the ſurges of the Atlantic wave
Around Cornubia's Weſtern borders rave,
While Erin's valiant warriors glow
With kindred fire to cruſh the injurious foe,
From her bright lance the flames of Vengeance ſtream,
And in her eagle eye ſhines Glory's radiant beam.

II.

Why ſink thoſe ſmiles in Sorrow's ſigh?
Why Sorrow's tears ſuffuſe that eye?
Alas! while weeping Britain ſees
The baleful fiends of pale Diſeaſe
Malignant hovering near her throne,
And threat a Monarch all her own—
No more from Anglia's fertile land,
No more from Caledonia's ſtrand,
From Erin's breezy hills no more
The panting legions crowd the ſhore:
The buoyant barks, the vaunting hoſt,
That ſwarm on Gallia's hoſtile coaſt,
The anxious thought no longer ſhare,
Loſt in a nearer, dearer care,
And Britain breathes alone for George's life her prayer.

Her

III.

Her prayer is heard—Th' Almighty Power,
Potent to puniſh or to ſave,
Bids Health reſume again her happier hour;—
And, as acroſs the miſty wave
The freſh'ning breezes ſweep the clouds away
That hid awhile the golden orb of day,
So from Hygeia's balmy breath
Fly the drear ſhadows of Diſeaſe and Death.—
Again the manly breaſt beats high,
And flames again the indignant eye,
While, from the cottage to the throne,
This generous ſentiment alone,
Lives in each heart with patriot ardour warm,
Points every ſword, nerves every Briton's arm,
"Ruſh to the field where George and Freedom lead,
Glory and fame alike the warrior's meed,
Brave in their country's cauſe, who conquer or who bleed."

The Old Man's Song. By Mr. Montgomery.

From the Poetical Regiſter for 1804.

SHALL Man of frail fruition boaſt?
Shall life be counted dear,
Oft but a moment, and at moſt
A momentary year?

There was a time,—that time is paſt,
When, Youth! I bloom'd like thee;
A time will come,—'tis coming faſt,
When thou ſhalt fade like me:

Like me thro' varying ſeaſons range,
And paſt enjoyments mourn;
For ah! the ſweeteſt Spring ſhall change
To Winter in its turn.

In Infancy, my vernal prime,
When life itſelf was new,
Amuſement pluck'd the wings of Time,
Yet ſwifter ſtill he flew.

Summer, my youth, ſucceeded ſoon,
My ſun aſcended high,
And Pleaſure held the reins till noon,
—But Grief drove down the ſky.

Like

Like Autumn, rich in ripening corn,
Came Manhood's ſober reign;
My harveſt-moon ſcarce fill'd her horn,
When ſhe began to wane.

Then followed Age, infirm Old Age,
The winter of my year;
When ſhall I fall before his rage,
To riſe beyond the ſphere!

I long to caſt the chains away,
That bind me down to earth;
To burſt theſe dungeon-walls of clay,
And ſtart to ſecond birth.

Life lies in embryo,—never free
Till Nature yields her breath,
Till Time becomes Eternity,
And Man is born in death.

Stanzas written by Mr. LEYDEN *before his departure to Madras, on the following given Line from Chaucer,*

"Harde is his herte that lovith nought."

From the ſame.

AS ſlow the waning year retires,
The wild-wood warblers loſe their fires,
Long ſhall they reſt on lonely wing,
Far from their mates, till jocund Spring
Again the month of Love has brought:
But man kind Nature grants to prove
Through every month the power of Love;
Hard is his heart that loveth nought.

And I, who once in frolic mood,
With wild and witleſs hardihood,
Julia unknown, would mock the woe
Which only faithful lovers know.
When firſt I ſaw her face I thought—
"If aught on earth ſo angel bright
Can charm the ſoul to ſoft delight,
Hard is his heart that loveth nought."

Torn from thy circling arms afar
To pine beneath the eaſtern ſtar,

As ſad my lingering eyes I turn
To ſee thee my departure mourn—
"Too dear thy love can ne'er be bought,
Sweet ſoul"—I ſigh; "thou ne'er ſhalt rue;—
I deem the heart that loves untrue
More hard than his that loveth nought."

London, January, 1803.

A Glee, tranſlated from the Greek. By Theophilus Swift, Eſq.

From the ſame.

THE girl that I love lately gave me a kiſs,
And the dew of her lip ſeal'd the raviſhing bliſs:
Of nectar the kiſs, for her breath gave it bloom,
Her breath was the nectar's delicious perfume.
Now full flowing bumpers of rapture I prove,
And tipſey with joy, I'm a Bacchus in love.

Ballad. By Anna Seward. From the ſame.

HAST thou eſcap'd the Cannon's ire,
Loud thundering o'er the troubled main?
Haſt thou eſcap'd the fever's fire
That burns ſo fierce on India's plain?
Then, William, then I can reſign,
With ſcarce one ſigh, the blooming grace
Which in thy form was wont to ſhine
Which made ſo bright thy youthful face.

That face grows wan by ſultry clime,
By watching dim thoſe radiant eyes,
But Love diſdains the rage of Time,
Tho' Youth decays, though Beauty flies;
An honeſt heart is all to me,
Nor ſoil, nor time, makes that look old,
And dearer ſhall the jewel be
Than Youth, or Beauty, Fame, or Gold.

Anacreontic. By Theophilus Swift, Eſq. From the ſame.

FILL, fill the goblet, let it flow:
The womb of joy; the grave of woe.
Let ſober mortals ſit and think;
I learn philoſophy in drink.

My

My brain in rolling viſions whirl'd,
Deſcribes the motion of the world;
And circling glaſſes to mine ears
Strike up the muſic of the ſpheres.
High foams the bowl above the brim:
In lunar rage my ſenſes ſwim:
My glaſs the moon. My nightly rule
Diſplays her always at the *full:*
And ſtill my daily round I run
With punctual pace:—my glaſs the ſun.
Yes, yes, our potent glaſs ſurpaſſes
Old *Tycho-Brache*, thy boaſted glaſſes:
One object *they* preſent to view;
For every one *this* gives us two.
Who doubly ſees, is doubly wiſe.—
'Tis here the true *attraction* lies:
No power centripetal we aſk,
To ſeek the center of the caſk;
That gives, what Nature's laws deny,
Attraction without *gravity*.

Come, learn of me true wiſdom's lore,
Heard you that ſhout?—Again they roar.
'Tis Comus with his midnight throng,
Laughter, and *Mirth*, and *Dance*, and *Song*,
And *Joy*, and *Joke*, and *Sport*, and *Play*.
They come!—I feel, I bleſs their ſway;
Sad Care and Sorrow's wrinkled frown
In *the Red Sea* they come to drown!
To Beauty let the bumper flow:
The man that flinches is my foe.
Let diſcord drop no hoſtile ball,
No tears but of the tankard fall!
Now give thy wearied cup the pauſe
Preſcrib'd by *order's* decent laws:
Now be the favourite damſel ſeen,
With every cup a kiſs between,
To temper with her ſmile the bowl,
And calm the fury of my ſoul.
Again the kiſs; the cup again!
Another; and another then!
I envy not the ſtate of Jove,
Inſpir'd by wiſdom, wine, and love.

Sonnet, from Benedetto Dall' Uva. By Mr. Montgomery.

From the ſame.

The original of the following Sonnet was written in 1571, during the ſiege of Famaguſta, in the Iſland of Cyprus, by the Turks; and was truly prophetic of its fall. The garriſon ſurrendered to ſave the town from the fate of Nikoſia, where Muſtapha, in the preceding year, had maſſacred 14,000 inhabitants; but a few days after the capitulation the brave Governor was flayed alive by the treacherous Turks; and Cyprus (the profligacy of whoſe inhabitants was proverbial) remained the victim of their cruelty.

THUS ſaith the Lord—"In whom ſhall Cyprus truſt,
With all her crimes, her luxury and pride?
In her laſcivious loves will ſhe confide,
Her harlot daughters, and her queen of luſt?

My day is come—when o'er her neck in duſt,
Slaughter and Slavery ſhall triumphant ride,
Death and captivity the ſpoil divide,
And Cyprus periſh!—I the Lord am juſt!

Then he that bought, and he that ſold in thee,
Thy princely merchants, ſhall their loſs deplore,
Brothers in ruin, as in guilt before!
And thou, who mad'ſt thy rampart of the ſea,
By foes leſs humbled than caſt down by me,
Thou, Famaguſta!—fall, and riſe no more."

The Fatal Moment. From the ſame.

IT was but a moment! 'twas but like a dream!
Of her muſical voice I but juſt heard the ſound;
And but juſt of her dark tender eyes met the beam,
As they ſmilingly rov'd o'er the landſcape around.

Yet, though brief was the moment, 'twas fatal to me,
For that moment the peace of my boſom deſtroy'd;
Now in feveriſh ſlumbers her image I ſee,
And waking my ſoul feels a ſorrowful void.

Thus, when Summer the pride of her beauty diſplays,
From the gathering clouds dart their arrowy fires,
And the victim ſcarce views the ſulphureous blaze,
Scarcely breathes out a ſigh, ere he falls and expires!

R. A. DAVENPORT.

Old

Old Wyſchard. From the Wiccamical Chaplet. A Selection of original Poetry. Edited by George Huddisford.

VOLUMES of hiſtoric lore
Read, and you'll find, that heretofore,
Flouriſh'd a brood of *ſtrapping dogs*,
To whom this preſent race of men are frogs.
Ajax a rock in's arms could take,
And hurl it at your pericrane,
Which half a dozen folks of modern make.
With force combin'd, would ſtrive to lift in vain.

By gallant Guy of Warwick ſlain,
Was Colbrand, that gigantic Dane;
Nor could this deſp'rate champion daunt
A dun cow bigger than an elephant.
But he, to prove his courage ſterling,
His whyniard in her blood imbru'd;
He cut from her enormous ſide a ſirloin,
And in his porridge-pot her briſket ſtew'd;
Then butcher'd a wild boar, and ate him barbacu'd.

When Pantagruel ate ſalt pork,
Six waiting-jacks were ſet at work
To ſhovel muſtard into his chops.—
Theſe, you'll allow, were men of mould,
And made on purpoſe for an age of gold;
But we, their progeny, are mere milk-ſops:
They drank whole tuns at a ſup to wet their throttles,
But we're a race of ſtarvelings—I'll be ſhot elſe—
Begotten with the rincings of the bottles.

'Twas ſo the ſage Monboddo wrote;
And many a learned clod of note
You'll ſee come forward and advance
Poſitions every whit as wiſe:
And that they tell their friends no lies,
I'll ſhew you by collateral circumſtance.

There liv'd—tho' that is ſomewhat wide
O' the purpoſe—I ſhould ſay—There died
A ſquire, and Wyſchard was his name;
Pictiſh and Saxon anceſtry
Illuſtrated his pedigree,
And many a noble imp of fame;

Yet theſe renowned anceſtors,
As if they had been vulgar ſons of whores,
Were long, long ſince by all the world forgot,
Save by himſelf: he knew the very ſpot,
Where they had each been coffin'd up to rot;
And in his will directions gave exact,
Amongſt thoſe venerable dads to have his carcaſe pack'd.

Now deep the ſexton burrows to explore
The ſepulchre that theſe old worthies hid;
Something at laſt that ſeem'd an huge barn-door,
But was no other than a coffin-lid,
Oppos'd his efforts; long it ſpread, and wide,
And near the upper end a crevice he eſpied.
Thence on his ear ſtrange uncouth utterance broke,
As if ſome ſullen ſlumb'rer half awoke,
Who, yawning, mutter'd inarticulate,
And angry ſounds: yet could not this abate
The courage of the clown; "Speak out!" quoth he,
"Raw head and bloody-bones ne'er yet affrighted me."

A thund'ring voice replies, "What miſcreant knave
Dares break the ſabbath of old Wyſchard's grave?"
"No miſcreant knave, worm-eaten ſir, am I,
"But Hodge the ſexton: knave! I ſcorn the word:
"I at my honeſt calling work, for why?
"Your kinſman's juſt brought down to be interr'd."

"My kinſman's to be buried here?—oh! ho!
"What year of our Lord is't, fellow, let me know."
"'Tis eighteen hundred, ſir, and two."—
"Ay, Goodman Sexton, ſay you ſo?
"Then Time on me a march hath ſtole;
"'Twas near ſeven hundred years ago
"That I became the tenant of this hole:
"Men like myſelf behind I left but few;
"Since then the world, I wot, is fangled all anew!

"Tell me, in ſooth, are other folks like thee?
"For, by thy voice, thou ſeem'ſt a tiny elf."
"Tiny!" quoth Hodge; "zooks, I am ſix feet three!
"There's no man in the hundred but myſelf
"Can ſay as much—thy name-ſake that is dead,
"I'll warrant him, was ſhorter by the head."
"Thy words lack proof: I prithee, honeſt friend,
"Thruſt thro' this chink thy little finger's end!

" Whence I may know if thou the truth doth ſtate,
" And judge, by ſample ſmall, of thy dimenſions great."

Thought Hodge—" Altho' I little fear the dead,
" Fool-hardy mortals perils ſtrange environ :"
His fingers then with-held he, but inſtead
Thruſt in his pick-axe nozzle, ſheath'd with iron :
And he was in the right,
For, at a ſingle bite,
Old Wyſchard ſnapt it off clean as a whiſtle.—
" Hence, lying varlet, bear
" Your pigmy corpſe elſewhere,
" 'Twou'd Wyſchard's grave diſgrace !
" I' the ſtouteſt of your race
" There's no more ſubſtance than a bit of griſtle."

To an Oak blown down by the Wind. From the ſame.

THOU who, unmov'd, haſt heard the whirlwind chide,
Full many a winter round thy craggy bed ;
And, like an earth-born giant, haſt outſpread
Thy hundred arms and heav'n's own bolts defied,
Now lieſt along thy native mountain's ſide
Uptorn ;—yet deem not that I come to ſhed
The idle drops of pity o'er thy head,
Or baſely to inſult thy blaſted pride :—
No—ſtill 'tis thine, tho' fallen, imperial oak !
To teach this leſſon to the wiſe and brave,
That 'tis much better, overthrown and broke
In freedom's cauſe, to ſink into the grave,
Than, in ſubmiſſion to a tyrant's yoke,
Like the vile reed, to bow and be a ſlave.

Stanzas written on the Banks of the Avon, near Briſtol.

From Poems by C. A. Elton.

LONE is the rock—its ivied ſeat
Yields the tir'd limbs a calm retreat ;
And thence in diſtance bright,
The ſerpent error of the flood,
Midſt banks abrupt of ſhadowing wood,
Eludes the wilder'd ſight.

By ſuperſtitious love rever'd,
Aſſociate feelings have endear'd
This lonely haunt to me ;

All circling objects to my heart
A strange romantic joy impart
With secret sympathy.

For late I fram'd a rural song,
These river-solitudes among,
To soothe my Sara's ear;
As not from native charms alone,
But as the spot to her was known,
Its charms were doubly dear.

She mus'd upon the votive strain,
And wand'ring o'er the sylvan plain,
In passion's sweetest dream;
My step once more the maiden led,
To this lone rock, and bow'd her head
O'er the sequester'd stream.

On the lone rock she sate retir'd;
The scene a thousand thoughts inspir'd,
Which language could not speak;
I read the language of her eyes;
My soul interpreted her sighs,
And dwelt upon her cheek.

This rock our solemn altar be!
And here in Nature's presence free,
Here in her temple bow;
And while no sound our lips impart,
That silence grav'd upon the heart,
Shall stamp the mutual vow.

The Rivulets. From the French of Dorat. From the same.

A RIVULET by limits uncontroul'd,
High-swoln with show'rs a rapid torrent roll'd;
Its latent source abandon'd with disdain,
And rush'd hoarse murmuring to the briny main.

Down a sequester'd dale that thund'ring shook,
The flood descended near a sister brook;
With unambitious lapse the streamlet fled,
Where alder shades its verdant cradle spread.

With maze diversified it woos the plain,
And in meanders winds its wand'ring train;
Branch'd in a thousand rills with sinuous flight;
Now lost recedes—now sparkles on the sight.

Avaunt

Avaunt! the torrent roar'd; nor venture near
To thwart the fury of my proud career;
Baſe rill! condemn'd in ſolitude to ſtray,
And 'midſt the graſs in idle labyrinths play.

Say, loit'rer! whither theſe vagaries tend?
Theſe buſy nothings, deſtitute of end?
But hence, begone! high Fortune is my guide,
And Ocean waits my tributary tide.

Go pay thy ſervile court, the Brook replies,
I envy not whom Ocean ſhall deſpiſe;
Go!—meet the ſcorn of yon imperial main,
Leave *me* the praiſes of the ſylvan plain!

Tintern Abbey, or the Wandering Minſtrel. An Ode.

From Poems, by George Richards, M. A.

FROM Cambrian vales and mountains wild,
A minſtrel, nature's wandering child,
Laid on the rock his harp, and view'd
Vaga's romantic ſolitude;
Still is the air, and huſh'd the wood;
In ſoothing ſilence creeps the flood:
And evening calms with golden gleam
The hoary rocks and glittering ſtream.
Dark ſhadowy elms beneath embower
The cloiſters and high fretted tower
Of lonely Tintern: tapers bright
Through lofty windows pour their light;
And, rais'd by chaunting quires, a ſound
Celeſtial ſpreads a charm around.

As one whom inſpiration fires,
The raptur'd minſtrel ſtruck his wires.

Holy men, your anthems ſing;
High your fragrant cenſers ſwing;
Around each cliff and ſilent dell
Bid the ſolemn organ ſwell;
And give to God your lonely hours,
Midſt rocks and ſtreams, and awful bowers.
No proudly-banner'd hoſt your gate
Pours forth in formidable ſtate.
No files, with blood-beſprinkled veſt,
Shake o'er your battlements their creſt;
But ſilence, friend of holineſs
And virtue, keeps the calm receſs;

Save

Save oft, when mournful gales, that ſweep
With hollow moans the cavern'd ſteep,
Or diſtant winds, with ſoften'd roar,
That flowing beat the rocks and ſhore,
To ſolemn muſings lull the heart,
And more than mortal thoughts impart.

Holy men, though wedded mate
Never greet you at the gate;
Though babes nor round your board be ſpread,
Nor liſp beſide your morning bed;
Yet ne'er from you mid human woes
The tear in bitter anguiſh flows;
You never watch, while day by day
A fading conſort waſtes away;
Nor lay in conſecrated earth
The ſon who chear'd your evening hearth;
Nor mourn an injur'd daughter's ſhame,
With tearleſs grief, that ſhakes the frame:
But heavenly thoughts becalm the breaſt;
Religion ſoothes the ſoul to reſt;
And oft from you the chanted prayer
Sounds through the ſilent liſtning air;
And oft from you to ſtarry ſkies
The loud hoſannas pealing riſe;
While woods and echoing rocks proclaim
The great Creator's hymned name.
When tapers round ſome martyr's tomb
The lofty-vaulted fane illume,
Your lifted hands in prayer are ſpread,
To win from pain the fainted dead.
Oft at your Pembroke's tomb you bend,
And warm your grateful prayers aſcend,
That he, who bade your wanderings ceaſe,
May know in heaven an angel's peace.

Ye warriors, who on Sion's brow
Fell'd the vaunting Paynim foe;
Or, ſhaking Acon's turrets, pour'd
The fury of the Britiſh ſword:
Here, in the quiet cell reclin'd
Shelter from war's wild labours find;
The toilſome march, the unwholeſome fare,
The fiery ſand, the tainted air,
With all beſide malignant found,
From Pontus to Egyptian ground.
Here, amid ſoothing ſolitude,
In vales romantic, ſilent, rude,

Religion,

Religion, ſhrin'd in holy walls,
And watching every bead that falls,
Shall wean the beating heart from pain,
Shall ſtill the wild tumultuous vein,
Shall ſpread around the faded face
Her holy calm, her ſolemn grace,
And touch the ſoul with heavenly fires,
Mid echoing aiſles and raptur'd quires.

O Wye, who wandering dark below,
The towery cliffs' projecting brow,
Behold'ſt the noon-tide ſhadows ſweep
The woods that veil the ſunny ſteep;
By winter moons, though Bards of yore,
Roaming thy wild reſounding ſhore,
Sung to the warriors' fancied ghoſts
Of foemen ſlain on Cambria's coaſts,
Whoſe bones are ſpread o'er Clyder's ſide;
Whoſe blood hath crimſon'd Yſtwith's tide;
Yet holier ſounds, and ſcenes divine,
O Wye, O hallowed Wye, are thine;
Thy banks by holy men are trod,
Who muſe in ſilent hour on God.
The taper'd temple's midnight gleam
Glitters along thy trembling ſtream:
O'er eaſtern cliffs, embrown'd in night,
The riſing moon with ſoften'd light
Falls mellowing down the hoary pile,
And ſtreams along the pillar'd iſle.
And he, who from Briſtowa's ſprings
Up to yon high caſtle brings
What from far climes, of rich and rare,
Antwerp's princely merchants bear,
Between thy woods, and wild rocks hoar,
Reclining reſts his lifted oar,
And hears from quires to rapture given,
The matin ſong aſcend to heaven.

Adieu, ye holy men: I go
To guilty crowds, and ſcenes of woe.
Yet oft, to ſilent virtue true,
Theſe warbling ſtrings ſhall ſound of you.
Ah! holy men! when o'er my grave
December's ſnowy whirlwinds rave,
May my harp, with rapture new,
Be ſtruck in happier worlds to you.

The Hoſpitable Indian. An Ode. From the ſame.

NOW to the genial heat of day
Flow the diſſolving ſnows away:
And hark! the ice, no longer bound,
Burſts on the lake with thundering ſound.

Stranger, go;—but fear, ah! fear,
To penetrate the deſert drear.
Dark yon diſmal waters run
To a land that knows no ſun.
Chilling the unfruitful plains,
There the ice-moon conſtant reigns;
Long the way: thy youthful head
Time with hoary locks ſhall ſpread,
Ere again on Clowy's tide
Thy returning veſſel glide;
Or thy white ſail beauteous gleam,
Struck by morning's golden beam.
Acroſs yon world of waters ſtill,
Over yonder cloud-capt hill,
Lies the melancholy ſhore
Which Indians tremble to explore.
There beneath the gloomy ſteep
Lies the monſter of the deep;
Fearful ſhapes in horrid ranks
Stand upon the river's banks:
There the dreadful ſpirit dwells;
There he meditates his ſpells:
From the lonely mountain calls,
Lurks amidſt the water falls,
And beneath the whirlpool drear
O'erwhelms the nightly voyager.

Stranger, if an Indian's cave
No enjoyments for thee have;
Nor the meſhy net to throw;
Nor to chaſe the buffalo;
Go; but ah! forbear to roam:
Guide thy venturous veſſel home.
May he, who ſpeaks in thunders dread,
From Alleghanny's gloomy head,
In the fearful midnight dark
O'er the great lake guide thy bark,
Till thy native mountains green
Beauteous o'er the waves are ſeen;

Till thou hear thy childrens' voice,
Till thy mother's heart rejoice,
And thy friend with gliſtening eye
Springs to thy arms in extaſy.
May the ſpirit, who ſupplies
Golden ſuns and cloudleſs ſkies,
Lead thy ſteps, where beaſt or fowl
In the dark wood perch or prowl;
And bring the finny race to view,
Swarming round thy light canoe.

Stranger, thou ſhalt diſtant go,
Where thy native currents flow;
Where thy infant feet have ſtray'd;
Where thy father's bones are laid;
While, ſhelter'd from the winter wind,
The Indian in his cave reclined
Shall joy, that in a foreign land
He ſtretched his hoſpitable hand;
That to Tarno's calm retreat
He led thy weary wandering feet;
The ſacred feaſt of friendſhip ſpread;
Beneath thee ſtrew'd the leafy bed;
And, thy weary lids to cloſe,
Of the great ſpirit aſk'd repoſe.

GLEN SCRIECH. *From Wallace; or the Vale of Ellerſlie, with other Poems. (2d Edition.) By John Finlay.*

IT was morning—the woods were rejoicing in May,
When the Valley of Sorrow roſe ſweet on our way;
Where, as oft by the maids of the village 'twas ſung,
The ſteed ſpurn'd the plain as the armour loud rung,
When Clan-Ronald's grim chief rear'd his ſword in the fight,
Till death brooded round with the darkneſs of night.

It is paſt, and the ſtream where the warrior ſtood,
Flows ſilent and pure that was dyed with his blood,
And a tuft of ſweet primroſes blooms on the grave,
Where ſleeps 'mid his foemen Clan-Ronald the brave.

'Tis the Valley of Sorrow—ah! no, tho' of yore
Its flowerets were cruſh'd, and its brooks dyed with gore,
Tho' the courſer flew faſt from the tumult in dread,
And the rider lay low with his ſhield at his head;
Yet to me all the ſounds that are borne to the ear
Speak of hope, and of love, and the joy of the year——

The murmur of waters, the hum of the bee,
And the blackbird as loudly he ſings from the tree——
All, all are delighted, no ſorrow it knows,
Save the name that thro' ages' dark legend ſtill flows.

What are we or our works in creation's wide range,
That our pride ſhould give names, tho' our power cannot change,
The ſtone that ſhall cover us falls with the name,
But nature remains, everlaſting the ſame.

Melancholy. From De Liſle. From the ſame.

WHAT ſounds were thoſe? yon time-rent tower gives way,
Like Rome's imperial race her works decay:
Yet this ſweet ſpot no heavier gloom invades,
A charm unwonted fills theſe deep'ning ſhades,
The ſhades that Melancholy throws around,
In ſoft enchantment o'er the hallow'd ground.
——O! pure of thought! O! virgin chaſte and holy!
Delight of grief! mild-ſoothing Melancholy!
May child of earthly race whoſe melting ſoul
Thy ſoft'ning charm hath bleſt, thy ſtill controul,
O! may he hope thy penſive look to trace,
Or ſnatch the witchcraft of one fleeting grace;
—'Twas then when darkneſs veil'd his future ſcene,
That charm'd with dreams of pleaſure that had been,
And oft when miſery on his wilder'd ſight
Pallid aroſe, each opening bloom to blight;
Thy ſighs that murmur, and thy tears that flow,
Have ſoothed his wild exuberance of woe.
—Thine is that bliſsful mood that waves between,
When pleaſure on the flight of grief is ſeen:
As twilight's beams with mellow'd luſtre play,
Trembling betwixt the darkneſs and the day.

When from the wretch's breaſt, reluctant, flow,
Deſpair retires, and tears again can flow;
He ſeeks the ſhades where Melancholy bides,
To her thoſe ſweet and ſacred tears confides:
And woos her lenient hand his wounds to cloſe,
Who weeps to ſoothe, but not forget his woes.
And ſhe more meet than pleaſure's heedleſs train,
Receives the ſufferer from his lonely pain;
Steals o'er his troubled thoughts with penſive ſmiles,
And his torn heart of half its grief beguiles.
—O'er her pale cheek ſoft-mingling feelings ſtray,
Mild gleams of joy thro' ſhades of ſadneſs play,
Yet ſtill ſome mournful lines the child of grief bewray.

Safe

Safe from the frantic crowd ſhe loves to dwell,
Beneath her ſhadowy woods and twilight cell;
Where pleas'd afar ſhe hears the winds that rave,
The fall of floods, the murmur of the wave.
Dear are thoſe wilds within whoſe ſecret bound,
Ideal worlds her lonely haunt ſurround;
And dear the gloom of gathering Eve, that ſwarms
With moving trains of dim-diſcover'd forms.
Oft has ſhe gazed at night's myſterious noon,
With tranced ſpirit on the wheeling moon;
Till her breaſt heav'd with thoughts till then unknown,
And ſtarting tears in the pale moon-beam ſhone.
She loves when ſadneſs hangs on nature's face,
A fancied ſympathy of grief to trace.
—It is not ſpring in youthful beauty gay,
Nor ſummer's kingly pride and bright array,
That charm her ling'ring gaze, but autumn ſere,
Scattering the yellow trees that crown the faded year!

Let toiling crowds for wealth their peace deſtroy,
And mock the maiden's viſionary joy.
When gems and gold, high pleaſure's halls among,
Flaſh their gay radiance o'er the feſtive throng;
When wine, the dance, their revelry aſſume,
And tinge the faded cheek with fleeting bloom;
She on her hand reclines her penſive head,
And wakes the dreams of days that long are fled;
Broods o'er a name, a word, and weeps the while,
Or feeds her heart with one remember'd ſmile.

ANACREONTIC. *From "Tranſlations from the German, Daniſh, &c. to which is added, Miſcellaneous Poetry. By the Hon. W. Herbert."*

"Διδακτὸν μηδὲν, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ φυσει
Τὸ σωφρονεῖν εἴληχεν. Eurip. Hippol.

RUTHLESS Cupid, wouldſt thou bind
Faſt and firm my roving mind,
Search, and find a lovely maid,
Fair, as nature e'er diſplay'd!
Let her unambitious be;
Frank, but free from levity;
Guarded ſo by modeſt look,
That her thoughts e'en dread rebuke;
What ſhe ſaith unſtudied, beſt;
Simple, ſweet, by nature bleſs'd.

Let

Let her boſom ſoftly ſwelling,
Heave at mournful ſtory's telling.
Let her ſometimes (thus moſt fair)
Gentle melancholy wear;
Let her ſometimes (fairer ſtill)
Cloſe it by the ſweeteſt ſmile
That did ever beauty give
To the lovelieſt forms, that live.
Give her features not ſo fair,
As are called regular;
But which might expreſſion lend
Lovelier to the faireſt friend:
Sparkling eyes, whoſe modeſt fire
Somewhat beams of fond deſire;
Treſſes ſoft, that ſimply flow
O'er a neck of pureſt ſnow.
Let her teeth be ſhining white,
Let her mouth be ſmall and bright,
Of ſuch hue, that freſheſt roſe
By compariſon would loſe.
Let her feet, a tiny pair,
Figure light, and airy bear;
And, like viſions of the bleſs'd,
Scarce have touched the ſoil they preſs'd.
Search the world, great God of love,
Search the faireſt crowds that move;
Find her ſuch, and add to this
Meeting wiſhes, meeting bliſs;
Find her ſuch, and thou ſhalt be
Mine adored Deity.

The Story of Ugolino. Dante Inferno. Canto xxxii. xxxiii. *From Fables: conſiſting of ſelect Parts from Dante, Berni, &c. imitated by R. Wharton, Eſq.*

STILL o'er the frozen lake we won our way,
Where Traitors in eternal bondage lay;
When, priſon'd in one narrow chaſm, we ſaw
Two heads, the one beneath the other's jaw,
Which with unhallow'd fangs, like common food,
Grinded the naked ſcalp, and ſucked the blood;
And with a rage as horrid, gnaw'd the head,
As his, who mangled Menalippus dead.
'O thou!' I cried, 'whoſe brutal act declares
'Hate unſubdued for him thy hunger tears,
'Say, who thou art? and what foul deeds above
'To ſo abhor'd a doom this caitiff drove?

'That

'That in the upper world if e'er again
'This tongue that ſpeaks to thee its powers retain,
'I, who now ſee the dreadful vengeance given,
'Thy wrongs may blazon and the wrath of Heav'n.'

I ſaid, and ſicken'd; from the curſt repaſt
Upwards his reeking jaws the ſinner caſt,
And wiping with the victim's matted beard
The gore and fleſh that to his fangs adhered,
'Aſk you,' he cried, 'thoſe ſad events to hear,
'Which I, the ſufferer, ſcarce in thought can bear?
'Yet, if what I may tell you ſhall give birth
'To infamy, to brand this wretch on earth,
'Deteſted as it is, my faltering tongue
'Shall ſpeak the deed from which this judgment ſprung.
'For you, your name, and how this penal zone
'Of hell you traverſe, is to me unknown,
'And whence you come, unleſs mine ears may trace,
'Pure as your accents fall, a Tuſcan race.
'For me, from Piſa my proud lineage came;
'An earl, and Ugolino was my name.
'This wretch, Ruggieri; Piſa's church obeyed
'His paſtoral word; her mitre graced his head;
'Now learn the fearful cauſe of what you ſee,
'And why he ſhares this place with ſuch a mate as me.

''Twere bootleſs now to tell what all muſt know,
'The riſe, the early proceſs of my woe;
'How raſhly truſting all my power poſſeſt,
'And all I lov'd, to this perfidious prieſt;
'Betrayed and captiv'd, by his cruel doom,
'I mourn'd, I periſh'd in a dungeon's gloom.
'But paſſing theſe, the ſtrange and ſecret ſins
'Which in its iron womb a priſon ſcreens,
'The horrors of my murder thou ſhalt hear—
'Then judge if he now pay a fine too dear!

'Athwart my dungeon's roof (that rugged hold
'Which many a wretch like me may yet infold;
'Which dark report ſhall name in after-times
'The Tower of Famine, from this monſter's crimes.)
'A chink (and I had light through that alone)
'The wane of many a moon and growth had ſhewn,
'When on my brows as wavering ſlumber ſate,
'A wonderous viſion burſt the veil of fate.
'This prieſt I ſaw on yonder hills that riſe
'And ſhut fair Lucca's plain from Piſan eyes,

'Prepared with eager dogs (a bloody race)
'A wolf and his defenceleſs whelps to chace.
'The Siſmonds, Lanfrancs, Gualands *, all around
'Beſet the ways, and cheer'd each murderous hound.
'Nor long their toil; the fierce purſuers tore
'Their prey, and dy'd their fangs in guiltleſs gore.

'Shuddering I woke; and ere the dawn appear'd
'(Sad partners of my doom) my babes I heard:
'With half-form'd ſounds a feeble plaint they made,
'And dreaming of their fate, they cried for bread.
'Oh! harden'd is thy heart, if, as I ſpeak,
'No tear, from pity ſprung, bedew thy cheek.
'If ever thou haſt felt compaſſion riſe,
'And guſhing ſorrow ſwell thy gliſtening eyes,
'Now thou muſt mourn the pangs that wrung my mind,
'When foreſight gueſs'd the miſeries yet behind.

'We roſe in ſilence. Now the hour was near
'When the grim jailor ſerv'd our daily fare:
'But, ah! preſaging ſleep too much had ſhewn,
'And hope ſcarce linger'd, though the dreams were gone.

'Then heard I with a ſullen ſound the door
'Shoot horrible its bolt, to ope no more.
'I gazed upon my babes; no tear could flow,
'For all within was petrified with woe.
'They wept—in ſuch a ſilence much they read——
'Why gaze you? where's your grief? Anſelmo ſaid:
'But anſwer to his words returned I none,
'Nor wept I, till that day and night were gone.
'But when another ſun with glancing ray
'Athwart the diſmal dungeon where we lay,
'Gave my ſad eyes, in each devoted face,
'The likeneſs of their ſinful ſire to trace,
'Then, burſting into rage unfelt before,
'Both theſe curſt hands with frantic fangs I tore—
'They, deeming that my deed from hunger ſprung,
'Upſtarting from the pavement, round me clung,
'And—"on this fleſh," exclaimed, "thy famiſhed rage,
'(Reſuming what thyſelf did give) aſſuage—
'Oh! lighter were the pain to be thy food,
'Than witneſs what we ſee, and view thy blood!

'I pauſed; 'twas all I could—alas! no more
'Of comfort for the babes had I in ſtore.

* The leading families of the faction by which Ugolino was ruined.

'While

'While yet another ſun his beam renewed,
'Our lips the ſtiffening hand of horror glued.
'Earth! why didſt thou not yawn? another ſun
'Aroſe ere tardy death his work begun;
'Then Gaddo ſtretch'd before me, feebly cried
'For help (in vain) from me, and lingering died;
'That wretch expir'd; the following morn beheld
'To pining want the ſad ſurvivors yield;
'Each clinging to his life, with ſlow decay
'Dropt, as exhauſted nature's powers gave way,
'And writhed in various forms the famiſh'd infants lay.

'Now ebbing faſt to death, my balls of ſight
'In vain I roll'd to catch the guiding light;
'And crawling on the ground my hands I laid
'On my dead ſons, and called each darling ſhade—
'Three days I call'd; till death at laſt prevailed,
'And Famine clos'd the ſcene, though Sorrow failed.'

The ſpectre ceas'd: and kindling with diſdain,
Snatched the torn ſcalp with eager fangs again.
Still as he gnaws, the fleſh, the veſſels grow;
Still as he quaffs the purple currents flow:
Still o'er th' eternal wound the fibres ſpread:
Such is their mutual doom: and ſuch th' atonement paid.

THE BIRD. *From Lyric Poems; by the late J. Mercer, Eſq. 2d Edition.*

THE little Bird who ceas'd to ſing,
And ſat forlorn with drooping wing,
While winter's angry tempeſts blew;
On renovated plumes elate,
At ſpring's approach ſelects his mate,
And pour his native notes anew.
A ſweet receſs to love he builds,
Enjoys whate'er the ſummer yields,
Nor dreams that winter ſhall again enſue.

How happy in his narrow ſpan!
How bleſt beyond the lot of man!
Who brooding ever on the paſt,
Who gall'd through life, in thorny ways,
And ſadden'd by diſaſtrous days,
Deſpondent ſhudders in the blaſt:—
And ſhould a gleam of joy appear,
Poſſeſt of all to fancy dear,
He ſtill foreſees, it will not, will not laſt.

But why the laws of Heav'n arraign?
Why of the lot of man complain?
His ſov'reign balm is ever near;—
And while the tenants of the grove,
By winter's rage abridg'd of love,
Are loſt to all their wonted cheer,
Man ſtill can graſp his lovely prize,
Brave and ſurmount the changeful ſkies,
And gather fruits of love through all the year.

What then avails the feather'd throng
Their fleeting bliſs, their vernal ſong,
Their tie that can no blaſt abide!
Who, ſcar'd at famine's threat'ning day,
Diſperſe, and wing their ſeparate way,
A partial pittance to provide:———
Ah! how unlike the human pair!
Who, blind to ev'ry ſelfiſh care,
Endure the ſuffering ſeaſon ſide by ſide.

The Advice. From the ſame.

TO thee, my fair! when all was new,
And the town open'd on thy view,
No limits could thy rambles bound;—
Thy ſteps tripp'd lightly o'er the ground
That teems with fanciful delight;
For ever crowded, ever gay,
Where thought obtrudes not on the day,
And Folly rings her larum through the night.

But now the novelty is o'er,
Thy frame ſuſtains the toil no more:—
Fancy no more to pleaſure wakes,
The roſe of health thy cheek forſakes;—
Peeviſh, and penſive art thou grown;—
And yet the cauſe that prompts thy ſigh,
Why the tear gathers in thine eye,
Is to thyſelf, unhappy maid! unknown.

And here, alas! to ſoothe thy woes,
No plant of healing virtue grows;—
No gems of value here abound;
Where trifles, in eternal round,
The mind's degraded pow'rs employ:
For know that, to the female kind,
Heav'n has ſome ſerious taſks aſſigned,
And 'tis in duty's path ye taſte of joy.

Would'ſt

Would'ſt thou thy faded bloom reſtore,
And be the girl thou wert before?
Hence, to thy native ſhades repair;—
Join in thy mother's houſehold care,
Thy father's ſmiles with ſmiles repay,
And all thy priſtine calm retrieve,
Lull'd by the nightingale at eve,
And ſummon'd by the lark at opening day.

Sweet are the birds that haunt the grove,
And ah! how ſweet the voice of love:—
Haſte then;—the birds already ſing;
And 'mid the melody of ſpring,
Some youth, perhaps, of ſoul ſincere,
Shall bid thee welcome to the vale,
And whiſper a perſuaſive tale,
That bluſhing innocence may ſafely hear.

Lines, written with a Pencil in a Lady's Almanack. From Leweſdon Hill: with other Poems. By the Rev. Wm. Crowe, of New College, L.L.B.

"GO, happy lines, yet fearful go,
To meet Louiſa's ſecret eye!
Tell what I wiſh her heart ſhould know,
Yet, rather than declare, I die.

"Perhaps ſhe'll ſcorn ye, and deſpiſe
The tribute of a heart ſo poor—
Too valueleſs to be the prize
Of Beauty, proudeſt conqueror.

"Then tell her, that her touch alone
Deſtroys your pencil'd forms with eaſe;
And ſay your fate is like my own,
To be or not, as ſhe ſhall pleaſe.

"But ſhould her gentleneſs now ſpare,
Paſs one ſhort year, and ye are not!
A little year ſhall ſend you where
You periſh among things forgot;

"Yet ſo, how envied ſhou'd you be!
For who is he would not prefer
Before an immortality,
To live a year or day with her!

"I fear ſhe'll turn ye all to jeſt:
Then let her know I've made my prayer,
That when by beaux, ſmart beaux, careſt,
She ne'er may feel a tender care!

" But while they ſigh, or kneel, or vow,
Think it all done in ſport and play;
Or write Love rhymes (as I do now)
Laugh, but not truſt a word they ſay."

Epitaph on a Child who died of a Scarlet Fever at Fifteen Months of Age.
From the ſame.

THOUGH thou wert dear, for lovely was thy form,
And fair thy mind, and hopeful from thy birth;
Though ſudden was the peſtilential ſtorm
That beat thy tender bloſſom to the earth;

For thee we grieve not; certain that the ſoul
Yet ſinleſs, burſting from its earthy clod,
Is borne on angel wings beyond the pole,
Where infant innocence hath place with God.

Account of Books for 1804.

Memoirs of the Life, Writings, and Correſpondence of Sir William Jones. *By Lord* Teignmouth.

THE noble author of this volume has diſplayed great care and taſte in the ſelection and diſpoſition of materials for a monument to the memory of the illuſtrious individual, whoſe worth he undertakes to make known, and whoſe talents and virtues, both affection and judgment lead him to celebrate. The noble Lord declares, that nothing but the earneſt ſolicitation of Lady Jones, who knew his affection for her huſband, when living, and unabated regard for his memory, and who conceived that theſe qualifications might ſupply the deficiency of more eſſential talents, could have prevailed upon him to enter upon a literary career, ſo foreign to the habits of a life, of which more than fifty years are elapſed; but the execution of the work, thus generouſly undertaken, ſhews his Lordſhip in a light which muſt make the public regret that he had not oftener entered on a literary career. Affection for a departed friend, regard for his amiable relict, and an anxious deſire to perpetuate the fame of a diſtinguiſhed ſcholar, may impel a generous nature to vigorous exertions, but a biography, in which learning, truth, virtue, and piety, are uniformly applauded and enforced, can only proceed from a mind imbued with the ſoundeſt principles, and an underſtanding corrected by the moſt vigorous ſelf-examination.

The materials from which this narrative is ſupplied are chiefly memorandums, and a ſketch written by Sir William Jones himſelf, elucidated and connected by his correſpondence, a conſiderable portion of which is introduced into the body of the narrative, and we ſhall beſt enable our readers to judge, both of the biographer and his ſubject, by a ſuccinct abſtract.

The father of Sir William Jones was the celebrated philoſopher and mathematician who ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the commencement of the laſt century; and whoſe talents ſecured him the friendſhip and patronage of many illuſtrious perſons, particularly the Lord Chancellor Hardwicke, Sir Iſaac Newton, Drs. Halley, Mead,

and Johnſon. In the latter part of his life he reſided in the family of Lord Macclesfield, at Sherborne Caſtle, and while there, he married Mary, the youngeſt daughter of George Nix, a cabinet-maker in London, who, although of low extraction, had raiſed himſelf to eminence in his profeſſion, and from the honeſt and pleaſant frankneſs of his converſation, was admitted to the tables of the great, and to the intimacy of Lord Macclesfield. From this union ſprang three children, the laſt of whom, the late Sir William Jones, was born in London, on the eve of the feſtival of St. Michael, in the year 1746; and a few days after his birth was baptized by the Chriſtian name of his father. The firſt ſon, George, died in his infancy; and the ſecond child, a daughter, Mary, who was born in 1736, married Mr. Rainsford, a merchant retired from buſineſs in opulent circumſtances. This lady periſhed miſerably, during the year 1802, in conſequence of an accident from her clothes catching fire.

Mr. Jones ſurvived the birth of his ſon William but three years; he was attacked with a diſorder, which the ſagacity of Dr. Mead, who attended him with the anxiety of an affectionate friend, immediately diſcovered to be a polypus in the heart, and wholly incurable. He died in July 1749, leaving behind him a great reputation and moderate property.

In conſequence of this event, the care of the education of William devolved upon his mother, who, in many reſpects, was eminently qualified for the taſk. Her character, as delineated by her huſband, with ſomewhat of mathematical preciſion, is this: "That ſhe was virtuous without blemiſh, generous without extravagance, frugal but not niggardly, cheerful but not giddy, cloſe but not ſullen, ingenious but not conceited, of ſpirit but not paſſionate, of her company cautious, in her friendſhip truſty, to her parents dutiful, and to her huſband ever faithful, loving, and obedient."

Having made ſatisfactory progreſs under the inſtruction of his excellent ſurviving parent, the youth, at Michaelmas 1753, in the cloſe of his ſeventh year, was placed at Harrow-ſchool, of which the worthy and amiable Dr. Thackeray was then head maſter. During the two firſt years of his reſidence at Harrow, he was rather remarked for diligence and application, than for the ſuperiority of his talents, or the extent of his acquiſitions. His faculties, however, neceſſarily gained ſtrength by exerciſe, and during his ſchool vacations, the ſedulity of a fond parent was, without intermiſſion, exerted to improve his knowledge of his own language. She alſo taught him the rudiments of drawing, in which ſhe excelled.

In his ninth year he had the misfortune to break his thigh bone, in a ſcramble with his ſchool-fellows, and this accident detained him from ſchool twelve months. After his relief from pain, however, the period of his confinement was not ſuffered to paſs in indolence; his mother was his conſtant companion, and amuſed him, daily, with the peruſal of ſuch Engliſh books as ſhe deemed adapted to his taſte and capacity. The Juvenile Poems of Pope, and Dryden's Tranſlation of the Æneid, afforded

afforded him inceſſant delight, and excited his poetical talents, which diſplayed themſelves in the compoſition of verſes in imitation of his favourite authors. But although his progreſs in claſſical learning, during this interval, was altogether ſuſpended, yet on his return to ſchool, he was placed in the ſame claſs which he would have attained if the progreſs of his ſtudies had not been interrupted. He was, of courſe, far behind his fellow-labourers of the ſame ſtanding, who erroneouſly aſcribed his inſufficiency to lazineſs or dulneſs, while the maſter, who had raiſed him to a ſituation above his powers, required exertions of which he was incapable, and corporal puniſhment and degradation were applied, for the non-performance of taſks, which he had never been inſtructed to furniſh. But, in truth, he far excelled his ſchool-fellows in general, both in diligence and quickneſs of apprehenſion; nor was he of a temper to ſubmit to imputations, which he knew to be unmerited. Puniſhment failed to produce the intended effect; but his emulation was rouſed. He devoted himſelf inceſſantly to the peruſal of various elementary treatiſes, which had never been explained, nor even recommended to him; and having thus acquired principles, he applied them with ſuch ſkill and ſucceſs, that in a few months he not only recovered the ſtation from which he had been degraded, but was at the head of his claſs: his compoſitions were correct, his analyſis accurate, and he uniformly gained every prize offered for the beſt exerciſe. He voluntarily extended his ſtudies beyond the preſcribed limits, and by ſolitary labour, having acquired a competent knowledge o the rules of proſody, he compoſed verſes in imitation of Ovid; a taſk, which had never been required from any of the ſtudents in the lower ſchool at Harrow. In his twelfth year, he was moved into the upper ſchool. Of the retentive powers of his memory at this period, the following anecdote is a remarkable inſtance. His ſchool-fellows propoſed to amuſe themſelves with the repreſentation of a play; and at his recommendation they fixed upon the Tempeſt; as it was not readily to be procured, he wrote it for them ſo correctly from memory, that they acted it with great ſatisfaction to themſelves, and with conſiderable entertainment to the ſpectators. He performed the character of Proſpero.

His diligence increaſed with his advancement in the ſchool: he now entered upon the ſtudy of the Greek tongue, the characters of which he had already learned for his amuſement. His genious and aſſiduity were alſo diſplayed in various compoſitions, not required by the diſcipline of the ſchool. Such was the extent of his attainments, and ſuch his facility of compoſition, that for two years he wrote the exerciſes of many boys in the two ſuperior claſſes, who often obtained credit for performances to which they had no title, whilſt the ſtudents in the ſame claſs with himſelf were happy to become his pupils. During the holidays, his ſtudies were varied, but not relaxed; in theſe intervals he learned the rudiments of French and arithmetic, and was particularly gratified with an invitation to attend the

the meetings of learned and ingenious men, at the houſe of that able philoſopher, Mr. Baker, and his friend Mr. Pond.

Dr. Thackeray retiring from the ſuperintendance of the ſchool at Harrow, when his pupil had attained his fifteenth year, was ſucceeded by Dr. Sumner, who quickly diſtinguiſhed Mr. Jones; and of the two complete years which he paſſed under that excellent inſtructor, it is ſufficient to ſay, that he employed them in reading and imitating the beſt ancient authors; nor did he confine himſelf merely to the compoſitions of Greece and Rome; he learned the Arabic characters, and ſtudied the Hebrew language ſufficiently to enable him to read ſome of the Pſalms in the original. His ardour for knowledge was ſo unlimited, that he frequently devoted whole nights to ſtudy, taking coffee or tea as an antidote to drowſineſs; and his improvement by theſe extraordinary exertions was ſo rapid, that he ſoon became the prime favourite of his maſter, who with an excuſable partiality was heard to declare, that Jones knew more Greek than himſelf, and was a greater proficient in the idiom of that language. Nor was he leſs a favourite with his fellow-ſtudents than with his maſter. He acquired popularity with them, by the frequent holidays that rewarded the excellence of his compoſitions. His reputation, at the ſame time, was ſo extenſive, that he was often flattered by the enquiries of ſtrangers, under the title of the Great Scholar.

During the vacations, his application was directed to improve his knowledge of French and arithmetic, to which alſo he added the ſtudy of the Italian. Books he had always at command, for his mother, who contemplated with delight the progreſs of her ſon, with a wiſe liberality allowed him unlimited credit on her purſe. But of this indulgence, as he knew that her finances were reſtricted, he availed himſelf no further than to purchaſe ſuch books as were eſſential to his improvement.

The period of tuition under Dr. Sumner paſſed rapidly, to the mutual ſatisfaction of the maſter and ſcholar, until Jones had reached his ſeventeenth year; when, in the ſpring of 1764, he went to the Univerſity for the purpoſe of being matriculated and entered at College. The name of Jones was long remembered at Harrow, with the reſpect due to his ſuperior talents and unrivalled erudition; and he was frequently quoted by Dr. Sumner, as the ornament of his ſchool, and as an example for imitation. He had not only diſtinguiſhed himſelf by the extent of his claſſical attainments, and his poetical compoſitions, but by the eloquence of his declamations, and the maſterly manner in which they were delivered. In the varied talents which conſtitute an orator, Dr. Sumner himſelf excelled; and his pupil had equally benefited by his example and inſtruction.

A collection of Engliſh poems, compoſed by Mr. Jones, at Harrow, was preſented by him to his friend Parnell, in 1763. The firſt and longeſt of the collection, containing more than three hundred and thirty lines, is intitled, Proluſions, and is a critique on the various ſtyles of paſtoral writers. This was written by Mr. Jones at the age of fifteen, and is the original

ginal of the poem which he afterwards publiſhed under the title of Arcadia. The remaining poems in the collection, conſiſt of tranſlations and imitations of Horace, Sophocles, and Theocritus; Saul and David, an Ode; and a ſatire on the inordinate love of novelty.

The new ſituation of Mr. Jones, at the Univerſity, did not at firſt correſpond with his expectations. Under the tuition of a maſter, who ſaw with admiration his capacity and application, who was anxious to aſſiſt his exertions, and rewarded their ſucceſs with unlimited applauſe, his ardour for learning had been raiſed to a degree of enthuſiaſm: at the Univerſity, he expected to find a Sumner or Aſkew, in every maſter of arts, and generally the ſame paſſion for literature, which he had himſelf imbibed. With the advice of Dr. Sumner, he was preparing for the preſs his Greek and Latin compoſitions, including a comedy, written in the language and meaſures of Ariſtophanes. But his ſolicitude to appear as an author, was perhaps prudently checked by the advice of other friends; and the propoſed publication, from which he expected an increaſe of reputation, was reluctantly poſtponed. After the reſidence of a few months at the Univerſity, on the 31ſt of October, 1764, Mr. Jones was unanimouſly elected one of the four ſcholars on the foundation of Sir Simon Bennett. His partiality for Oriental Literature now began to diſplay itſelf in the ſtudy of the Arabic. In acquiring the pronunciation, he was aſſiſted by a native of Aleppo, who ſpoke and wrote the vulgar Arabic fluently, but was without any pretenſions to the character of a ſcholar. The diſguſt expreſſed by Mr. Jones after his firſt introduction into the Univerſity ſoon ſubſided, and his time now paſſed with great ſatisfaction to himſelf. He found in it all the means and opportunity of inſtruction which he could wiſh, and adopted that reſpectful attachment to it, which he ever after retained. He peruſed with great aſſiduity all the Greek poets and hiſtorians of note, and the entire works of Plato and Lucian, with a vaſt apparatus of commentaries on them; conſtantly reading with a pen in his hand, making remarks, and compoſing in imitation of his favourite authors. Some portion of every morning he allotted to Mirza, whom he employed in tranſlating the Arabian tales of Galland into Arabic, writing himſelf the tranſlation from the mouth of the Syrian. He afterwards corrected the grammatical inaccuracies of the verſion, by the help of Erpenius and Golius.

In the courſe of his application to this ancient language, he diſcovered, what he never before ſuſpected, a near connection between the modern Perſian and Arabic, and he immediately determined to ſtudy the former. He accordingly ſtudied it with attention in the only Perſian grammar then extant; and having laboured diligently at the Guliſtan of Sadi, aſſiſted by the accurate but inelegant verſion of Gentius, and at the well-choſen praxis at the cloſe of Meninſki's grammar, he found his exertions rewarded with rapid ſucceeſs.

His vacations were paſſed in London, where he daily attended the ſchools of Angelo, for the purpoſe of acquiring the elegant accompliſhments

compliſhments of riding and fencing. At home, his attention was directed to the modern languages; and he read the beſt authors in Italian, Spaniſh, and Portugueſe.

Juſt as he began to deſpair of obtaining a fellowſhip at the Univerſity, which was then a great object of his deſire, he received, through Mr. Arden, whoſe ſiſter was married to his friend Sumner, an offer to be the private tutor of Lord Althorp, now Earl Spencer. He had been recommended to the family of this nobleman by Dr. Shipley, to whom he was not then perſonally known, but who had ſeen and approved of his compoſitions at Harrow, and particularly a Greek oration in praiſe of Lyon, an honeſt yeoman, who founded the ſchool at that place, in the reign of Elizabeth. The propoſal was cheerfully accepted by Mr. Jones; and in his nineteenth year he went to London, and was ſo delighted with the manners of his pupil, then juſt ſeven years old, that he abandoned all thoughts of a profeſſion, and reſolved to devote himſelf to the faithful diſcharge of the important duties of his new ſituation. In the courſe of the following ſummer, by an unexpected concurrence of circumſtances, a fellowſhip, which, in his eſtimation, gave him abſolute independence, was beſtowed upon him, and he went for a ſhort time to Oxford, that he might go through the regular forms of election and admiſſion. He was accordingly elected Fellow on the foundation of Sir Simon Bennett, on the 7th of Auguſt, 1766. On his return to Wimbledon, he was flattered by an offer from the Duke of Grafton, then at the head of the Treaſury, of the place of Interpreter for Eaſtern languages; but, although the acceptance of it might not have interfered with his other purſuits or engagements, he declined it politely, but without heſitation, earneſtly requeſting that it might be conferred upon Mirza, whoſe character he wrote. This diſintereſted ſolicitation was unnoticed; and his diſappointment made him regret his ignorance of the world, in not accepting the proffered office, under a reſolution to conſign the entire emoluments of it to his Syrian friend.

During his ſummer reſidence at Wimbledon, he formed an acquaintance to which he owed the future happineſs of his life. He there ſaw, for the firſt time, Anna Maria, the eldeſt daughter of Dr. Shipley, then Dean of Wincheſter; but whatever impreſſions her perſon and converſation made upon the heart of Mr. Jones, *his fixed ideas of an honourable independence*, and a determined reſolution never to owe his fortune to a wife, or her kindred, excluded all ideas of a matrimonial connection. In different circumſtances, he might perhaps have then ſolicited an alliance, which he afterwards courted and obtained.

The family of Lord Spencer removed, late in autumn, to London; and Mr. Jones, with his uſual avidity to acquire the accompliſhments of a gentleman, as well as thoſe of a ſcholar, privately arranged a plan with Gallini, who attended the younger part of the family, for receiving inſtructions from him in dancing; at the ſame time he continued his morning attendance, without intermiſſion, at the two ſchools of Angelo, with whoſe

whoſe manners he was extremely pleaſed. Before he left London, he had an opportunity, which he did not neglect, of learning the uſe of the broad-ſword, from an old penſioner at Chelſea, who had been active, as his ſcars proved, in many engagements, and whoſe narrative propenſity frequently amuſed him.

In 1767, he went to Spa with Lord Spencer, and there acquired the German language, and on his return he began to ſtudy the Chineſe.

The cloſe of this year is marked with an occurrence, which probably had a material influence on the determination of his future purſuits. From a motive of mere curioſity, he was prompted to read the little treatiſe of Forteſcue, in praiſe of the laws of England; and, although he was more diverted with the ſimplicity of the Latin ſtyle, than attracted with the ſubject, he felt ſo much intereſt in the work, as to ſtudy it with conſiderable attention. In the courſe of the reflections which it excited, he was naturally led to a compariſon of the laws of England with thoſe of other countries, and he marked with delight their uncontroverted claim to ſuperiority over the laws of every other ſtate, ancient or modern. Of this fact he acknowledged that he had never before entertained an idea. He was now qualified to appreciate with more accuracy, the merits and defects of the republican ſyſtem of Greece and Rome, for which he had adopted a ſtrong partiality, natural to an enthuſiaſtic admirer of the orators and poets of thoſe celebrated nations; and to examine their juriſprudence by a ſtandard of compariſon, which impreſſed his mind with a decided reverence for the inſtitutions of his own country. He was not, however, regardleſs of the deviations in practice from the theoretical perfection of the conſtitution in the conteſted election, of which he was an unwilling ſpectator. On this ſubject he expreſſed himſelf to a correſpondent in 1768, in theſe terms.

If you wiſh to obtain more accurate information reſpecting our laws and cuſtoms, I recommend to your peruſal Smith's Treatiſe on the Engliſh Conſtitution, and the dialogue of Forteſcue in praiſe of the laws of England. Thomas Smith was the Engliſh ambaſſador in France in the reign of Elizabeth, and his work is in Latin, and not inelegantly written. To Forteſcue's little tract, we may apply the words of Xenophon to the Teleboas; "it is not large but beautiful." He was Chancellor of England under Henry the Sixth, and was compelled, by the diſtractions of the times, to take refuge with his pupil, Prince Edward, in France, where, in an advanced age, he compoſed his little golden dialogue. Theſe books will convince you, that our laws are framed with the greateſt wiſdom, and that as Pindar, quoted by Plato in his Gorgias, ſays,

> Sov'reign o'er all, eternal law,
> On gods and men impoſes awe;
> And juſtice, ſtrengthen'd by her hand,
> O'er all exerts ſupreme command.

When I reflect on our conſtitution, I ſeem as it were to contemplate a game at cheſs, a recreation in which we both delight. For we have a King, whoſe dignity we

we ſtrenuouſly defend, but whoſe power is very limited; the knights, and rooks, and other pieces, have ſome kind of reſemblance to the orders of nobility, who are employed in war, and in the management of public affairs; but the principal ſtrength is in the pawns or people; if theſe are firmly united, they are ſure of victory, but if divided and ſeparated, the battle is loſt. The motions of all, as in the game of cheſs, are regulated by fixed laws. Laſtly, when I conſider myſelf, I ſeem like a ſpectator, contemplating for his mere amuſement, the two parties at the game; but if it ever ſhould be my lot to be concerned in the adminiſtration of affairs, I will renounce gain and popularity, and purſue one object, and one only, to preſerve our beautiful conſtitution inviolate."

In 1768, by deſire of the King of Denmark, who was then in England, he undertook his firſt avowed publication, which was a tranſlation of the Life of Nadir Shah, from the Perſian into French. It appeared in 1770, and was well received by Chriſtian VII. who ſent to him a diploma, conſtituting him a member of the Royal Society of Copenhagen, and recommended him, in the ſtrongeſt terms, to the favour and benevolence of his own Sovereign. To the Hiſtory of Nadir Shah, he added a Treatiſe on Oriental Poetry, in the language of the tranſlation.

During the ſame year, he attempted muſic, and made ſome proficiency on the Welſh harp; he alſo formed an acquaintance with Riviczki, afterwards the Imperial Miniſter at Warſaw, and Ambaſſador at the Court of England, with the title of Count. They afterward correſponded much together, generally writing in Latin, occaſionally in French, on literary ſubjects chiefly, but more particularly on Oriental literature.

Toward the end of 1769, Mr. Jones accompanied the family of Lord Spencer in a journey to the Continent. Of this excurſion no particular traces remain, as his correſpondence is almoſt entirely on literary ſubjects. He appears to have made ſome progreſs in a tragedy called Soliman. "The preface," ſays Lord Teignmouth, "has been communicated to me, but does not appear ſufficiently correct for publication. He notices in it the cuſtom of poets to ſend abroad their pieces with prefatory diſcourſes calculated to miſlead the taſte or judgment of their readers, and exemplifies the remark by reference to Dryden, La Motte, and Corneille. Of Dryden, he obſerves, that having compoſed tragedies in rhyme, he thought it neceſſary to prepare the public for ſo novel an attempt, by telling them in his advertiſements, that every tragedy ſhould be written in rhyme; that La Motte purpoſely violated the unities of the drama, while Corneille preſerved them with an exactneſs approaching to affectation; and that each endeavoured, in a prefatory diſcourſe, to prove himſelf alone in the right. He diſclaims all idea of imitating a conduct, which he pronounces abſurd and uſeleſs, and contents himſelf with a few hints on the principles which had directed him in the compoſition of the tragedy. The object of theatrical repreſentation, he remarks, is to convey

pleaſure,

pleaſure, and the hope of receiving it, is the inducement which carries people to the theatre; obſerving, that Shakeſpeare delights and tranſports him, while Corneille lulls him to ſleep, and judging of the feelings of others by his own, he concludes, that all who underſtand both authors perfectly, muſt be affected in the ſame manner. He determines, therefore, to take Shakeſpeare for his model, not by adopting his ſentiments, or borrowing his expreſſions, but by aiming at his manner, and by ſtriving to write as he ſuppoſes he would have written himſelf, if he had lived in the eighteenth century."

In 1770 Mr. Jones determined to enter upon a new career of life. Whatever ſatisfaction he might derive from his connection with the noble family, in which he had undertaken the office of tutor, or whatever recompence he might ultimately hope to receive from their gratitude or friendſhip, the ſituation did not altogether correſpond with his feelings, nor the extent of his views; he was therefore admitted into the Temple on the 19th of September, 1770. His attention, however, was not at firſt excluſively confined to his profeſſional ſtudies, nor was it indeed to be expected, that he would at once renounce his attachment to oriental learning and literature in general.

At this period too, he revolved in his mind ſome literary projects which he never executed. One was an epic poem to be called "Britain diſcovered;" of which he had ſketched the plan, and he wrote a few lines, but reſerved the completion of the poem to a period of leiſure and independence which never arrived. He alſo planned, and perhaps finiſhed, a Turkiſh hiſtory which was never publiſhed. "The anticipation of future proſpects," Lord Teignmouth judiciouſly obſerves, ſuggeſted by the fervour of youthful imagination, is too common to all, but particularly to men of genius, to excite much ſurpriſe; and of them it has been generally and juſtly remarked, that what has been performed by them, bears little proportion to what was projected. In their progreſs through life, impediments occur to the execution of their plans, which the mind at firſt eagerly overlooks; whilſt time, imperceptibly advancing, deprives them of the power and even of the inclination to complete what has been deſigned with ſo much ardour. They find what experience daily proves, that the duties of life can only be properly performed, when they are the primary objects of our regard and attention."

In 1772 he publiſhed a ſmall volume of poems, conſiſting chiefly of tranſlations from the Aſiatic languages, with two proſe diſſertations annexed. On the 30th of April, in the ſame year, he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society. From the firſt entrance of Mr. Jones into the Univerſity, until Michaelmas 1768, when he took the degree of A. B. he had kept the terms regularly; from that period to 1773, only occaſionally. In the Eaſter Term of that year, during the Encœnia, he took his maſter's degree. It was on this occaſion, that he compoſed an oration with an intention, which he did not execute, of ſpeaking it in the Theatre. The ſpeech was publiſhed ten years after, and exhi-

bits

bits a ſtriking memorial of independent principles, and well cultivated abilities: part of it has been lately quoted with applauſe by Dr. Parr.

In the commencement of 1774, he publiſhed his commentaries on Aſiatic Poetry. This work was received with admiration and applauſe by the Oriental Scholars of Europe in general, as well as by the learned of his own country. It was perhaps the firſt publication on Eaſtern literature, which had an equal claim to elegance and erudition. This work was begun by Mr. Jones in 1766, and finiſhed in 1769, when he was in his twenty-third year; but with the ſame ſolicitude which he had exhibited on other occaſions, to lay his compoſitions before the public in the greateſt poſſible perfection, he had repeatedly ſubmitted the manuſcript to the examination and critical remarks of his learned friends.

At the concluſion of the Commentaries, we find an elegant addreſs to the Muſe, in which Mr. Jones expreſſes his determination to renounce polite literature, and devote himſelf entirely to the ſtudy of the Law. He was called to the Bar, in January 1774, and had diſcovered, as he writes to an intimate friend, that the law was a jealous ſcience, and would admit no partnerſhip with the Eaſtern muſes. To this determination he appears to have inflexibly adhered for ſome years, notwithſtanding the friendly remonſtrances and flattering invitations of his learned correſpondents. He had about this time an intention of publiſhing the mathematical works of his father, and with this view circulated propoſals; but, for ſome reaſon, he abandoned it. Although called to the Bar, he, for ſome time declined practice; but from this period he ſeems to have been fully ſenſible of the neceſſity of devoting himſelf excluſively to his legal ſtudies. The ambition of obtaining diſtinction in his profeſſion could not fail to animate a mind always ardent in the purſuit of the objects which it had in view, nor was he of a temper to be ſatisfied with mediocrity, where perfection was attainable. His reſearches and ſtudies were not confined to any one branch of juriſprudence, but embraced the whole in the fulleſt extent. He compared the doctrines and principles of ancient legiſlators with the later improvement in the ſcience of law; he collated the various codes of the different ſtates of Europe, and collected profeſſional knowledge wherever it was to be found. In 1775, for the firſt time, he attended the Spring circuit and ſeſſions at Oxford, but whether as a ſpectator, or actor, on that occaſion, is uncertain. In the following year, he was regular in his attendance at Weſtminſter Hall.

In 1778, Mr. Jones publiſhed a tranſlation of the ſpeeches of Iſœus, in cauſes, concerning the law of ſucceſſion to property at Athens, with a prefatory diſcourſe, notes critical and hiſtorical, and a commentary.

In the Memoirs of Mr. Jones, the year 1780, forms an intereſting era, in which his occupations were diverſified, his proſpects extended, and his hopes expanded, more than at any former period of life. His profeſſional practice had greatly increaſed, and ſuggeſted the faireſt hopes of progreſſive enlargement, and augmented profit: but as his

views were more particularly directed to the vacant ſeat on the bench of Fort William, in Bengal, and as from the kindneſs of Lord North, he was authorized to expect the early attainment of it, he was leſs ſolicitous to procure an augmentation of buſineſs, which in the event of ſucceſs in his India purſuits, he muſt altogether abandon. In this ſtate of ſuſpenſe, the political events of the times received a more than ordinary ſhare of his attention: he did not however enrol himſelf with any party; but, looking up to the conſtitution and liberty of his country, as the objects of his political adoration, he cultivated an extenſive acquaintance with men of all parties, and of the firſt rank and talents, without any ſacrifice of principle or opinion. No man had ever more right to apply to himſelf the character of "nullius addictus jurare in verba magiſtri." With reſpect to the American war, he early adopted ſentiments upon it unfavourable to the juſtice of the Britiſh cauſe, and this opinion, once formed, would naturally acquire ſtrength from the protraction of the conteſt, which he lamented with the feelings of a true patriot and friend to humanity. Theſe reflections dictated a very animated and claſſical Ode to Liberty, which he compoſed in Latin, and printed in March; it ſtrongly, diſplays his genius erudition, feelings, and political principles. Sir Roger Newdigate having declared his intention of vacating his ſeat in Parliament, as repreſentative of the Univerſity of Oxford, Mr. Jones was induced by a laudable ambition and the encouragement of many reſpectable friends, to come forward as a candidate. He was reſpectably ſupported, but finding ſucceſs improbable, he declined a conteſt.

Notwithſtanding the various occupations attending the Oxford election, Mr. Jones found time to publiſh a ſmall pamphlet, intitled *An Enquiry into the legal Mode of ſuppreſſing Riots, with a conſtitutional Plan of future Defence.* This publication was ſuggeſted by the unfortunate neceſſity of calling in military aſſiſtance to ſuppreſs the riots, which, from the ſecond to the eighth of June of that year, had deſolated the Capital. He had unhappily been, as he obſerves, a vigilant and indignant ſpectator of thoſe abominable enormities; he had alſo ſeen, with a mixed ſenſation of anguiſh and joy, the vigorous and triumphant exertions of the executive power: and though he admitted the neceſſity of thoſe exertions, he deplored it.

On the 9th of September of this year, Mr. Jones met the freeholders of Middleſex, aſſembled for the purpoſe of nominating two repreſentatives in the new Parliament. The circumſtances of the meeting afforded him no opportunity of addreſſing them on the general ſtate of the nation; but he amuſed himſelf with drawing up a diſcourſe, containing the purport of what he would have ſpoken, if an opportunity for this purpoſe had occurred.

This ſpeech is ſtrikingly characteriſtic of his principles and feelings; he condemns in unqualified terms the American war, and the conduct of the late parliament in ſupporting it. He takes a ſummary review of the ſtate of the nation, and delivers his opinion upon it without reſerve, in that ſtrong language which was ſo often

heard in the parliamentary debates of 1780, and read in the petitions from the associated counties. In the Autumn he went to Paris.

"From the public occurrences in which Mr. Jones was engaged," his Lordship proceeds, "I now turn to a domestic calamity, the death of his mother, which involved him in the deepest affliction. If, as a parent, she had the strongest claims upon the gratitude and affection of her son, the obligations of filial duty were never more cheerfully and zealously discharged than by Mr. Jones. To her able instruction he was indebted for the first rudiments of literature; she directed his early studies, formed his habits and his taste, and by the closest attention to economy was enabled to promote his progress in learning, by supplying the funds for this purpose. From the period of his obtaining a Fellowship, he had declined receiving any assistance from her purse: and as his professional profits increased, his own was ever at her disposal. During his residence at Oxford, the time which he did not employ in study or college duties, was devoted to her; his attention was equally the result of principle and affection. She was the confidant of his plans, hopes and occupations; and he invariably consulted her on all occasions, where his more important interests were concerned. The kindness, as well as the sincerity of his affection, was shewn in numberless instances, which never failed to attract the observation of his friends and associates, although they are too minute to be particularized; and the satisfaction which he derived from the distinction to which his abilities had raised him, was redoubled from the consideration that his mother participated in it. I regret that none of his letters to his mother have been preserved, as they would have exhibited an amiable and striking part of his character *."

* The following memorandum is transcribed from the hand-writing of Mr. Jones

Anno Ætat. 33.

Resolved to learn no more *rudiments* of any kind, but to perfect myself in,
First, 12 languages, as the *means* of acquiring accurate knowledge of the

I. History.

of

1. Man. 2. Nature.

II. Arts.

1. Rhetorick 2. Poetry. 3. Painting. 4. Music.

III. Sciences.

1. Law. 2. Mathematics. 3. Dialectic.

N. B. Every species of *human* knowledge may be reduced to one or other of these divisions. Even *law* belongs partly to the history of Man, partly as a science, to dialectic.

The 12 languages are,

Greek,
Latin,
Italian, French, Spanish, Portuguese,
Hebrew, Arabic,
Persian,
Turkish,
German, English.

After

After an interval of ſix years, we find Mr. Jones retracing his favourite haunts with the Arabian muſes. He devoted his leiſure hours of the winter of 1780-1 to complete his tranſlation of ſeven ancient poems of the higheſt repute in Arabia. Literature, politics, profeſſional ſtudies, and practice, all had a ſhare of his attention; but the principal object of his hopes and ambition was the vacant ſeat on the bench in India, to which he looked forward with increaſing anxiety. The marriage of Lord Althorpe with Miſs Bingham, daughter of Lord Lucan, was too intereſting an event to paſs unnoticed by Mr. Jones; and he celebrated the nuptials of his friend in a very poetical ode, under the title of the *Muſe Recalled*. This compoſition, the dictate of friendſhip, and offspring of genius, was written in the courſe of a few hours. His poetic talents were alſo exerted in a cauſe even neareſt to his heart, that of liberty: he reſtrung the lyre of Alcæus, and produced a ſhort ode in the genuine ſpirit of the patriot and poet, whom he imitated. Theſe were his amuſements. The reſult of his profeſſional ſtudies was an Eſſay on the Law of Bailments. He divided and treated the ſubject under the diſtinct heads of analyſis, hiſtory, and ſyntheſis; and intimates an intention, if the method uſed in this tract ſhould be approved, and on the ſuppoſition of future leiſure, to diſcuſs in the ſame form every branch of Engliſh law, civil and criminal, private and public. About this period, he alſo undertook the tranſlation of an Arabian poem on the Mohammedan law of the ſucceſſion to the property of inteſtates. The ſubject of the original is dry, the diction obſcure; it exhibits no rhetorical flowers, no poetical ornament; and even the partiality of Mr. Jones for Eaſtern literature could never have induced him to engage in a work of this nature, if he had not thought it connected with objects of information and utility. In the expectation of obtaining the ſituation of an Indian judge, this law tract probably recommended itſelf to his notice, as he could not but foreſee that a knowledge of Mohammedan law would be eſſential to the performance of the duties of that ſtation.

The reader will recollect how much the public attention was occupied in the year 1782, with the attempts to procure a reformation of parliament. It would have been ſurprizing if Mr. Jones had remained an idle ſpectator on an occaſion, which of all others was moſt intereſting to his feelings. Led by his profeſſional ſtudies to an enthuſiaſtic veneration for the principles of the conſtitution of his country, he was anxious that the form of it ſhould in all reſpects correſpond with them: "but, as the form in a courſe of years is apt to deviate from the ſpirit, it became (in his opinion) expedient almoſt every century to reſtore its genuine purity and lovelineſs." Theſe ſentiments he expreſſed in a ſpeech to the inhabitants of the counties of Middleſex and Surry, the cities of London and Weſtminſter, and the Borough of Southwark, aſſembled at the London Tavern, on the 28th of May, 1782, to conſider on the means of procuring a reformation of parliament. The firſt reſolution adopted by the meeting, and in

which he expreſſed his ſincere concurrence, was, that petitions ought to be prepared for a more complete repreſentation of the people; and the poſition which he endeavoured to impreſs upon the minds of his audience was this, that the ſpirit of our conſtitution requires a repreſentation of the people nearly equal, and nearly univerſal. It was about the ſame period that he compoſed a very ſpirited ode, in imitation of Calliſtratus, which has appeared in a variety of periodical publications, and is publiſhed in his works.

In the ſummer of this year, Mr. Jones again viſited France, in the intention of proceeding thence to America. The object of this journey was profeſſional, to procure the reſtitution of a very large eſtate of a client and friend, which had been attached by an order of the ſtates, who had threatened the confiſcation of the property, unleſs the owner appeared in perſon to claim it. This object is mentioned by Mr. Jones in his correſpondence, and his own evidence will be concluſive againſt ſome ſurmiſes and inſinuations, which were propagated reſpecting the motives of his intended journey. The irreſolution of his friend, increaſed by indiſpoſition, prevented the execution of the plan; and Mr. Jones, after having procured a paſſport from Franklin, the American miniſter at the Court of France, returned to England through Normandy and Holland.

In 1781, he ſuffered great affliction, by the loſs of his excellent mother.

In March 1782 a propoſal was made to Mr. Jones, to become a member of the ſociety for conſtitutional information, and he readily accepted it.

Early in 1783, Mr. Jones publiſhed his tranſlation of the ſeven Arabian poems, which he had finiſhed in 1781. It was his intention to prefix to this work, a diſcourſe on the antiquity of the Arabian language and characters, on the manners of the Arabs in the period immediately preceding that of Mohammed, and other intereſting information reſpecting the poems, and the lives of the authors, with a critical hiſtory of their works: but he could not command ſufficient leiſure for the execution of it. Some of the ſubjects intended for this diſſertation, appeared in a diſcourſe on the Arabs, which he compoſed ſome years afterwards, and from the manner in which it was written, it is impoſſible not to regret the irrecoverable loſs of the larger diſcuſſion which he originally propoſed. The poems preſent us with a curious ſpecimen of the manners of the natives of Arabia, and on this account, muſt be particularly intereſting to thoſe, who conſider the ſtudy of human nature in all its varieties as an inſtructive ſubject of contemplation. "They exhibit (to uſe the words of Mr. Jones) an exact picture of the virtues and vices of the Arabs in the age of the ſeven poets, their wiſdom and their folly, and ſhew what may be conſtantly expected from men of open hearts, and boiling paſſions, with no law to controul, and little religion to conſtrain them."

The period was now arrived, when Mr. Jones had the happineſs to gain the accompliſhment of his moſt anxious wiſhes. In March 1783, during the adminiſtration of Lord

Lord Shelburne, he was appointed a judge of the ſupreme court of judicature at Fortwilliam at Bengal, on which occaſion the honour of Knighthood was conferred upon him; and, in the April following, he married Anna Maria Shipley, the eldeſt daughter of the Biſhop of St. Aſaph. For his appointment to India, Mr. Jones was indebted to the friendſhip of Lord Aſhburton.

"I have mentioned," ſays the noble biographer, "the literary productions of Sir William Jones in the order in which they were publiſhed. I obſerve, however, two compoſitions which had eſcaped my attention; an abridged hiſtory of the life of Nadir Shah, in Engliſh, and a hiſtory of the Perſian language, intended to be prefixed to the firſt edition of his Perſian Grammar,

A long liſt might be formed of works which he meditated at different periods. He had projected a treatiſe on maritime contracts; and with a view to the completion of this work, he commiſſioned a friend to purchaſe for him the collections of Heineccius, containing the Diſſertations of Stypman and Kerrick, with any other works that could be procured on the ſame ſubject. It was alſo his intention to republiſh Littleton's Treatiſe on Tenures, from the firſt edition of 1482, with a new tranſlation, explanatory notes, and a commentary; and to prefix an Introductory Diſcourſe on the Laws of England. He had made a conſiderable progreſs toward the completion of this work, which ſtill exiſts, but not in a ſufficient degree of advancement for publication."

Sir William Jones embarked for India in the Crocodile frigate; and in April 1783, left his native country, to which he was never to return, with the unavailing regret and affectionate wiſhes of his numerous friends and admirers. In the courſe of the voyage he ſtopped at Madeira, and in ten additional weeks of proſperous ſailing from the rugged iſlands of Cape Verd, arrived at Hinzuan, or Joanna. Of this iſland, where he remained a few days only, he has publiſhed an intereſting and amuſing deſcription. He expatiates with rapture on his approach to it, delineates, with the ſkill of an artiſt, the beauties of the ſcenery, and ſketches with the diſcriminating pen of a philoſopher, the characters and manners of the unpoliſhed but hoſpitable natives. From Hinzuan to the Ganges, nothing material occurred, and he landed at Calcutta, in September 1783. His reputation had preceded his arrival, which was anxiouſly expected, and he had the happineſs to find, that his appointment had diffuſed a general ſatisfaction, which his preſence now rendered complete. The ſtudents of the Oriental languages were eager to welcome a ſcholar, whoſe erudition in that branch of literature was unrivalled, and whoſe labours and genius had aſſiſted their progreſs; while the public rejoiced in the poſſeſſion of a magiſtrate, whoſe probity and independence were no leſs acknowledged than his abilities.

In December 1783, he entered upon his judicial functions, and at the opening of the ſeſſions, delivered his firſt charge to the Grand Jury. The public had formed a high eſtimate of his oratorical powers, nor were they diſappointed. His

addreſs was elegant, conciſe, and appropriate; the expoſition of his ſentiments and principles was equally manly and conciliatory, and calculated to inſpire general ſatisfaction, as the known ſincerity of his character was a teſt of his adherence to his profeſſions.

In the intervals of leiſure from his profeſſional duties, he directed his attention to ſcientific objects; he ſoon ſaw that the field of reſearch in India was of an extent to baffle the induſtry of any individual; and that whatever ſucceſs might attend his own indefatigable labours, it could only be explored by the united efforts of many. With theſe ideas he deviſed the inſtitution of a ſociety in Calcutta, on the plan of thoſe eſtabliſhed in the principal cities of Europe, as beſt calculated to excite and facilitate the enquiries of the ingenious, as affording the means of preſerving the numerous little tracts and eſſays, which otherwiſe would be loſt to the public, and of concentrating all the valuable knowledge which might be obtained in Aſia. The ſuggeſtion was received with the greateſt ſatisfaction by ſeveral gentlemen to whom he communicated it, and the members of the new aſſociation aſſembled, for the firſt time, in January 1784.

In 1784 Sir William Jones felt attacks of ill health, but propoſed, both for relaxation and the promotion of his literary views, to make a journey to Benares. I ſaw him, ſays his noble biographer, in Auguſt 1784, at the houſe of a friend in the vicinity of Moorſhedabad, languid, exhauſted, and emaciated, in a ſtate of very doubtful convaleſcence; but his mind had ſuffered no depreſſion, and exhibited all its habitual fervour. In his converſation he ſpoke with rapture of the country, of the novel and intereſting ſources opened to his reſearches, and ſeemed to lament his ſufferings, only as impediments to the proſecution of them.

At Bhagilpoor he was long detained by illneſs and debility. The vigour of his mind, however, ſtill continued unimpaired, and except during the ſevere paroxyſms of diſorder, his reſearches for information were never ſuſpended, nor would he ſuffer himſelf to be debarred from any intercourſe by which they could be promoted. It was at this place, during the hours of convaleſcence, when he was confined to his couch, that he applied himſelf to the ſtudy of Botany; a ſcience for which he had early entertained a great partiality, and which he pronounces the moſt lovely and faſcinating branch of natural knowledge. With the works of Linnæus before him, he procured the plants of the country to be brought to him, and comparing the productions of nature, with the deſcriptions and arrangements of the Swediſh philoſopher, he beguiled the hours of languor and diſeaſe, and laid the ſolid foundation of that botanical knowledge, which he ever afterwards cultivated with increaſing ardour and delight.

From Bhagilpoor he purſued his journey to Patna, where he was again attacked with a ſevere indiſpoſition. It did not, however, prevent him from proceeding by land to Guyah, famous as the birth-place of Boudh, the author of a ſyſtem of philoſophy which labours under the imputation of atheiſm;

atheiſm; but more famous for the annual reſort of Hindu pilgrims from all parts of India, who repair to the holy city for the purpoſe of making preſcribed oblations to their deceaſed anceſtors, and of obtaining abſolution from all their ſins.

The City of Benares was his next ſtage, and the limits of his excurſion. He had here an opportunity of ſeeing the profeſſors of the Hindu religion, at the moſt celebrated and ancient univerſity of India, and had only to regret, that his knowledge of their language was inſufficient to enable him to converſe with them without the aſſiſtance of an interpreter. After a ſhort reſidence, which his ſenſe of duty would not allow him to protract unneceſſarily, he returned by the Ganges to Bhagilpoor, where, as he obſerves, he had already found ſo much health, pleaſure, and inſtruction for two months.

In his journey from this place to Calcutta, he viſited Gour, once the reſidence of the ſovereigns of Bengal. This place ſtill exhibits architectural remains of royal magnificence, which the traveller is obliged to explore at ſome perſonal riſk amidſt foreſts, the excluſive haunts of wild beaſts; for nature has here reſumed her dominion, and triumph over the ſhort-lived pride of man.

"I am juſt returned," he writes to Dr. Ruſſel in March 1785 "as it were from the brink of another world, having been abſent near ſeven months, and reduced to a ſkeleton by fevers of every denomination, with an obſtinate bilious flux at their heels. My health is tolerably reſtored by a long ramble through South Behar, and the diſtrict of Benares, of which if I were to write an account, I muſt fill a volume."

They who have peruſed the deſcription of Joanna, by Sir William Jones, will regret that this volume was never written. The objects preſented to his inſpection during his journey, afforded ample ſcope for his obſervation, which was equally qualified to explore the beauties of nature, the works of art, the diſcriminations of character, and the productions of learning and ſcience. Many of the remarks and reflections which he made in this tour, are transfuſed through his various compoſitions, two of which were actually written during the courſe of his journey.

The little elegant tale in verſe, under the title of *The Enchanted Fruit*, or *Hindu Wife*, was compoſed during his reſidence in Beyhar, and affords a proof of the ſucceſs of his enquiries, as well as his ſkill in the happy application of the intelligence obtained by them.

The other production was a Treatiſe on the Gods of Greece, Italy, and India, which he afterwards reviſed, and preſented to the Society. The deſign of this eſſay was to point out a reſemblance, too ſtrong to have been accidental, between the popular worſhip of the old Greeks and Italians, and that of the Hindûs, and between their ſtrange religion and that of Egypt, China, Perſia, Phrygia, Phœnicia, and Syria, and even remoter nations. The proof of ſuch reſemblance, if ſatisfactorily eſtabliſhed, would, as he remarks, authorize an inference of a general union and affinity between the moſt diſtinguiſhed inhabitants of the primitive

world, at the time when they deviated, as they did too early deviate, from the rational adoration of the only true God.

He now resumed his functions in the Supreme Court of Judicature, and renewed the meetings of the society, which had been interrupted by his absence.

In 1785, a periodical work was undertaken at Calcutta, under the title of the Asiatic Miscellany, which has been ignorantly ascribed to the Asiatic Society, with those researches it had no connection. The editor was occasionally assisted by the literary talents of gentlemen in India, and we find in the two first volumes, which were published in the year 1785 and 86, the following compositions of Sir William Jones, who never neglected any opportunity of contributing to the advancement of Oriental literature: The tale of the Enchanted Fruit, which has already been mentioned, six hymns addressed to as many Hindu deities, a literal translation of twenty tales and fables of Nizami, expressly intended to assist the students of the Persian language, besides other smaller pieces; from which we quote with pleasure, the following beautiful tetrastic, which is a literal translation from the Persian:

On parent knees, a naked, new born child,
Weeping thou sat'st, while all around thee smil'd:
So live, that, sinking in thy last long sleep,
Calm thou may'st smile, when all around thee weep.

The hymns, which are original compositions, are descriptive of the Hindu deities, to whom they were addressed, and a short introductory explanation accompanies each.

Sir William had long proposed making an excursion to Chatigan, the eastern limits of the British dominions in Bengal. Exclusively of his anxiety to acquire, from local observation, a knowledge of the state of the country, and of the manners and characters of the natives, a prudent attention to the re-establishment of his health, which had suffered from an unremitted application to his public duties as a judge and magistrate, as well as a regard for that of Lady Jones, now rendered the Journey expedient. In the beginning of the year 1786, after the recess of the court, he had an opportunity of executing his plan, and repaired to Chatigan, by sea, in February. From Chatigan, Sir William Jones returned to Calcutta, and after the recess of the Court, again visited his retirement at Chrishna-nagur, where he occupied himself as usual in his favourite studies.

In September, Lord Cornwallis arrived at Fort-William, with the appointment of Governor-General; and the writer of the Memoirs, who accompanied him to India, renewed his personal intimacy with Sir William Jones.

The uniformity which marked the remaining period of his allotted existence, admits of little variety of delineation. The largest portion of each year was devoted to his professional duties and studies; and all the time that could be saved from these important avocations, was dedicated to the cultivation of science and literature. Some periods were chequered by illness, the consequence of intense application; and others were embittered by the frequent and severe indis-

poſition of the partner of his cares, and object of his affections. "The climate of India," as he had already found occaſion to remark in a letter to a friend, "had been unpropitious to the delicate conſtitution of his beloved wife; and ſo apprehenſive was he of the conſequences, that he intended, unleſs ſome favourable alteration ſhould take place, to urge her return to her native country; preferring the pang of ſeparation for five or ſix years, to the anguiſh, which he ſhould hardly ſurvive, of loſing her."

While buſineſs required the daily attendance of Sir William Jones, in Calcutta, his uſual reſidence was on the banks of the Ganges, at the diſtance of five miles from the Court; to this ſpot he returned every evening after ſun-ſet, and in the morning roſe ſo early as to reach his apartments in town, by walking, at the firſt appearance of the dawn. Having ſeverely ſuffered from the heat of the ſun, he ever after dreaded and avoided an expoſure to it. The intervening period of each morning until the opening of the Court, was regularly allotted and applied to diſtinct ſtudies. He paſſed the months of vacation at his retirement at Criſhna-nagur, in his uſual purſuits.

In the midſt of his public duties and literary employments, political ſpeculations had but little ſhare of his attention; yet the ſentiments which he occaſionally expreſſes on this ſubject, do honour to his heart, and prove that the welfare of his country was always neareſt to it.

The hope with which he flatters himſelf, that his conſtitution had overcome the climate, was unfortunately ill-founded; few months elapſed without his ſuffering from the effects of it, and every attack had a tendency to weaken the vigour of his frame.

Among other literary deſigns which he meditated, he mentions the plan of an epic poem. It was founded on the ſame ſtory which he had originally ſelected for a compoſition of the ſame nature, in his twenty-ſecond year, the diſcovery of England, by Brutus; but his acquaintance with Hindu mythology had ſuggeſted to him the addition of a machinery perfectly new, by the introduction of the agency of the Hindu deities; and however wild or extravagant the fiction may appear, the diſcordancy may be eaſily reconciled by the actual ſubjection of Hinduſtan to the Britiſh dominion, poetically viſible to the guardian angels of that country. The firſt hint of this poem, was not ſuggeſted by the example of Pope, but by a paſſage in a letter of Spenſer to Sir Walter Raleigh; it is evident, however, that Sir William Jones was not diſpoſed to abandon the execution of his purpoſe by the ſtrictures of Dr. Johnſon, on Pope's intended poem, and that, in more open defiance of the critic's opinion he determined to write it in blank verſe, although he originally propoſed to adopt the heroic meaſure in rhyme.

It was the prevailing wiſh of Sir William Jones to render his talents and attainments uſeful to his country. The tenour of his correſpondence ſhews, that his principal ſtudies were directed to this object; and nearly two years preceding the period at which I am arrived, he deſcribes the mode in which

which he propoſes to give effect to his wiſhes, and expreſſes his determination to accompliſh it, with an energy which marks his ſenſe of the importance of the work he then meditated.

Having now qualified himſelf by his knowledge of the Sanſcrit and Hindu laws, for the execution of his plan, he determined to delay it no longer; and as he could not prudently defray the expence of the undertaking from his own finances, he deemed it proper to apply to the government of Bengal for their aſſiſtance, and addreſſed a letter to the Governor-General, Lord Cornwallis, on the ſubject. Such a propoſal could not fail of receiving that attention which it merited, from the Nobleman who preſided in the government of India. Fully ſenſible of the utility of a Digeſt of Hindu and Mohammedan law, in facilitating what he was ever anxious to promote, the due adminiſtration of juſtice to the native ſubjects of the Britiſh empire in Hinduſtan, the Marquis Cornwallis conſidered the accompliſhment of the plan, as calculated to reflect the higheſt honour upon his adminiſtration. The anſwer to Sir William Jones, written by his direction, expreſſed this ſentiment with a declaration, that his Lordſhip deemed it ſingularly fortunate, that a perſon ſo eminently qualified for the taſk, ſhould, from principles of general benevolence and public ſpirit, be induced to engage in an undertaking, as arduous as it was beneficial.

With this ſanction, Sir William Jones immediately entered upon the execution of the work, and having ſelected with the greateſt care, from the moſt learned Hindûs and Mohammedans, a ſufficient number of perſons duly qualified for the taſk of compilation, he traced the plan of the digeſt, preſcribed the arrangement, and pointed out the manuſcripts from which it was to be formed.

At the period when this work was undertaken by Sir William Jones, he had not reſided in India more than four years and a half; during which time, he had not only acquired a thorough knowledge of the Sanſcrit language, but had extended his reading in it ſo far as to be qualified to form a judgment upon the merit and authority of the authors to be uſed in the compilation of his work; and although his labour was only applied to the diſpoſition of materials already formed, he was enabled, by his previous ſtudies, to give them an arrangement ſuperior to any in exiſtence, and which the learned natives themſelves approved and admired. In the diſpenſations of Providence, it may be remarked as an occurrence of no ordinary nature, that the profeſſors of the Braminical faith ſhould ſo far renounce their reſerve and diſtruſt, as to ſubmit to the direction of a native of Europe, for compiling a digeſt of their own laws.

Among other literary occupations in which he employed himſelf during the laſt two years, it is to be noticed, that he undertook the office of editor of the elegant poem of *Hateſi*, on the unfortunate loves of *Laili* and *Mujnoon*, an Arabian youth and princeſs. The benevolent object of his labours renders them intereſting, as the book was publiſhed at his own expenſe, with a declared appropriation of the produce of the ſale to the relief

relief of insolvent debtors in the gaol at Calcutta.

In the beginning of 1789, the first volume of the Researches of the Society was published. The selection of the papers was left to the Judgment of Sir William Jones, and he undertook the labourious and unpleasant office of superintending the printing. A third part of the volume, the most interesting as well as instructive, is occupied by the contributions of the President.

In the same year, Sir William presented to the public a translation of an ancient Indian drama, under the title of Sacontala, or *the Fatal Ring*, exhibiting a most pleasing and authentic picture of old Hindu manners, and one of the greatest curiosities that the literature of Asia had yet brought to light. Calidas the author of it, whom Sir William Jones calls the Shakespear of India, lived in the first century before Christ, not many years after Terence, and he wrote several other dramas and poetical pieces of which, only Sacontala has received an European dress. The violation of the unities, as well as the mixture of foreign mythology, which constitutes the machinery of the play, are irreconcileable with the purer taste, which marks the dramatic compositions of Europe: but, although the translator declined offering a criticism on the characters and the conduct of the play, "From a conviction that the tastes of men differ as much as the sentiments and passions, and that in feeling the beauties of art as in smelling flowers, tasting fruits, viewing prospects, and hearing melody, every individual must be guided by his own sensations and incommunicable associations of his own ideas," we may venture to pronounce that, exclusive of the wild, picturesque and sublime imagery which characterizes it, the simplicity of the dialogue in many of the scenes, and the natural characters of many of the personages introduced, cannot fail of exciting pleasure and interesting the reader, who will wish with me, perhaps, that Sir William Jones had not rigidly adhered to the determination which he expressed not to employ his leisure in translating more of the works of Calidas.

The constitution of Lady Jones, which was naturally delicate, had suffered so much from repeated attacks of indisposition, that a change of climate had long been prescribed by the physicians, as the only means of preserving her life; but her affectionate attachment to her husband had hitherto induced her to remain in India, in opposition to this advice, though with the full conviction that the recovery of her health, in any considerable degree, was impossible. She knew that the obligation which he had voluntarily contracted, to translate the digest of Hindu and Mohammedan laws, was the only, though insuperable obstacle to his accompanying her, and his entreaties were necessary to gain her reluctant assent to undertake the voyage without his society. In the course of his correspondence, we trace his ardour to explore the new objects of his investigation which increasing knowledge had discovered to him, and an intention to pursue the line of his researches through Persia or China, by a circuitous rout to his native country; and at an earlier period, when the extent of the

field of inveſtigation appeared boundleſs, he had declared his determination to remain in India until the cloſe of the century, if it ſhould pleaſe God to prolong his life. But affection ſet limits to his zeal for knowledge, and when it was finally ſettled that Lady Jones ſhould return to England, he determined himſelf to follow her in the enſuing ſeaſon, hoping by this period to have diſcharged his engagements with the Government of India. She embarked in December, 1793.

In the beginning of 1794, Sir William Jones publiſhed a work, in which he had long been engaged,—a tranſlation of the Ordinances of Menu, compriſing the Indian ſyſtem of duties religious and civil. This taſk was ſuggeſted by the ſame motives, which had induced him to undertake the compilation of the digeſt; to aid the benevolent intentions of the legiſlature of Great Britain, in ſecuring to the natives of India the adminiſtration of juſtice, to a certain extent, by their own laws. Menu is eſteemed by the Hindûs the firſt of created beings, and not the oldeſt only, but the holieſt, of legiſlators; and his ſyſtem is ſo comprehenſive and ſo minutely exact, that it may be conſidered as an Inſtitute of Hindu Law, prefatory to the more copious digeſt.

I now turn, ſays Lord Teignmouth, to the laſt ſcene of the life of Sir William Jones. The few months allotted to his exiſtence after the departure of Lady Jones, were devoted to his uſual occupations, and more particularly to the diſcharge of that duty which alone detained him in India; the completion of the digeſt of Hindu and Mohammedan law. But neither the conſciouſneſs of acquitting himſelf of an obligation which he had voluntarily contracted, nor his inceſſant aſſiduity, could fill the vacuity occaſioned by the abſence of her, whoſe ſociety had ſweetened the toil of application, and cheered his hours of relaxation. Their habits were congenial, and their purſuits in ſome reſpects ſimilar: his botanical reſearches were facilitated by the eyes of Lady Jones, and by her talents in drawing; and their evenings were generally paſſed together, in the peruſal of the beſt modern authors in the different languages of Europe. After her departure, he mixed more in promiſcuous ſociety; but his affections were tranſported with her to his native country.

On the evening of the 20th of April, or nearly about that date, after prolonging his walk to a late hour, during which he had imprudently remained in converſation, in an unwholeſome ſituation, he called upon Lord Teignmouth, and complained of agueiſh ſymptoms, mentioning his intention to take ſome medicine, and repeating jocularly an old proverb, that "an ague in the Spring is medicine for a King." He had no ſuſpicion at the time, of the real nature of his indiſpoſition, which proved in fact to be a complaint common in Bengal, an inflammation in the liver. The diſorder was, however, ſoon diſcovered by the penetration of the phyſician, who, after two or three days, was called in to his aſſiſtance; but it had then advanced too far to yield to the efficacy of the medicines uſually preſcribed, and they were adminiſtered in vain. The progreſs of the complaint was uncom-

uncommonly rapid, and terminated fatally on the 27th of April, 1794. On the morning of that day, his attendants, alarmed at the evident ſymptons of approaching diſſolution, came precipitately to call the friend who has now the melancholy taſk of recording the mournful event. Not a moment was loſt in repairing to his houſe. He was lying on his bed in a poſture of meditation; and the only ſymptom of remaining life was a ſmall degree of motion in the heart, which after a few ſeconds ceaſed, and he expired without a pang or groan. His bodily ſuffering, from the complacency of his features and the eaſe of his attitude, could not have been ſevere; and his mind muſt have derived conſolation from thoſe ſources where he had been in the habit of ſeeking it, and where alone, in our laſt moments, it can ever be found.

The character of the illuſtrious individual thus commemorated is given at great length, but all the particulars cannot be here detailed. His religious and political opinions, the frame of his mind, and his perſonal habits are ably diſplayed, and the honours paid to his memory are properly noticed. Of his attainments the following is the abſtract.

In the ſhort ſpace of forty ſeven years, by the exertion of rare intellectual talents, he acquired a knowledge of arts, ſciences and languages, which has ſeldom been equalled, and ſcarcely, if ever, ſurpaſſed. If he did not attain the critical proficiency of a Porſon or Parr in Grecian literature; yet his knowledge of it was moſt extenſive and profound, and entitled him to a high rank in the firſt claſs of ſcholars; while, as a philologiſt, he could boaſt an univerſality in which he had no rival. His ſkill in the idioms of India, Perſia, and Arabia, has perhaps never been equalled by any European; and his compoſitions on Oriental ſubjects, diſplay a taſte which we ſeldom find in the writings of thoſe who had preceded him in theſe tracts of Literature. The language of Conſtantinople was alſo familiar to him; and of the Chineſe characters and tongue, he had learned enough to tranſlate an ode of Confucius. In the modern dialects of Europe, French, Italian, Spaniſh, Portugueſe, and German, he was thoroughly converſant, and had peruſed the moſt admired writers in thoſe languages. The liſt might be extended by ſpecifying other dialects which he underſtood, but which he had leſs perfectly ſtudied *.

* The following is tranſcribed from a paper in the hand-writing of Sir William Jones:

LANGUAGES.

Eight languages ſtudied critically:
Engliſh, Latin, French, Italian,
Greek, Arabic, Perſian, Sanſcrit.

Eight ſtudied leſs perfectly, but all intelligible with a dictionary,
Spaniſh, Portugueſe, German, Runick,
Hebrew, Bengali, Hindi, Turkiſh.

Twelve ſtudied leaſt perfectly, but all attainable:
Tibetian, Pâli, Phalavi, Deri,
Ruſſian, Syriac, Ethiopic, Coptic,
Welſh, Swediſh, Dutch, Chineſe.

Twenty eight Languages.

In another memorandum, he mentions having read a grammar of the Ruſſian and Welſh.

But

But mere philology was never conſidered by Sir William Jones as the end of his ſtudies, nor as any thing more than the medium through which knowledge was to be acquired; he knew, that "words were the daughters of earth, and things the ſons of heaven," and would have diſdained the character of a mere linguiſt. In the little ſketch of a treatiſe on Education, which has been inſerted in theſe memoirs, he deſcribes the uſe of language, and the neceſſity of acquiring the languages of thoſe people who in any period of the world have been diſtinguiſhed by their ſuperior knowledge, in order to add to our own reſearches the accumulated wiſdom of all ages and nations. Accordingly, with the keys of learning in his poſſeſſion, he was qualified to unlock the literary hoards of ancient and modern times, and to diſplay the treaſures depoſited in them, for the uſe, entertainment, or inſtruction of mankind. In the courſe of his labours, we find him elucidating the laws of Athens, India, and Arabia; comparing the philoſophy of the Porch, the Lyceum, and Academy, with the doctrines of the Suſis and Bramins; and, by a rare combination of taſte and erudition, exhibiting the mythological fictions of the Hindûs in ſtrains not unworthy the ſublimeſt Grecian bards. In the eleven diſcourſes which he addreſſed to the Aſiatic Society, on the hiſtory, civil and natural, the antiquities, arts, ſciences, philoſophy, and literature of Aſia, and on the origin and families of nations, he has diſcuſſed the ſubjects which he profeſſed to explain, with a perſpicuity which delights and inſtructs, and in a ſtyle which never ceaſes to pleaſe, where his arguments may not always convince. In theſe diſquiſitions, he has more particularly diſplayed his profound Oriental learning in illuſtrating topics of great importance in the hiſtory of mankind; and it is much to be lamented, that he did not live to revive and improve them in England, with the advantages of accumulated knowledge and undiſturbed leiſure.

Letters written by the late Earl of Chatham, to his Nephew Thomas Pitt, Eſq. (afterwards Lord Camelford) then at Cambridge.

THIS very ſmall volume claims attention, not more from the exalted rank and illuſtrious character of the nobleman who wrote the letters, than from the ſound ſenſe and excellent moral and ſocial reflections with which they abound. It derives alſo an additional intereſt from being edited by Lord Grenville, who in his preface makes many judicious remarks on the letters, and particularly on the authors recommended by Lord Chatham to his nephew, the utility and comparative excellence of many of which are ſuperſeded by the productions of other writers during the fifty years which have elapſed ſince the earl recommended them. Lord Grenville's obſervations on two diſtinguiſhed Engliſh writers ſhew to great advantage the acuteneſs and accuracy of his mind.

"Some early impreſſions," he ſays, "had prepoſſeſſed Lord Chatham's mind with a much more

more favourable opinion of the political writings of Lord Bolingbroke, than he might himſelf have retained on a more impartial reconſideration. To a reader of the preſent day, the "Remarks on the Hiſtory of England" would probably appear but ill entitled to the praiſes which are in theſe letters ſo liberally beſtowed upon them. For himſelf, at leaſt, the editor may be allowed to ſay, that their ſtyle is, in his judgment, declamatory, diffuſe, and involved: deficient both in elegance and in preciſion, and little calculated to ſatisfy a taſte formed, as Lord Chatham's was, on the pureſt models of claſſic ſimplicity. Their matter he thinks more ſubſtantially defective: the obſervations which they contain, diſplay no depth of thought, or extent of knowledge; their reaſoning is, for the moſt part, trite and ſuperficial; while on the accuracy with which the facts themſelves are repreſented no reliance can ſafely be placed. The principles and character of their author Lord Chatham himſelf condemns, with juſt reprobation. And when, in addition to this general cenſure, he admits, that in theſe writings the truth of hiſtory is occaſionally warped, and its application diſtorted for party purpoſes, what farther notice can be wanted of the caution with which ſuch a book muſt always be regarded?

Lord Chatham appears to have recommended to his nephew, at the ſame time, the ſtudy of a very different work, the hiſtory of Clarendon; but he ſpeaks with ſome diſtruſt of the integrity of that valuable writer. When a ſtateſman traces, for the inſtruction of poſterity, the living images of the men and manners of his time; the paſſions by which he has himſelf been agitated, and the revolutions in which his own life and fortunes were involved, the picture will doubtleſs retain a ſtrong impreſſion of the mind, and character, and the opinions of its author. But there will always be a wide interval between the bias of ſincere conviction and the diſhoneſty of intentional miſrepreſentation.

Clarendon was unqueſtionably a lover of truth, and a ſincere friend to the free conſtitution of his country. He defended that conſtitution in parliament, with zeal and energy, againſt the encroachment of prerogative, and concurred in the eſtabliſhment of new ſecurities neceſſary for its protection. He did indeed, when theſe had been obtained, oppoſe with equal determination thoſe continually increaſing demands of parliament, which appeared to him to threaten the exiſtence of the monarchy itſelf: deſirous, if poſſible, to conciliate the maintenance of public liberty with the preſervation of domeſtic peace, and to turn aſide from his country all the evils, to which thoſe demands immediately and manifeſtly tended.

The wiſh was honourable and virtuous, but it was already become impracticable. The purpoſes of irreconcileable ambition, entertained by both the contending parties, were utterly inconſiſtent with the re-eſtabliſhment of mutual confidence. The parliamentary leaders openly graſped at the excluſive poſſeſſion of all civil and all military authority: and, on the other hand, the perfidy with which the king had violated

his

his paſt engagements, ſtill rankled in the hearts of his people, whoſe juſt ſuſpicions of his ſincerity were continually renewed by the unſteadineſs of his conduct, even in the very moments of freſh conceſſion: while, amongſt a large proportion of the community, every circumſtance of civil injury or oppreſſion was inflamed and aggravated by the utmoſt violence of religious animoſity.

In this unhappy ſtate the calamities of civil war could no longer be averted; but the miſeries by which the conteſt was attended, and the military tyranny to which it ſo naturally led, juſtified all the fears of thoſe who had from the beginning moſt dreaded that terrible extremity.

At the reſtoration, the ſame virtuous ſtateſman protected the conſtitution againſt the blind or intereſted zeal of exceſſive loyalty: and, if Monk had the glory of reſtoring the monarchy of England, to Clarendon is aſcribed the merit of re-eſtabliſhing her laws and liberties. A ſervice no leſs advantageous to the crown than honourable to himſelf; but which was numbered among the chief of thoſe offences for which he was afterwards abandoned, ſacrificed, and perſecuted by his unfeeling, corrupt, and profligate maſter.

Theſe obſervations reſpecting one of the moſt upright characters of our hiſtory, are here delivered with freedom, though in ſome degree oppoſed to ſo high an authority. The habit of forming ſuch opinions for ourſelves, inſtead of receiving them from others, is not the leaſt among the advantages of ſuch a courſe of reading and reflection as Lord Chatham recommends."

The letters of Lord Chatham are twenty-two in number; all breathe a warm affection toward the relative to whom they were addreſſed, and in many the fervid and manly genius of the writer breaks forth, even when the ſubject would have demanded from a leſs glowing mind ſcarcely any ſtrength of expreſſion. On the ſubject of politeneſs, he exhibits in a ſtriking manner, the difference between himſelf and Lord Cheſterfield, whoſe writings on that topic were not then known to the public. Lord Cheſterfield makes it conſiſt merely in aſſumed and ſuperficial manners; Lord Chatham founds it on the baſis of the virtues; taught by Lord Cheſterfield a man would, at beſt, be but a diſſembling epicure; under the inſtructions of Lord Chatham, the graces of poliſhed life are acquired in aid and ornament of the humility and virtue of the chriſtian.

He ſays, "I will now, my dear nephew, ſay a few things to you upon a matter where you have ſurpriſingly little to learn, conſidering you have ſeen nothing but Boconnock; I mean behaviour. Behaviour is of infinite advantage or prejudice to a man, as he happens to have formed it to a graceful, noble, engaging and proper manner, or to a vulgar, coarſe, ill-bred, or awkward and ungenteel one. Behaviour, though an external thing, which ſeems rather to belong to the body than to the mind, is certainly founded in conſiderable virtues: though I have known inſtances of good men, with ſomething very revolting and offenſive

offenſive in their manner of behaviour, eſpecially when they have the misfortune to be naturally very awkward and ungenteel; and which their miſtaken friends have helped to confirm them in, by telling them, they were above ſuch trifles, as being genteel, dancing, fencing, riding, and doing all manly exerciſes, with grace and vigour. As if the body, becauſe inferior, were not a part of the compoſition of man: and the proper, eaſy, ready and graceful uſe of himſelf, both in mind and limb, did not go to make up the character of an accompliſhed man. You are in no danger of falling into this prepoſterous error: and I had a great pleaſure in finding you, when I firſt ſaw you in London, ſo well diſpoſed by nature, and ſo properly attentive to make yourſelf genteel in perſon, and well bred in behaviour. I am very glad you have taken a fencing maſter: that exerciſe will give you ſome manly, firm, and graceful attitudes: open your cheſt, place your head upright, and plant you well upon your legs. As to the uſe of the ſword, it is well to know it: but remember, my deareſt nephew, it is a ſcience of defence: and that a ſword can never be employed by the hand of a man of virtue, in any other cauſe. As to the carriage of your perſon, be particularly careful, as you are tall and thin, not to get a habit of ſtooping; nothing has ſo poor a look: above all things, avoid contracting any particular geſticulations of the body, or movements of the muſcles of the face. It is rare to ſee in any one a graceful laughter; it is generally better to ſmile than laugh out, eſpecially to contract a habit of laughing at ſmall or no jokes. Sometimes it would be affectation, or worſe, mere moroſeneſs, not to laugh heartily, when the truly ridiculous circumſtances of an incident, or the true pleaſantry and wit of a thing, call for and juſtify it; but the trick of laughing frivolouſly is by all means to be avoided: Riſu inepto, Res ineptior nulla eſt. Now as to politeneſs; many have attempted definitions of it: I believe it is beſt to be known by deſcription, definition not being able to compriſe it. I would however venture to call it, benevolence in trifles, or the preference of others to ourſelves in little daily, hourly, occurrences in the commerce of life. A better place, a more commodious ſeat, priority in being helped at table, &c. what is it, but ſacrificing ourſelves in ſuch trifles to the convenience and pleaſure of others? And this conſtitutes true politeneſs. It is a perpetual attention, (by habit it grows eaſy and natural to us), to the little wants of thoſe we are with, by which we either prevent, or remove them. Bowing, ceremonious, formal compliments, ſtiff civilities, will never be politeneſs: that muſt be eaſy, natural, unſtudied, manly, noble. And what will give this, but a mind benevolent and perpetually attentive to exert that amiable diſpoſition in trifles towards all you converſe and live with? Benevolence in greater matters takes a higher name, and is the queen of virtues. Nothing is ſo incompatible with politeneſs as any trick of abſence of mind. I would trouble you with a word or two more upon ſome branches of behaviour,

which have a more ſerious moral obligation in them, than thoſe of mere politeneſs; which are equally important in the eye of the world. I mean a proper behaviour, adapted to the reſpective relations we ſtand in, towards the different ranks of ſuperiors, equals, and inferiors. Let your behaviour towards ſuperiors, in dignity, age, learning, or any diſtinguiſhed excellence, be full of reſpect, deference and modeſty. Towards equals, nothing becomes a man ſo well as well bred eaſe, polite freedom, generous frankneſs, manly ſpirit, always tempered with gentleneſs and ſweetneſs of manner, noble ſincerity, candour, and openneſs of heart, qualified and reſtrained within the bounds of diſcretion and prudence, and ever limited by a ſacred regard to ſecrecy, in all things entruſted to it, and an inviolable attachment to your word. To inferiors, gentleneſs, condeſcenſion, and affability, is the only dignity. Toward ſervants, never accuſtom yourſelf to rough and paſſionate language. When they are good, we ſhould conſider them as humiles Amici, as fellow chriſtians, ut Conſervi; and when they are bad, pity, admoniſh, and part with them if incorrigible. On all occaſions beware, my dear child, of anger, that demon, that deſtroyer of our peace. Ira furor brevis eſt, animum rege qui niſi paret Imperat, hunc frænis hunc tu compeſce catenis.

It would be injuſtice to the reader to withhold from him the following obſervations of this great ſtateſman and true patriot, on an axiom which many have ſo foolishly perverted as to found on it doctrines derogatory to the love of their country.

"I like extremely the account you give of your literary life; the reflexions you make upon ſome Weſt Saxon actors in the times you are reading, are natural, manly and ſenſible, and flow from a heart that will make you far ſuperior to any of them. I am content you ſhould be interrupted (provided the interruption be not long) in the courſe of your reading, by declaiming in defence of the Theſis you have ſo wiſely choſen to maintain. It is true indeed, that the affirmative maxim, Omne ſolum farti Patria eſt, has ſupported ſome great and good men under the perſecutions of faction and party injuſtice, and taught them to prefer an hoſpitable retreat in a foreign land to an unnatural mother country. Some few ſuch may he found in ancient times: in our own country alſo ſome; ſuch were Algernon Sidney, Ludlow and others. But how dangerous it is to truſt frail, corrupt man, with ſuch an aphoriſm! What fatal caſuiſtry is it big with! How many a villain might, and has, maſked himſelf in the ſayings of ancient illuſtrious exiles, while he was, in fact, diſſolving all the neareſt and deareſt ties that hold ſocieties together, and ſpurning at all laws divine and human! How eaſy the tranſition from this political to ſome impious eccleſiaſtical aphoriſms! If all ſoils are alike to the brave and virtuous, ſo may all churches and modes of worſhip; that is, all will be equally neglected and violated. Inſtead of every ſoil being his country, he will have no one for his country; he

he will be the forlorn outcaſt of mankind. Such was the late Bolingbroke, of impious memory."

The laſt letter but two expreſſes the joy of the writer on the birth of a child, born to be the pride and ſhield of his country; the illuſtrious William Pitt. To him, in a brief, but affectionate letter, Lord Grenville dedicates his publication; but it is melancholy to reflect, that the revolution of politics ſhould within the year when theſe letters were publiſhed, have placed theſe illuſtrious relations in determined and perhaps irreconcileable oppoſition to each other.

An Account of the Cape of Good Hope; containing an hiſtorical View of its original Settlement by the Dutch, its Capture by the Britiſh in 1795, and the different Policy purſued there by the Dutch and Britiſh Governments. Alſo a Sketch of its Geography, Productions, the Manners and Cuſtoms of the Inhabitants, &c. &c. with a View of the political and commercial Advantages which might be derived from its Poſſeſſion by Great Britain. By Captain Robert Percival, of his Majeſty's Eighteenth, or Royal Iriſh Regiment.

THE Cape of Good Hope is become, on every account, intereſting to the people of Great Britain, and the ſervice rendered to politics, hiſtory and letters by Captain Percival is therefore by no means inconſiderable. The higher gifts and more faſcinating graces of the writer are always ornamental, but they are not eſſentially requiſite to a man who merely profeſſes to deſcribe and relate the objects and events which he has ſeen and witneſſed; but Captain Percival has given his narrative and obſervations in a clear, manly manner, and a vein of accurate remark and practical good ſenſe runs through his whole work.

His means of information were ſufficient for his purpoſe. The ſhip on board which he was embarked with a detachment of his regiment deſtined for the Eaſt Indies, having in Auguſt, 1796, put into Falſe Bay for water and refreſhments, was detained there nearly two months by one of the incidents common in time of war. During the period of his detention there, he had an opportunity of ſeeing and examining all that part of the country, from Falſe Bay and the oppoſite coaſt of Hottentot Holland, to Table Bay, Cape Town and its neighbourhood. This he was the better enabled to do, as the detachment of the 19th regiment, to which he then belonged, was part of the force diſembarked at Simon's Town, and which marched for the defence of Cape Town, at that critical period when General Craig, with the greateſt part of the garriſon, proceeded to Saldahna Bay againſt the Dutch fleet under Admiral Lucas, which put in there, in hopes of being joined by a French ſquadron from the Iſle of France, and in conjunction with the Boors and coloniſts of the interior, attempted to re-take the Cape from the Engliſh. In this, however, they were diſappointed by the extraordinary activity and exertion of Sir James Craig, and the army under his command, together with the unexpected appearance of Ad-

miral Elphinſtone, (now Lord Keith) with the Engliſh fleet. When returning from India to Europe in 1801, on account of ill health contracted while on ſervice there, the ſhip in which the author was paſſenger, put into Table Bay, where being detained for two months, the author had a farther opportunity of viſiting ſeveral parts of the country eaſtward of Cape Town, the villages of Stellenboſch, Drakenſtein, and Swellendam; he alſo enlarged his obſervations, and obtained more particular information of the country in general, and the inhabitants. From the author's reſidence at the Cape in the different ſeaſons of the year, he had an opportunity of obſerving the effects reſulting from their variations both to agriculture and commerce; an object which is here in particular of the moſt eſſential importance. He was alſo enabled to aſcertain more accurately the nature of the climate, and its effects on the ſoil and appearance of the country, as well as to examine the natural productions of each ſeaſon.

The author begins with a ſlight but uſeful account of the ſituation of the Cape, the origin of its names, and ſome particulars of its geography and the navigation in paſſing it, together with its early hiſtory until the firſt eſtabliſhment of the Dutch. He then narrates the conqueſt of it by a Britiſh force in the laſt war, not affecting any ſtrong hiſtorical ſtyle, but confining himſelf to the ſimple form of a journal, and deſcribing Saldahna Bay, and other places to which he is led by the courſe of the expedition. In ſubſequent chapters, he deſcribes Falſe Bay, and other parts of the colony, leading the reader by degrees to an acquaintance with the general face of the country, and the manners and cuſtoms of the inhabitants, both Dutch and African. From many curious particulars, the following account of the mode of travelling in this country is ſelected.

"Strangers will find conveyances very dear, and difficult to be procured. A ſaddle horſe cannot be hired at leſs than from ſix to eight rix-dollars, a paper currency worth four Dutch ſchellings, or about three Britiſh; and the general hire of a waggon to a ſtranger, is from twenty to thirty rix-dollars, and even ſcarcely to be had at that price. A heavy ſurf, which runs all along this ſhore, proves very inconvenient to people travelling in waggons, as the heavy looſe ſand, which is but a little way removed from the ſurf, renders it difficult for the cattle to draw; the waggon muſt be kept cloſe to the water's edge, where the ſand being wetted by the ſurf, is more ſolid, and capable of ſuſtaining the weight of the waggon. The ſurf often riſes above the nave of the wheels, and ſometimes, if not dexterouſly avoided, it will ruſh into the body of the waggon itſelf, ſeeming as if it would carry horſes, paſſengers, and all into the ſea: a circumſtance which made a particular impreſſion on my memory, as it had like to have happened in my own preſence to the late General Doyle and the Rev. Mr. Roſenhagen, in Auguſt, 1796.

"No object ſooner attracts the eye of a ſtranger at the Cape than thoſe waggons, the number of cattle yoked to them, the uncom-

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mon manner in which they are driven, and the aſtoniſhing dexterity of the waggoners. Theſe waggons are made extremely large and ſtrong; all great journies here are undertaken in them; and for ſize and accommodation they may be compared to travelling houſes; while the very uneven and rugged roads require them to be of a peculiar conſtruction, and of great ſolidity. The body of the waggon reſts on an axle or pole, running length wiſe; below it is not unlike a coach, except that the body is ſeldom hung on ſprings. The waggons are made broad, to prevent overturning, for they are driven over rocks and declivities at full gallop, as it is a principle with the drivers never to ſpare the poor cattle. The inſide is tolerably roomy and ſpacious, with platforms and benches, which are employed for ſitting on, for bedſteads, or for holding goods. At one end they are even furniſhed with a place for cooking. The ſides are conſtructed with ſtrong boards, well put together, and ſecured by ſtrong pieces of wood, placed perpendicularly. The roof is formed of boards, or thick ſail cloth, well tarred, to keep out rain. The Dutch farmers who inhabit the interior, during their long journies to Cape Town, entirely live in thoſe moving habitations, whilſt at night, or when they ſtop to bait and refreſh their cattle, their ſlaves find ſhelter under the waggon, and the cattle quietly graze hard by, in a ſpot that has been pitched upon for its herbage, this being the only method of procuring provender in that country. In general the horſes and oxen are well made, ſtrong and very ſteady.

"The clumſy and unwieldly appearance of the vehicles, the great number of cattle yoked to them, the fury with which they are driven along, without any regard to obſtacles, while the drivers, with their immenſe long whips, are conſtantly urging the ſpeed of the cattle, and dexterouſly turning the waggons ſhort at every corner, without the leaſt heſitation or dread, preſent altogether a ſpectacle highly novel and intereſting.

"From four to ten or twelve pair of horſes or oxen are yoked to one waggon. The horſes, though a ſmall race, are in general ſpirited and hardy; they do a great deal of work on little food, and are capable of enduring great fatigue. A bunch or two of carrots is ſometimes their only ſuſtenance during a long journey. Their hoofs being much harder than thoſe of the European horſes, they are not in general ſhod; and when they are, it is only on the fore feet. The Cape horſes are not ſwift travellers; they hardly ever exceed fourteen hands in height, and on account of the flies, which are exceedingly troubleſome, their tails are ſeldom cut. The Dutch never paid any attention to the improving the breed of horſes; they ſcarcely ever thought of introducing thoſe of another country to croſs the breed and improve the blood. The oxen are ſtrong, large, and boney, though rather of an awkward ſhape, being lank and long-legged. In general they are yoked both by the horns and the neck, and aſſiſt the draught

with their heads as well as their breaſt and ſhoulders.

"In front of the body of the waggon there is a bar or piece of wood for a ſeat, like that placed before our hackney coaches; on this two of their ſlaves ſit, and from this ſtation guide a long team of horſes or oxen. One of the ſlaves holds the reins, and guides the cattle, whilſt the other ſits beſide him with a long whip that trails on the ground till he has occaſion to uſe it on the cattle, which he does with both his hands. The handle of this prodigious whip is bamboe, from twelve to fifteen long, and is fixed to a thick leather thong of buffalo hide, rudely platted, and of an equal length with the handle, with a laſh nearly three feet long attached to the extremity. The drivers are ſo very expert in the uſe of this immenſe whip, which to an European appears ſo unwieldly, that they can touch a team of ten or twelve pair of cattle in any part they have a mind, even with the certainty of hitting a fly off any of the animals. Indeed none of our Engliſh charioteers can at all be compared to them in ſuch feats of dexterity. When they come to a deep place of the road, or ſteep and difficult aſcent, they keep cutting and laſhing amongſt the cattle to make them all pull together, and exert their ſtrength equally. By this means the animals will draw the waggon over the moſt difficult places, even rocks and precipices, whilſt the fellow who holds the reins, equally dexterous on his part, will guide them over in complete ſafety.

"The means employed to render the cattle thus manageable, are, however, revolting to humanity. It excites not only compaſſion but horror to ſee many of thoſe unfortunate beaſts cut and mangled, as they are, in various parts of the body; for a Dutch boor, or farmer, if he finds his cattle lazy, or ſtopping from fatigue, or where they meet with obſtacles which their ſtrength cannot eaſily ſurmount, will not heſitate to draw out his great knife and ſcore their fleſh, or even cut ſlices off without mercy. Theſe wretched animals ſeem indeed to know their cruel maſter's intentions, for their fear and agitation become exceſſive, when they obſerve him taking out this inſtrument, and rubbing it to the waggon, as if making it ready for the purpoſe of tormenting them.

"The ſlaves who act as their drivers are generally termed *baaſtards*, being a mixture of Hottentot and Caffree or Negro; or produced from their own connection with a female ſlave; the latter deriving in general a ſtouter make and fairer complexion from their parents. This race intermarry among themſelves, and from being bred up in their maſter's family from their infancy, are handy, docile and extremely uſeful, ſpeaking the Dutch language as well as their own.

"When theſe drivers appear puſhing through the ſtreets of Cape Town, at full gallop, and turning from one ſtreet to another, without pulling in, even where the corners are extremely narrow, which is generally the caſe, a ſtranger ſtops ſhort with a mingled ſenſation of wonder and anxiety, dreading

dreading every moment ſome fatal conſequences; which, however, rarely ever happen. The drivers are early initiated in this art; for, while as yet little boys, they begin by being employed to guide the foremoſt pair, when a long team is attached to a waggon, in paſſing through a narrow road. In many places about the Cape, theſe roads are merely rocky defiles between the hills, or narrow paths between ridges of ſand. On coming to the entrance of thoſe narrow places, they give notice of their approach by cracking their whips, which they do with ſuch a loud report as ſtuns the ears of a ſtranger. This is the ſignal to warn any other waggon which may be coming from the oppoſite quarter, not to enter the narrow path till the other has cleared it; for if they were to meet there, it would be impoſſible for them to paſs each other. This is a regulation to which they ſtrictly adhere, and a very heavy penalty is attached to the breach of it, as the inconvenience ariſing thence would be extreme; one of the waggons would require to be completely unloaded, and the paſſage would thus perhaps be ſtopped up againſt all intercourſe, probably for ſeveral hours.

Every waggon is provided with ſtrong chains, or drags, like thoſe uſed by our mail coaches, to prevent their being overturned in going down the precipices and ſteeps. Sometimes they are obliged to drag all the four wheels, and have for this purpoſe a machine which they call a lock-ſhoe, being a kind of ſledge or trough ſhod with iron, into which the wheels are ſet. This prevents the waggon from running down the cattle, and certainly is very ingenious in the invention. The cattle are generally placed in the team ſo as to draw by the ſhoulders, a bow or yoke of wood being put on each, and faſtened by pegs, through which holes or notches are made to admit the harneſs. The yoke of the hind pair is faſtened to the pole of the waggon, and thoſe of the reſt have a ſtrap or chain, running along the yokes of each pair, and carried to the head, where it is faſtened to the horns. Their bellies and hinder parts are left at liberty, which gives them room to move about in the waggons, and appears to render the draught eaſier to them. The principal guidance of the waggon depends on the foremoſt pair, which are generally the beſt trained, otherwiſe they might trample down the little Hottentot boys, who uſually run before, and guide them by a kind of bridle or cord paſſed through the noſtrils. It ſometimes happens that theſe little wretches are thrown down and trodden to death, before the cattle can be ſtopped. The attachment of the animals to their little leaders is very great, and ſometimes you will ſee them look about for them, and keep bellowing and uneaſy till they come to their heads. The cattle are under great command, and will readily obey the ſlighteſt word from their drivers; on being called to by name individually, they will increaſe their efforts, and draw together, even without the employment of the whip."

In another part of this volume the reader will find an account of the Hottentots, extracted from Mr. Percival's work, containing a

deſcription moſt diſgraceful to the Dutch, and afflicting to humanity. The public inſtitutions of the Dutch, their manners and their ſtyle of living, are fairly pourtrayed, and with apparent exactneſs and fidelity. Attention has alſo been paid to the animal and vegetable productions of the place, and although the author does not add much to the knowledge of natural hiſtory already given to the public, his obſervations on the vineyards, cattle, and other uſeful and domeſtic productions, are of great value. The whole work diſplays, to the aſtoniſhment of the reader, a view of a very fine country, abounding with all the bleſſings of nature, rendered comparatively uſeleſs by the ſtupid ſelfiſhneſs and brutal avarice of the coloniſts. Captain Percival, in diſplaying theſe circumſtances, offers many judicious obſervations on the means of meliorating the general ſtate of the place, and rendering it eminently uſeful to Great Britain.

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